Reconstructing Italy
The Ina-Casa Neighborhoods of the Postwar Era

by

Stephanie Zeier Pilat

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Architecture)
in The University of Michigan
2009

Doctoral Committee:

Associate Professor Lydia M. Soo, Chair
Professor Robert L. Fishman
Associate Professor Dario Gaggio
Associate Professor Mia Fuller, University of California at Berkeley

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To Aaron

Acknowledgments

This study would never have been possible without the help of many friends, professors, colleagues, archivists, and family.

Maria Ciafardini and Dottore Antonio Ratti at the Archivio Storico INA welcomed me into their offices and treated me like a member of their family. The documents and drawings of Ina-Casa are scattered in collections across the country. I was fortunate to have the help of Dottoressa Paolicelli at the Archivio di Stato di Matera; Signore Andrea Anatiste and Signora Gaia Englaro at Archivio Luce; Giometra Esterbaci at ACER Bologna; Dottore Noccera of ATER Rome. I am also grateful to the many Italians who shared their stories with me especially Tarcisio Nardelli of Borgo Panigale, Derice and Deana Mantovani, and Rosanna Ferando of Bologna, and Coretto Grucchi and Agostino Tucco Benito of Matera. Madiera Giacci helped me laugh at my mishaps and answered many a dumb question. In Italy I was also fortunate to have the assistance and support of generous Italian architects and scholars including Allan Ceen, Maristella Casciato, Pippo Ciorra, and Carolina Vaccaro.

The Italian Fulbright Commission and the American Academy in Rome both provided critical financial support for research in Italy. My fellow Fulbrighters in Italy, and the community at the American Academy believed in this project from the start and many of them offered valuable suggestions along the way.

When I began working with Professor Lydia Soo on a Master of Sciences degree, I was a young designer. She patiently and consistently worked with me through every step of my transition from designer to historian. As an advisor, her dedication to my development is unmatched and my successes in this endeveaor are largely due to her steady support. David Scobey left Michigan before this project was complete, but his influence is still palpable to those who know him on nearly every page. Dario Gaggio has been an enthusiastic supporter of this project throughout and a keen reader. I was fortunate to have Mia Fuller as a committee member from the start, for she seemed to

always appear at just the right time with just the right advice along the way. Throughout this process Robert Fishman has routinely demonstrated his capacity to see through the sometimes confusing web of ideas, people and place and to extract the most important ones to focus on. Robert has been the model of a great scholar—always generous, enthusiastic and honest. Lisa Hauser, the doctoral program assistant, was invaluable in her consitent and dependable problem solving as I navigated this proces. As Chair of the Doctoral Program, Jean Wineman helped to advocate for funding for this project.

I owe a great debt to those people at Michigan who have given me the support that only dear friends and colleagues can. Professors Gavin Shatkin and Karla Taylor both guided me through the proposal writing process. My colleagues in Linda Gregerson's seminar read a messy first draft of the chapter on urban design and helped me see the potential argument. I shared many wonderful dinners with my writing group comrades and friends—Monica Huertas, Kirsten Olds, and Julie Human. They read nearly everything in this study and together always seemed to be able to identify exactly what to do next.

My best friend and colleague Kristina Luce has made this journey a lot less lonely than it otherwise would have been. Lindsey Schneider has been an advocate for this project ever since and has provided valuable feedback throughout the process. As a trusted friend and colleague Justin Fergusen helped me shape the outlines of this project from the start to the finish. Cara Genisio gave me much needed peace of mind to concentrate on this project in the final year.

I dedicate this study to Aaron because he endured every part of this project, the good and the bad, alongside me. When neopolitan friends warned us against venturing into certain Ina-Casa neighborhoods, Aaron willingly went along anyway. He was with me when I first visited Borgo Panigale in Bologna in the summer of 2004 and he has shared my excitement for the project ever since.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Appendices

Abstract

Reconstructing Italy
The Ina-Casa Neighborhoods of the Postwar Era

At the end of the Second World War, Italy was socially divided and physically shattered, the former by two decades under Fascism, and the latter by the destruction of millions of housing units. At this moment of crisis action had to be taken to rebuild the nation both physically and psychologically. One way was through architecture and urbanism: the Ina-Casa plan for workers' housing created more than 350,000 units of housing throughout Italy during two seven year phases (1949–56 and 1956–63) and the jobs to build them. Bringing together the efforts of politicians, reformers, architects, and even the workers themselves, the Ina-Casa administration as well as the neighborhoods they built provided an important means by which Italians re-imagined themselves and their national community in the postwar period. Of the many neighborhoods that were built three—the Tiburtino in Rome, Borgo Panigale in Bologna, and Villa Longo in Matera, are cogent as case studies that demonstrate the major results of the plan. Ina-Casa urban design and planning contributed to the prevailing tendency of locating the lower classes on the periphery of cities in part because it was easier to build large scale projects where land was cheap. In the architecture, often characterized as neorealist, the use of regional vernaculars reflected the desire of many designers to break with the recent

past, but modernist characteristics, particularly in the projects of those who had practiced under Fascism also indicate continuity. Inside the homes, the domestic lives of millions of families were redefined through the provision of basic amenities such as running water, plumbing, and electricity and through the planning of spaces to reflect developing conceptions of the family. By increasing the basic standard of living of the most needy, Ina-Casa did more to unify the nation than any other earlier entity. From the exterior of Ina-Casa projects, however, the picture that emerges is of a fragmented and divided society, a nation weary of nationalism.

Part I
Introduction

A desolate and romantic shot of the Baths of Caracalla opens the 1952 documentary film *045 Ricostruzione Edilizia*. Ominous music plays in the background as we see among the rubble laundry lines and men building walls that divide one makeshift home from another [Figure 1]. Here, in one of the hallowed archaeological sites of Rome, the narrator explains, families have been living for the last seven years. Our attention is drawn to the family in #045, a couple with two small children. The zero of #045 marks that this is an "abusive" or illegal dwelling. The camera pans out and we see neighborhoods around the city, Parioli and Monte Mario, full of temporary and dilapidated makeshift shelters. The narrator asks, "How did this happen in Italy?" The answer: the drive to win the war, or as the narrator puts it, the fascist cry: "vincere vincere vincere" (win, win, win). The Second World War eroded the fabric of civil society in Italy, leaving millions homeless, desperate, hungry, and unemployed.[1]

Later in the film, the camera appears to focus on another crumbling structure. Now however, the narrator explains that these are not ancient ruins, but present day Cassina, a city outside of Rome that was heavily bombed during the war. In fact, two

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[1] Vittorio Sala, *045 Ricostruzione Edilizia* (Rome: Luce). To view the film go to Istituto Luce's website: www.luce.it. According to Leonardo Ciacci the film was one of four made to commemorate the first departure of the "Train of rebirth." See Leonardo Ciacci, "Una casa per tutti: La mise en scene del piano Ina-Casa," in *La Grande Ricostruzione: Il Piano Ina-Casa e l'Italia degli anni cinquanta*, ed. Paola Di Biagi (Roma: Donzelli Editore, 2001). All translations by author unless otherwise noted.

million habitable rooms were destroyed in Italy during the Second World War, while another four million were damaged.[2] The wartime devastation exacerbated an already formidable housing shortage; under Fascism housing construction had consistently failed to meet demand. After the war, internal migration also intensified the pressure on the inadequate housing stock. By 1945, five million new habitable rooms were needed. In response to this demand, as the narrator of the film explains, the Ina-Casa plan was established to "ameliorate the housing deficit from north to south." Designed to address both the housing and the unemployment crises, the Ina-Casa plan built working-class neighborhoods throughout the nation during its two seven-year phases (1949–56 and 1956–63). Towards the end of the film, the family from the Baths of Caracalla reappears and the audience learns that they were waiting for someone from the city administration to assign them a new home. As the film ends, we watch our family entering their new Ina-Casa home, #12— without a preceding zero [Figure 2].

Amintore Fanfani, the Minister of Labor and Social Security, drafted the legislation that ultimately created the Ina-Casa or "Fanfani" plan in 1948. But providing housing was only half of Fanfani's aim; the Ina-Casa program was, first and foremost, an employment plan. More than two million of the country's population of forty-five million were unemployed. Given the severe housing shortage, the residential construction industry was viewed as an ideal arena in which to rapidly create jobs for the masses of skilled and unskilled laborers who were out of work. At the same time, workers could create hundreds of thousands of dwellings for those living in desperate conditions. Half of the families assigned Ina-Casa homes were like the family at #045 in

[2] Luigi Beretta Anguissola, *I 14 anni del piano Ina-Casa*, (Roma: Staderini, 1963), 7.

the Baths of Caracalla: living in shacks, refugee camps, caves, basements, or with other families.[3]

The documentary *045 Ricostruzione Edilizia* was created by the Christian Democratic-led government in 1952 as a means to promote their successes in addressing the housing and jobs crises three years into the Ina-Casa plan. While it is certainly a work of political propaganda, the film does not over-dramatize the dire living conditions in Italy after the war. It did not have to—for audiences across the country the conditions spoke for themselves. In 1951, thirty-seven percent of Italians were living in overcrowded conditions (defined as more than one person per room) and an additional twenty-two percent were living in extremely overcrowded conditions (defined as more than two people per room).[4] Thus, roughly three in five Italians were living with more than one person per room. The problem was worse in the south, where the average density in Puglia, Basilicata, and Calabria was greater than two people per room in 1951. And, staggeringly, over twenty-percent of southern Italians lived with more than six people per room.[5]

Named after the national insurance agency (Istituto Nazionale d'Assicurazione or INA) that provided the financing, the Ina-Casa plan distributed housing and jobs throughout the nation [Figure 3]. The plan was not only geographically vast, but the sheer

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[3] Ibid., 32.

[4] Housing density was measured in terms of inhabitants per room. A room could mean a bedroom, but common rooms such as the kitchen, living room, and dining room also counted as rooms. Often these functions were combined into a single room where all of the communal activities of the family took place. It was common for some, and sometimes all, family members to sleep in this main living space. The goal in the postwar period was to create enough housing to lower density to one person per room (so that a family of four might have a four room apartment with two bedrooms, a kitchen/dining area, and a living room). Between one and two people per room was considered overcrowded, while anything over two people per room was extremely overcrowded. See Ibid., 7-8.

[5] Ibid.

number of new homes constructed in a short span of time was impressive. Between 1949 and 1963, Fanfani's plan to combat unemployment resulted in the construction of nearly 400,000 new homes. In the plan's first seven-year phase, or *settennio* (1949–56), 500 new homes were built per week. In the second *settennio* (1956–63) that number increased to 700 homes per week.[6] As such, Ina-Casa construction comprised a significant share of total new residential construction. During the building boom of the 1950s, Ina-Casa homes accounted for nine percent of all new homes built. In terms of employment, the plan directly created 102 million work-days and indirectly created an additional 150 million work-days in related sectors of the building industry.[7] Architects and engineers benefited from the jobs plan too: roughly one out of every three architects worked for the plan at some point. Even before the Ina-Casa plan ended in 1963 the housing situation had been significantly improved: in 1961 the average density in Italy had dropped to 1.08 people per room from 1.27 in 1951. In the Basilicata and Calabria regions, density was 1.57 and 1.56 people per room by 1961, where it had been over 2 people per room just ten years earlier.

The administrators and architects of Ina-Casa did not, however, limit their aspirations to simply creating jobs and basic shelters as many earlier public housing programs had done. They recognized such massive reconstruction projects opened the way for, and even demanded, a rethinking of public housing. Instead of the austere—even rustic—conditions created by earlier public housing projects, the architects of Ina-Casa were more ambitious. Luigi Berretta Anguissola extolled the virtues of the plan's

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[6] Ibid., 87.

[7] Istat (Istituto Nazionale di Statistica) measured the results in terms of work-days presumably because it was difficult to meaure in terms of jobs created since the nature of the construction industry could be temporary work even if it lasted a year or more.

aspirations, "to give workers a civilized home, studied in ways so that each can feel it his own and where each man can feel himself a citizen of a new community."[8] It was not just its vast numerical goals, but also Ina-Casa's psychological and sociological aims that enabled designers to view their work as part of a much larger and potentially transformative national effort. The new homes of Ina-Casa could uplift an entire class of people by providing them with those settings and amenities necessary for a civilized life. Italians would no longer be forced to live in shanties, caves, and barracks; for the first time the working-class would live in dignified homes outfitted with running water, electricity, and indoor plumbing. Moreover, they would have separate spaces for the various functions of domestic life including a bathroom, bedrooms, kitchen, dining area, and even a living room for relaxation and leisure activities. The new homes of Ina-Casa thus enabled the working-class to be active participants and citizens in the new Italian Republic. Thus the plan had two definitive functions—one the pragmatic need for jobs and homes, and the other an aspiration to redefine the national community by uplifting the working-class.

This study uses Ina-Casa as a lens through which to trace the transformation of postwar Italy both in regards to the physical fabric of the nation and the idea of Italy in the collective imagination. It examines the tangible and concrete effects of Ina-Casa homes on the lives of Italians, as well as the ways in which the understanding of the nation was redefined through the neighborhoods of Ina-Casa after 1945. Architecture and urbanism have a particular ability to serve nation-building projects in these two capacities: one symbolic and the other direct and concrete. In the chapters that follow the

[8] "dare al lavoratore una casa civile, studiata in modo che ciascuno possa sentirla sua, e dove ciascuno si senta cittadino di una nuova comunità", Beretta Anguissola, XXIII.

neighborhoods of Ina-Casa will be read at three different levels in connection to three points of intersection between the physical environment and the imagined community: urban design and class; architecture and the use of tradition; and the domestic environment as a civilizing agent. The scalar differences going from urban planning and design to architecture, and finally to interior design, permit us to dissect the various circles of Italian identity and allegiance, including those tied to national, regional, metropolitan, neighborhood, and family connections. Complicating these notions of community and identity based on scale, blood, and geography were class-based alliances. Whether one hailed from the countryside or a city could also become a defining characteristic and source of division or unity. In postwar Italy, region or city of origin was an important source of identity or allegiance, particularly for southerners who migrated north in the 1950s. This study uses the perspectives made possible by urban design, architecture, and interior design to construct this matrix of identities and communities and thereby understand how the tensions between such allegiances unfolded in the postwar era.

The complexity of the problem is suggested by the projects themselves. At the urban planning and design scale, Ina-Casa projects are often reminiscent of rural villages but tend to be located on the edge of towns or major metropolitan regions. These characteristics suggest something about how the Italian community as a whole was conceived by Ina-Casa officials and designers as well as the role and place of the working-class in that community. Locating working-class neighborhoods on the periphery of major cities, for example, illustrates that despite postwar discussions of its needs, the working-class was being made physically invisible in the metropolis by being

relegated to the edge. In this way, these neighborhoods reveal something about the definition of the "we" of the nation; who belongs to the imagined community of the nation and in what capacity.

For the buildings that make up a neighborhood, formal or stylistic traditions can be used to symbolize aspects or aspirations of a nation; references to particular historical styles can make connections to select pasts. When this process of choosing and revising bits of historical fabric is used in the service of nation-building, invented traditions are produced. These are different from genuine traditions or customs, which are variable and so common in practice that they need not be invented or revived. Eric Hobsbawm defines "invented traditions" as:

> a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.[9]

The use of classical architecture in national capitals, for example, is a common type of "invented tradition" because it suggests a continuity with ancient ideals that is largely constructed. Similarly, Ina-Casa designs employ direct references to select parts of visual culture while rejecting others. In this process, as Homi Bhabha describes, "the scraps, the patches, and rags of daily life must repeatedly be turned into the signs of a national culture."[10] Architecture is well suited to this task of symbolizing the abstract ideals and values of the nation precisely because the meaning of a building's form, space, and detailing is rarely clear and almost always mutable. Thus a single building can unite

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[9] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Tradition," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm, and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: University Press, 1983), 1.
[10] Homi K. Bhabha, *Nation and narration*, (London ; New York: Routledge, 1990), 297.

seemingly contradictory ideas. By examining which aspects of Italian culture are selected and adapted through the designs of Ina-Casa we can begin to understand how the designers envisioned the new Italian Republic. At the same time, the disregarded, erased, or rejected pasts and customs illustrate another way that the nation is defined: through opposition. In postwar Italy, there was a persistent tension between continuity with the Fascist past in terms of leadership and bureaucracy and the desire to symbolically reject it. By examining those customs and histories chosen and also those rejected, we can understand how outwardly new traditions could be used to mask continuity.

The symbolic side of the nation-building project is, however, only half of the story told by Ina-Casa. In addition to crafting a new visual symbol of Italy in the postwar period, its architects and administrators also had a more concrete influence on the way Italians lived their daily lives. Throughout the 1950s, hundreds of Italian families moved from shanty-towns, caves, and barracks into their new Ina-Casa homes every week. Their interiors implied new behavioral expectations for the family through the provision of certain amenities and utilities as well as new kinds of arrangements for semi-public and private spaces. Thus the redesign of the domestic sphere was also a redesign of Italian family life. The new homes subsumed local customs and habits with new norms thereby fulfilling another function of "invented traditions," the ability to "socialize or inculcate values or beliefs."[11] The provision of indoor plumbing, for example, demanded a new type of personal hygiene ritual, while living rooms separated from the kitchen and dining area suggested time for leisure. Consequently, the Ina-Casa plan had the somewhat inconspicuous yet enormous power to remake Italian family life by determining the

[11] Hobsbawm 9.

rituals and routines of daily life—where and how one slept, ate, relaxed, did laundry, and more—for more than a million people.

Examining how Italy re-imagined itself after 1945 reveals not only those aspects of nation-building that are particular to Italy, but also offers some insight into how nations in general are redefined after a state fails through total war and its people are faced with the catastrophic consequences. In order to understand the particular problem of Italian identity in 1945 we must recall that the peninsula and islands had only been unified as a nation in 1861, less than a century earlier. Preceding unification the territory that we know as Italy today, was divided into a number of states with different forms of governance. The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies controlled Sicily and much of the south; the Kingdom of Sardinia ruled much of the northwest including Turin and Genoa, as well as Sardinia; the Papacy controlled sections of central and northern Italy, while the rest of the center and north was broken up into city-states, or remained in foreign hands. Austrians, French, Russians, the families of the Hapsburgs, Savoy, and Bourbon, as well as the Papacy and local elites, all vied for control of parts of the peninsula and islands throughout the nineteenth-century. Only after a series of insurrections and occupations led by Italian nationalists, was the peninsula finally united as the Kingdom of Italy in 1861 under the leadership of the Savoy monarchs of Piedmont. It would be another ten years, however, before Italian troops finally succeeded in taking Rome from Papal control and made it the capital. Two regions of the north, Istria and the Tyrol, only became part of the Italian territory after the First World War. The territorial boundaries of Italy remained largely intact after the Second World War with one major exception—

the Italian colonies. The relative continuity of how the nation was physically defined was one characteristic that eased the difficulties of the postwar rebuilding project.[12]

Not only was the Italian nation still relatively young in 1945, for many Italians the previous two decades under Mussolini and Fascism (1922–44) were inextricably intertwined with what it meant to be Italian. It seemed that Fascism had invaded every aspect of culture and daily life—from literature, to art, food, and even sport and leisure activities; only the private realm of domestic family life was somewhat sheltered from complete politicization. By the time the war ended, it had been only twenty-three years since Mussolini first became Prime Minister in 1922; yet "Italian" culture, foreign policy, and symbols were now identified as "Fascist" culture, policy and symbols. In order to redefine Italy, Italians first had to extract and reject what they perceived as the Fascist aspects of the nation. This task of extraction would prove to be impossible since most Italians had some passive or active connection to the regime. Instead of rejecting the policies, bureaucracies, and leaders associated with Fascism, postwar politicians and designers often sought a symbolic means to whitewash the recent past.

The experiences of the war not only worsened pre-existing social and cultural divisions, they also created new tensions and divisions. Italy began the war in 1940 on the side of Germany and ended it five years later on the side of the allies. After Mussolini was deposed and imprisoned in 1943, the king appointed a new prime minister, Marshal Badoglio. Seeing that the Italian support for the war was waning, the new prime minister and the king turned against the Germans and signed an armistice with the allies. The

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[12] On Italy during the war see Paul Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy: Society and Poltics 1943-1988*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 8-71. On the Italian experience under Fascism see R. J. B. Bosworth, *Mussolini's Italy: Life under the dictatorship, 1915-1945*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2006).

Germans invaded Italy from the north, while the Allies invaded through the south. The Germans rescued Mussolini from prison and re-installed him in a puppet regime, the Republic of Salò in the north of Italy. When the Germans took Rome, the king and prime minister fled to Brindisi in the south, abandoning the capital. Throughout the center and north there was a widespread resistance against the Germans and remaining Fascists. Armed groups of partisans organized resistance acts and successfully liberated and governed parts of the north. Towards the end of the war partisans caught Mussolini trying to escape, and executed him.

The history of Italy's role in the war has bearing on the present study because it reminds us of the range of different experiences Italians had during that period. It was nearly a year after the Allies entered Sicily that Rome was finally freed from the Germans in the summer of 1944. And it was another ten months before partisans liberated Milan. Thus, the war was essentially over in the south two years before it ended in the north. In addition to the national identity crisis provoked by changing sides in the midst of war, after the switch to the side of the allies there were three different Italian governments ruling simultaneously. The king and the prime minister ruled from the south, the Resistance governments controlled large parts of the north, and Mussolini reigned over the Republic of Salò. Adding to this confusion were two invading adversaries: the Germans and the Allies. As a consequence of the ways in which the conflict played out across the country, Italians did not have a single shared experience of the war, a common ground upon which to move forward. In fact, their experiences varied enormously. Complicating matters further in 1946, the Italian people voted out the monarchy, sending the male members of the royal family into exile as punishment for

King Victor Emmanuel III's cooperation with the Fascist regime. There were those afterwards who remained loyal to the Fascists, or to the royal family. Others considered the partisans to be the national saviors. Exacerbating this political and social fragmentation, after the war, Italy became a central front in the Cold War between capitalism and communism, as well as east and west.[13]

In addition to a lack of a common wartime experience, Italians had to contend with the regional diversity that had long presented stumbling blocks to any shared sense of community or nationality. While no nation is ever as homogeneous and unified as its idealized state may suggest, those markers of common culture such as language, food, and daily practices, which bond a people together and form the fabric of any nation-building project, were simply not shared across the country. In 1945 there were still deep divisions, particularly from north to south. The bonds of single language, which Benedict Anderson cites as crucial to constructing the imagined community of the nation, simply did not exist in postwar Italy.[14] Not only did Italians speak regional dialects, they often spoke different languages altogether—German, French and Slavic languages were commonly spoken in parts of the north. The many dialects were also mutually unintelligible with remnants of ancient Greek, for example, persisting in parts of the south. Internal migration patterns in the postwar years brought these regional and cultural differences into focus, forcing "Italians" of all different kinds into daily

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[13] On how Italian Fascism is memorialized and understood after the fall of the regime see, for example, R. J. B. Bosworth and Patrizia Dogliani, *Italian fascism: History, memory, and representation*, (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: New York, N. Y.: Macmillan; St. Martin's, 1999).
[14] Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, (London; New York: Verso, 1991).

encounters. Although Italy was nearly a century old in 1945, the task of "making Italians" remained largely incomplete in the postwar era.

In 1945, with Mussolini dead, the Fascists defeated, the royal family expelled, and persisting cultural differences, there was much to divide the nation and seemingly little to bring it together. Yet, the Fascist legacy did endow the fragmented nation with one powerful tool of unification: a common enemy. If the leaders of the left and right could not agree on international politics, economics, or social policy, the majority could generally agree on their desire to symbolically reject and distance themselves from the recent past, even if in practice they failed to make a real break.[15] One of the easiest ways to define the character of the new nation was to define what it was not, that is to define it through contrast or opposition to the foil of Fascist Italy. In fact, both the Christian Democrats and the Communists claimed leading roles in the Resistance against the Fascists as their basis for legitimacy. They argued that their opposition to the previous government gave them the right to lead the new republic.

Along with this rejection of Fascism, however, came a suspicion of nationalism altogether. Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny explain the mood in Europe:

> In the intellectual climate of the two postwar decades, with its stress on larger political communities, self-confessedly nationalist affiliations became somewhat disreputable and archaic, a symptom of regional backwardness eventually to be overcome.[16]

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[15] The public desire to reject the fascist past was coupled with a great deal of continuity in government. As Paul Ginsborg details "80% of judges in 1975 had been seated under fascism." In other words, there was a rhetorical political strategy and a pragmatic one that had little to do with one another.

[16] Geoff and Ronald Grigor Suny Eley, "Introduction: From the Moment of Social History to the Work of Cultural Representation," in *Becoming National: A Reader*, ed. Geoff and Ronald Grigor Suny Eley (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 5.

In the context of such overt anti-nationalist sentiment a country like Italy would have to be redefined and unified—not through the bombastic capital building projects most often associated with nationalist building campaigns, nor through the pompous pageantry and resurrection of ancient regalia, but rather in more subtle and guarded expressions. Precisely because Ina-Casa's agenda was not grandiose or weighted down with lavish and extravagant symbolism, it presented an ideal opportunity to define the character of the new Italy.

This study will use the Ina-Casa plan to investigate how Italy responded to the war and its crises as well as how it rebuilt itself both physically and spiritually. By bringing together multiple scales of engagement—from urban planning and design to architecture and interiors—in a single analysis, this study will create connections between the socio-political context and architectural culture of the postwar period. Previous studies of Ina-Casa have been limited in their analysis due either to a lack of historical distance or to a singular focus on one aspect of the plan, or on one region or neighborhood. The best example of the first type of study, lacking historical distance, is Luigi Beretta Anguissola's *I 14 anni del piano Ina-Casa,* which details the development and results of the Ina-Casa plan in statistical and descriptive terms.[17] Published in 1963 at the behest of the Ina-Casa administration, the text was designed to both document and promote the successes of the plan through a detailed narrative complemented by charts, graphs, and photographs illustrating everything from the financial contributions of the various groups to the percentage of immigrants given housing in a particular region, to

[17] Beretta Anguissola.

photographs and drawings of exemplary neighborhoods. It remains, however, an indispensable primary source for information on the Ina-Casa plan.

Although Berretta Anguissola lacks both the critical historical distance that only time can create, Paola Di Biagi, in her *La Grande Ricostruzione: Il piano Ina-Casa e l'Italia degli anni cinquanta,* more than makes up for it, while at the same time providing the rich discourse and the diverse perspectives provided by a scholarly community. Published in 1999 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the inception of the plan, di Biagi's edited volume brings together the voices of thirty-one Italian architects and scholars, along with interviews with some of the original leading figures who worked on the plan, and photographs of the neighborhoods today. The seven essays in Part One, "Objectives and methods," range from Paolo Nicoloso's thorough documentation and analysis of how the ideas and legislation for the plan developed, to Antonio Ratti's account of the holdings of the Ina-Casa archive and Patrizia Gabellini's analysis of the Ina-Casa manuals. The second section, "Results, contexts, and interpretations" provides a look at the plan from six different theoretical and historical viewpoints, including Maristella Casciato's discussion of Realism and Neorealism and Leonardo Ciacci's essay on the relationship between Ina-Casa and film. In the final section, "Itineraries," architects and scholars take us through some of the most significant neighborhoods, stretching from Sardinia (Alessandra Casu) to Cerignola (Valerio Palmieri), Brescia (Laura Montedoro) and beyond. The size and reach of the Ina-Casa plan makes the task of writing a conclusive or comprehensive history inconceivable, but through the plurality of voices and approaches the essays of *La Grande Ricostruzione* indicates future directions for discourse and research. Moreover Part One, in particular, establishes much

of the essential history of the plan as well as providing an invaluable primary source—interviews with Filiberto Guala and Renato Bonelli both of whom worked for the Ina-Casa administration in Rome.[18]

Italian architectural journals from the postwar period, such as *Rassegna*, *L'Architettura*, *Urbanistica*, *Casabella continuità*, and *Metron*, often covered the progress and projects of Ina-Casa. Nearly every issue of *L'Architettura* in the 1950s, for example, features a short article by Renato Bonelli of the Ina-Casa Projects Office, illustrated with drawings and photographs. Although the scope of these articles is usually limited, they do provide an important sense of the context in which the architectural profession understood such working-class housing projects. Occasionally, more substantive reflections on Ina-Casa projects were published in journals of the time. One of the most important sources for information on the Tiburtino neighborhood in Rome, for example, are the 1957 articles in *Casabella continuità* in which some of the project's designers reflected on the project years after its completion.[19] In addition to these sources this study draws on research from a number of Italian archives. The Ina-Casa archive in Rome provided many of the key documents and publications related to the plan.[20] Documents and drawings relevant to individual projects, however, were for the most part

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[18] In many ways the scholarship on Ina-Casa follows the regional divisions of the plan, with some of the best recent work focused on a single city or region, such as Florence, Fruili, and Naples. See the bibliography for a full list of sources on Ina-Casa.

[19] Carlo Aymonino, Carlo Chiarini, Federico Gorio, and Ludovico Quaroni, "Unità residenziale al km. 7 della Via Tiburtina," *Casabella continuità* 215, no. (1957); Ludovico Quaroni, "Il Paese dei barocchi," *Casabella continuità* 215, no. (1957).

[20] For an account of the holdings of the Ina-Casa archive in Rome see Antonio Ratti, "Il fondo Ina-Casa nell'Archivio storico dell'Ina," in *La Grande Ricostruzione: Il Piano Ina-Casa e l'Italia degli anni cinquanta*, ed. Paola Di Biagi (Roma: Donzelli Editore, 2001).

found in archives maintained by local agencies and governments or in private family archives.[21]

The present study builds on the work of Berretta Anguissola as well as more recent scholarship including di Biagi's *La Grande Ricostruzione* in order to investigate the Ina-Casa plan as an artifact of the nation-building process. In seeking to read working-class housing for its political meaning and influence, this study follows and bears the influence of earlier studies on housing and politics, particularly Eve Blau's work on Vienna, Nicole Rudolph's study of housing in postwar France, and the work of Mia Fuller, Medina Lasansky, and Diane Ghirardo on Fascist Italy.[22] The discussion that follows in Chapter One, "The Development of the Ina-Casa Plan," details how the legislation for the plan was drafted and debated, the organization of Ina-Casa as an institution, how designs were generated and approved, and the resident selection process. These mechanics of the plan begin to illustrate how, in terms of policy and process, Italy was transformed from the ruinous state showcased in *045 Ricostruzione Edilizia* to a nation in which families were able to move from hovels to homes. The major political figures responsible for the creation of the Ina-Casa legislation are introduced. Moreover, the story of how the legislation was developed and the administration was organized is detailed.

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[21] For a list of archives consulted for this study see the Bibliography.
[22] Eve Blau, *The architecture of Red Vienna, 1919-1934*, (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1999). Nicole Rudolph, "At home in postwar France: The design and construction of domestic space, 1945-1975" (Dissertation, New York University, 2005). Mia Fuller, "Tradition as a means to the end of tradition: Farmer's houses in Italy's Fascist-era new towns," in *The end of tradition?*, ed. Nezar AlSayyad (London; New York: Routledge, 2004); Mia Fuller, *Moderns abroad: Architecture, Cities, and Italian Imperialism*, (New York: Routledge, 2006). Diane Yvonne Ghirardo, *Building new communities: New Deal America and Fascist Italy*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989).

Chapter Two, "Envisioning a New Italy: The Projects Office of Ina-Casa," locates the Ina-Casa plan and the design theories within the broader context of European architectural debates. The administration published four design manuals, which were to guide architects working on the plan. As illustrations of the intentions of the administration, the design manuals form the centerpiece of this discussion. Rejecting some ideas and embracing others, Ina-Casa's approach to design aws developed and pursued in relationship to earlier and contemporary ideas as well as movements, both Italian, such as the APAO (l'Associazione per l'architettura organica) led by Bruno Zevi and the Comunità led by Adriano Olivetti, and international, such as Sweden's New Empiricism.

After a brief introduction to the results of the plan and three case study neighborhoods, how the Ina-Casa vision played out in reality is discussed in Part II. Case studies of three neighborhoods in Bologna, Rome, and Matera, spanning from the first *settennio* into the second, allow for a comparison of how the plan was implemented in different geographical and temporal contexts. The case studies illustrate how the architecture and urbanism of Ina-Casa reflects not only the theory of design articulated in the manuals but also the vision of individual architects, the influence of earlier buildings, and the particular circumstances of each project.

Chapter Three, "Building Community," focuses on urban planning and urban design in order to investigate questions of community and class. The migration patterns of the postwar period, coupled with the social upheaval caused by the war, destabilized regional and class differences. In the neighborhoods of Ina-Casa Italians of different backgrounds and speaking different dialects had little choice but to directly confront their

many differences. Through their designs, the architects of Ina-Casa were prescribing everything from where the working-class would be located within the city, to how they would access the city center, to where they would shop, worship, attend school, and more. Starting at the city scale, we can understand how postwar society was being organized and re-organized by class. Locating Ina-Casa neighborhoods on the periphery of major cities, for example, illustrates that despite postwar discussions of its needs, the working-class was being made physically invisible in the metropolis by being relegated to its edge. In this way, these neighborhoods reveal something about the definition of the "we" of the nation; who belongs to the imagined community of the nation and in what capacity.[23]

Chapter Four, "Drawing on Tradition: Appropriations of Local Histories in the Neighborhoods of Ina-Casa," focuses on the architecture of Ina-Casa neighborhoods as a means to examine how designers rejected some traditions but also resurrected, adapted, and invented others in order to represent a new vision of a nation. This project of redefining Italy was not a rejection of all of its history. Rather, coupled with an attempt to reject a very specific past, that of Fascism, there is also a desire to recover local traditions, which varied greatly from region to region. Thus, these projects offer a lens through which to explore how Italy's own geography was used and represented in the making of the new postwar nation. The use of Italian vernacular architecture as a starting point indicates more than simply a historical period: it suggests a class affiliation as well.

Chapter Five, "Inside the Homes of Ina-Casa," examines the interiors of Ina-Casa homes in order to understand how designers sought to reshape the daily lives of Italians

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[23] Anderson.

through domestic design. Residential architecture has a particular ability to act as a reforming agent, as a means to make a particular type of citizen by organizing and regulating one's life. This impact is exponentially greater when the housing units are standardized and repeated throughout the nation, as with Ina-Casa. As Phillipe Boudon has suggested, attempts to standardize national housing projects are often at some level also attempts to standardize the modern family.[24] Gender within the family and class roles within a society can be socialized through the arrangement of space and even through interior décor. Women's spaces within the home may, for example, be defined as more or less public depending on how women are imagined to function in society. In the case of Ina-Casa, much attention was paid to how best to organize the kitchen and dining areas, whether they should be separate, connected, or united. These details of spatial planning were recognized as having the power to organize the lives of residents. Chapter Five also considers how the residents received their new new Ina-Casa homes. The results from a 1956 survey undertaken by the administration, supplemented by interviews with current and past residents help shed light on how Ina-Casa was understood in Italy's different regions.

The final section, the Conclusion, "The Legacy of Ina-Casa" considers the Ina-Casa plan from the perspective of critics at the time and today with more than half a century of distance. Finally, a description or photograph of an early Ina-Casa neighborhood is likely to provoke the word "postmodernism" from an astute reader or viewer. Indeed, the connection between this theory of design and early neighborhoods is a real one. The Conclusion looks at the legacy of Ina-Casa with particular attention to the

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[24] Philippe Boudon, *Lived-In Architecture: Le Corbusier's Pessac Revisited* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1979): 27.

connections between the Ina-Casa theory of design and the work of Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi. These connections illustrate one of the ways in which the legacy of Ina-Casa extended beyond the plan's fourteen years and the borders of Italy.

Chapter One
The Development of the Ina-Casa Plan

An Italian newsreel from 1957 documents the ribbon cutting ceremony for the Fuorigrotta Ina-Casa quarter in Naples. The name Fuorigrotta literally means outside the cave and the clip begins with the narrator's declaration: "Fuorigrotta is not only symbolic in Naples where there exists the problem of giving houses to those who still live in caves."[25] The Mayor and a Government Minister are shown proudly walking around the site among crowds of excited workers and families. A priest reads from the bible and blesses the site with holy water. Later we see men graciously accepting keys to their new homes. Towards the end of the short clip we watch as a family enters their new home and run out to their balcony to survey the view. As the family looks out, the narrator explains that it is also the First Communion Day for one of the children. In the final shot, the camera focuses on the Church directly across the street from the family's new apartment.

That politicians, priests, and needy families were all brought together in this sixty-second version of events is no surprise. The Ina-Casa program was created in the midst of a political crisis with international implications with Italy positioned in the middle of a tug-of-war between the Soviet Union and the United States. On one side were the conservative Christian Democrats, led by Alcide De Gasperi, and allied with both the

[25] "Fuorigrotta, non neanche simbolico a Napoli dove esiste il problema di dare le case a chi ancora vivono nelle grotte." *L'INA-CASA consegna 600 nuovi alloggi a Napoli*, (Italy: Luce).

Catholic Church and the Americans. On the other side were the Italian Communists, (PCI) led by Palmiro Togliatti, and the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) led by Pietro Nenni, allied with the Soviet Union, and smaller left wing parties. The Communists had played a leading role in the Italian Resistance, providing the party with a powerful argument that they should lead the new Italy. This was fulfilled when the partisan Resistance fighter Ferruccio Parri became prime minister in June 1945. Parri's term, however, was short-lived (June-November 1945). But even after the Christian Democrats took the helm under the leadership of Alcide De Gasperi in December of 1945, it was through an alliance with the Left. Ultimately, however, these moments of unity were brief, as the nation increasingly became divided between Left and Right, conservative and progressive, mirroring the international divisions of the Cold War.[26] In May 1947, De Gasperi excluded the Communists from his government altogether.

The general elections of 1948 tested whether or not the Christian Democrats had the necessary support to govern without the Communists. The Christian Democrats attacked the Italian Communist Party for its connection to the bloody legacy of the Soviet Union during the war. The Communists counterattacked by portraying the Christian Democrats as puppets of President Truman and the United States, and as dangerous to the young republic because of their ties to Fascism [Figure 4]. The campaign was more than representative of international tensions—it became a heated battleground in the developing Cold War. As Paul Ginsborg described it:

> Never again, in the whole history of the Republic, was a campaign to be fought so bitterly on both sides, or to be influenced so heavily by international events. American intervention was breath-taking in its size, its ingenuity and its flagrant

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[26] On postwar Italian political developments see Ginsborg.

> contempt for any principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of another country.[27]

In the event of a Communist victory, the U.S. had the audacity to plan how they could motivate and support an uprising against the left and, if necessary, stage an occupation of Sicily and Sardinia. The Catholic Church also did what it could to intervene in the campaign, calling it a "mortal sin" not to vote or to vote for parties that did not respect the Church.[28] The strategy worked. The Christian Democrats won with an astounding forty-eight percent of the vote to the leftist coalition Popular Front's thirty-one percent. The Christian Democrats were victorious, but their power rested on shaky ground in a country where inflation, jobs, housing, and simply getting enough to eat were pressing concerns for millions. De Gasperi recognized that in order to maintain power, the Christian Democrats had to act quickly to address the very real problems faced by the populace.

With the Communists out of the government, De Gasperi made more room for the left wing of the Christian Democrats in his new government. Among them was Amintore Fanfani whom he appointed to lead the Ministry of Labor and Social Security. Fanfani (1908–99), a professor of economics, eventually became prime minister six different times between 1954 and 1987. Born in Tuscany and educated at the Catholic University of Milan, Fanfani was nicknamed "the little professor" and was a member of a political group of *professorini* along with Giuseppe Dossetti and Giorgio La Pira. Throughout his life Fanfani worked to reconcile capitalist economic principles with his Catholic faith, first in his role as an academic and then as a political leader. At age twenty-six, his first

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[27] Ibid., 115.
[28] Ibid., 117.

book was published, *Catholicism, Protestantism, and Capitalism* (1934). Responding to Max Weber's classic essay *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,* Fanfani argued that an individual's needs or desires should not supersede the common interest. Government must monitor and regulate the economic system and in certain cases had an ethical obligation to actively intervene in the market.[29]

Before his postwar political rise, Fanfani was an active member of the Fascist party, writing and organizing in support of the regime, and even supporting some of its most controversial policies.[30] In the Fascists, Fanfani saw a political order that offered something between free-market capitalism and Communism as well as an authority with the necessary power to act decisively and control the excesses of the free market. He searched for a way in which government could mitigate the potentially inhumane consequences of free market capitalism. Fanfani fled to Switzerland after Mussolini was ousted, returning to Italy after the end of the war and winning election to the national assembly in 1946. Thirty-eight years old at the time, Fanfani was a close ally of De Gasperi. He became a central figure in the left wing of the Christian Democratic Party and went on to build controversial alliances with the non-Communist left in order to maintain power. As Fanfani himself later explained, "We didn't want to make love with the Socialists. But we had to reinforce the base of support for the government."[31] By moving towards the center and by co-opting popular positions of the left, the Christian Democrats were able to win and maintain power for more than forty years.

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[29] Paolo Nicoloso, "Genealogie del piano Fanfani, 1939-50," in *La Grande Ricostruzione: Il Piano Ina-Casa e l'Italia degli anni cinquanta*, ed. Paola Di Biagi (Roma: Donzelli Editore, 2001), 48.
[30] On Fanfani see Vincenzo La Russa, *Amintore Fanfani*, (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2006).
[31] Alessandra Stanley, "A. Fanfani, Italy and U.N. Leader, Dies at 91," *New York Times* 1999.

Yet to suggest that Fanfani's motives for positioning himself towards the left of his party were purely political would be unfair. In some ways, the same economic theories that motivated him to support the Fascist government still drove him in the postwar period. Throughout his career, he sought to negotiate between the economic benefits of free market capitalism and the social values of Catholicism. As Kenneth Westhues explains:

> In Fanfani's view, capitalism is defined by the removal of religious and moral limits on the pursuit of wealth. The capitalist spirit is essentially freedom from concern for God and the common good, self-interest unrestrained by anything but law. Fanfani describes, moreover, how states have steadily reduced the law so as to make purely economic criteria the sole basis of rational order.[32]

Once Fanfani was appointed Minister of Labor and Social Security, he had the opportunity to start testing his theories in practice. Believing that the power of the government could be used to address the postwar employment crisis, Fanfani looked to the economic theories of John Maynard Keynes and the precedent of the American New Deal programs such as the Works Progress Administration (W.P.A.). Following on these theories and examples, he sought a way to use the power of the state to stimulate job growth.

The head of INA, the national insurance agency, Annetto Puggioni, was ready for Fanfani.[33] Puggioni had drafted a proposal similar to the Ina-Casa plan two years earlier and presented it to Prime Minister De Gasperi without success. Once Fanfani was appointed, Puggioni had an ally who was searching for exactly what he was already

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[32] Kenneth Westhues, "Catholicism, Protestanism, and Capitalism by Amintore Fanfani," *Review of Religious Research* 27, no. 3 (1986): 278.
[33] The best source on how the Ina-Casa legislation was developed as well as the precedents for the plan is Nicoloso.

pitching, a way for the state to intervene in the market and alleviate the suffering of thousands of Italians while addressing the unemployment crisis. Puggioni and Fanfani met in June 1948, and spent three days discussing the outlines of what would eventually become the Ina-Casa or "Fanfani plan." The basic idea of the plan was that INA would issue bonds that would be used to fund new housing construction under a five-year plan. Paolo Nicoloso characterizes the two ways of understanding the plan:

> One can read the plan in a double key; the first, as a maneuver designed to re-launch the economy through employment, building homes for those who have none; the second, as an instrument of institutionalized charity on the national scale, of united participation by all the members of society on behalf of the most needy, a gesture of generosity by millions of workers that give up– as the propaganda repeats– the equivalent of a cigarette per day to help their poorest companions. [34]

Both Fanfani's commitment to Capitalism and Catholic faith were reflected in the plan. Fanfani's belief in the state's role as the mediator against the amorality and excesses of market-capitalism thus found an ideal expression in the Ina-Casa plan.

The idea that the state should develop a national plan to build workers' housing by relying on local cooperatives and housing agencies was not a novel one in the postwar period. Paolo Nicoloso has traced the precedents in architectural circles for the Ina-Casa plan. [35] As he details, a number of leading thinkers and architects had been calling for something similar to the Ina-Casa plan for years. These sources included ideas generated under Fascism, during the war, and afterwards. Intellectuals, politicians, and architects

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[34] "Si può allora leggere il piano in una duplice chiave: la prima, come una manovra atta a rilanciare l'economia attraverso l'occupazione, costruendo case per chi non ne ha; la seconda, come un dispositivo di carità istituzionalizzata a scala nazionale, di partecipazione solidaristica di tutte le componenti sociali verso i più bisognosi, un gesto di generosità di milioni di lavoratori che rinunciano – come recita la propaganda – all'equivalente di una sigaretta al giorno per aiutare i loro compagni più poveri." Ibid., 49.
[35] Ibid.

debated their ideas in numerous proposals and publications. Giuseppe Pagano and Piero Bottoni, for example, advocated in favor of state intervention in the housing market on behalf of workers for years, culminating with Bottoni's 1945 publication *La Casa a Chi Lavora.*[36] Moreover, the Fascist official Gino Miniati had proposed a plan to fund workers' housing through INA or INPS (*Istituto Nazionale della Previdenza Sociale)* that bore similarities to Ina-Casa. Finally Rosario Purpura, who worked in the Fascist Ministry of Corporations and for Fanfani in the Employment Ministry after the war, also collaborated on the plan and authored the book *Le Case per I Lavoratori* (1950).[37] Thus the basic ideas, which ultimately came to fruition through the Ina-Casa plan, had been circulating in both architectural and political circles for some time.

The most significant precedent for the Ina-Casa plan was probably the many cooperative building agencies scattered throughout the country dedicated to providing housing for workers. The passage of the Ina-Casa legislation did not mark the beginning of publicly funding housing programs in Italy, but was another iteration in a long tradition of government sponsored housing programs.[38] For decades, Italians had formed local building cooperatives that addressed the need for housing collectively and these cooperatives would become an integral part of the Ina-Casa plan—they were often the local agency working on the site. The *Istituto per le Case Popolari* (ICP), later renamed

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[36] Piero Bottoni, *La casa a chi lavoro*, (Milano: Gorlich, 1945).
[37] Rosario Purpura, *Le Case per i Lavoratori: Il Piano Fanfani*, (Roma: J. Sapi, 1950).
[38] On history of public housing in Italy during the Fascist and postwar periods see Lando Bortolotti, *Storia della politica edilizia in Italia*, (Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1978). On the history of public housing legislation in Italy see Anna R. Minelli, *La politica per la casa*, (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 2004). On the history of public housing legislation in Italy seeGiuseppe Matulli, *I provvedimenti legislativi sull'edilizia economica e popolare in Italia dal 1865 ad oggi*, (Firenze: Dipartimento statistico-matematico dell'Università di Firenze, 1969). Some of the best sources on *case popolari* are those histories published by individual agencies, especially regional building cooperatives. See, for example, *Per Bologna: Novant'anni di attività dell'Istituto Autonomo case Popolari 1906-1996*, (Bologna: Rolo Banca 1473, 1996).

the *Istituto Autonomo per le Case Popolari* (IACP) was, and continues to be, the most common type of affordable housing agency, usually organized at the city or regional level. The Fascists also created their own version of working-class housing through the *Istituto Fascista per le Case Popolari* (IFCP). The Catholic Church has also sponsored working-class housing construction in Italy. Moreover, employees of particular industries or economic sectors had access to agencies dedicated to meeting their housing needs. The national government, for example, created a special agency to build state workers' housing, INCIS (Istituto nazionale per le case degli impiegati dello Stato). With the need for reconstruction after the war more housing agencies were created including UNRRA-CASAS (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency-CASAS), which built homes for farmers and was funded through the United Nations and the Marshall plan or European Recovery Program.[39]

Beginning in the summer of 1948, the Italian parliament discussed the initial drafts of the Ina-Casa legislation. Debates over the legislation drafts focused mainly on how housing would be assigned and how the plan would be funded. An initial draft included a provision that a lottery system be used to assign homes to workers. The Senate, however, eliminated the lottery system, mandating instead that housing be assigned based on need. As for funding the plan, the early drafts required both workers and employers to make contributions to the plan. At first, this was to be equal to the *tredicesima mensilità* (literally the thirteenth month's salary, an annual bonus usually paid in December), but this was later changed to a regular monthly payment and reduced.

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[39] Federico Gorio, "Il testimone," in *Fanfani e la casa : gli anni Cinquanta e il modello italiano di welfare state : il piano INA-Casa*, ed. Gabriele De Rosa (Roma: Rubbettino; Istituto Luigi Sturzo, 2002), 232.

In addition to the inter-parliamentary debates, the Americans weighed in on the plan. Fanfani met with David Zellerbach from the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), the agency responsible for implementing the Marshall plan. Zellerbach advocated using the plan to stimulate private enterprise, rather than allowing the government to directly hire workers. He also opposed requiring employers to contribute to funding the plan. Although Zellerbach was not entirely pleased with the final law, the ECA did provide thirty billion lire, or roughly fifty million dollars, in funding to Ina-Casa through the Marshall Plan's Lira Fund.[40]

On February 28, 1949 the Ina-Casa or "Fanfani plan" was approved as *Provvedimenti per incrementare l'occupazione operaia, agevolando la costruzione di case per lavoratori* (Provisions to increase workers' employment, by facilitating the construction of workers' housing).[41] The legislation includes twenty-seven articles and focuses primarily on the organizational hierarchy of the Ina-Casa administration and the financing of the plan. Articles one and two are dedicated to laying out the two branches of the administration, the *Comitato d'Attuazione* (Actualization Committee) and the *Gestione* (Management). Each side of the diarchy had a president along with representatives of workers, employers, unions, and relevant professional associations. The legislation was vague, however, when it came to assigning the responsibilities of the

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[40] Nicoloso, 44-45. The Lira Fund was the vehicle through which the Marshall plan was enacted in Italy. American goods were shipped to Italy and sold, with the proceeds collected as the Lira Fund and used to support reconstruction programs such as Ina-Casa. For more on American involvement in reconstruction see John Lamberton Harper, *America and the reconstruction of Italy, 1945-1948*, (Cambridge Cambridgeshire ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986). See also David Ellwood's work on the subject including David W. Ellwood, *Rebuilding Europe: Western Europe, America, and postwar reconstruction*, (London: New York, 1992).

[41] For a copy of the law see Beretta Anguissola, 455-460.

two branches. In addition to these two branches, the law called for the creation of an auditory committee (*Collegio di revisori dei conti*) to ensure funds were used properly.

Articles five and twenty-two outlined the financing of the plan: workers were required to contribute 0.6% of their monthly salary, employers contributed 1.2% of their monthly income, the state contributed 4.3% of total contributions plus 3.2% of the total cost per room. Article ten mandated that no less than one-third of all homes constructed must be built in the south and the islands. It was hoped that this commitment, by being written into the legislation, would begin to address the severe and persistent economic and housing inequity between Italy's north and south. On the question of whether to rent or sell homes to workers, article thirteen mandated that at least half of the homes should be rentals. Other provisions of the legislation addressed issues such as the expropriation of land and residents' responsibilities for maintenance. Article eleven advised that for the actual construction, the *Comitato* could work with other agencies, such as city governments or building cooperatives.

The development of the legislation and initial organization provided the Ina-Casa plan with its conceptual foundation, overall direction, and goals. But how the plan ultimately addressed the physical demands for reconstruction and how it could potentially be used to re-imagine the nation was largely a result of the direction provided by the Ina-Casa leadership and the way in which the legislation was implemented on the ground. It is one thing to put a plan into law; it is another to put it into action. This was up to the members of the newly created Ina-Casa administration. They had the responsibility for transforming the abstract aims and rules of the legislation into thousands of new homes spread across the nation. With that responsibility came the power to determine much of

the urban and architectural character of those new homes, and in doing so, to establish the character of the young republic by determining where and how an entire class of Italians would live.

The Organization of the Ina-Casa Administration

Operationally, the Ina-Casa administration was designed to be small, temporary, and agile. In order to avoid creating a large, permanent bureaucracy, the initial legislation provided only for a single seven-year plan, which was later approved for a second seven-year phase. The plan was decentralized and "capillary" in nature so as to keep the central administration limited and overhead costs low.[42] Most importantly, in addition to the central administration in Rome, there were local governments and pre-existing local agencies such as housing cooperatives, doing much of the work. Ultimately, administrative costs were less than 2.5% of Ina-Casa spending.[43] Local agencies usually had the responsibility for drafting contracts, overseeing construction, and, in most cases, selecting the designers from a list of approved architects and engineers.[44] This power given to local agencies, however, conflicted with the desire of the central administration in Rome to retain control. The result was a persistent tension between the Ina-Casa administration and the local representatives as to who had the greatest control over the implementation of the plan on site. As a result, the administration established and relied heavily on its own rules and norms in order to instruct local agencies and architects as to what kinds of sites, projects, and designs were acceptable for Ina-Casa, and what kind were not.

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[42] Ibid., 22.
[43] Ibid., 94.
[44] For a chart detailing the responsibilities of the various agencies and actors involved see Ibid., 402-5.

The structure within the new Ina-Casa administration reflected the compromise reached in the legislation between Fanfani and Puggioni, the head of INA [Figure 5]. The President of the *Gestione* branch of the administration, which was responsible for the creation of the design guidelines and other rules and norms, was appointed by Puggioni. Fanfani chose the President of the *Comitato di Attuazione*, which managed the finances and coordination with other agencies. The *Comitato* reported directly to the Minister of Labor and Social Security (initially Fanfani) and to the Treasury Secretary for financing.[45]

To lead the *Gestione,* Puggioni nominated the architect Arnaldo Foschini (1884–1968), a controversial political choice because of his personal history.[46] One of the highest-ranking architects under Fascism, Foschini's postwar reputation was only slightly less tainted than some of his colleagues, like Marcello Piacentini, because of his relatively late (1933) membership in the Fascist party. A professor of architecture in Rome throughout the 1930s, Foschini trained many of the rising young architects of the next generation. He was well connected not only in the design community, but also among important politicians and institutions in the capital, including INA. In the Ina-Casa offices, Foschini's political maneuvering and connections earned him the nickname "Cardinal Foschini."[47] The appointment of Foschini sparked controversy among those who did not believe that those who had conspired with Fascists at the highest levels

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[45] On the organization of the Ina-Casa administration see Ibid., XIV-XVI, 11-13.
[46] Nicoloso, 55. On the relationship between architects and the Fascist government see Paolo Nicoloso, *Gli architetti di Mussolini: Scuole e sindicato, architetti e massoni, professori e politici negli anni del regime*, (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1999). For more on Foschini's nomination and on his role as a "ferryman" for the profession see Paolo Nicoloso, "Gli architetti: il rilancio di una professione," in *La Grande Ricostruzione: Il Piano Ina-Casa e l'Italia degli anni cinquanta*, ed. Paola Di Biagi (Roma: Donzelli Editore, 2001).
[47] Paola Di Biagi and Paolo Nicoloso, "Protagonisti: Filiberto Guala e Renato Bonelli," in *La Grande Ricostruzione: Il Piano Ina-Casa e l'Italia degli anni cinquanta*, ed. Paola Di Biagi (Roma: Donzelli Editore, 2001), 141.

should be rewarded with powerful positions in the new republic. An anonymous article published in *Metron*, widely believed to have been authored by Bruno Zevi, criticized the choice of Foschini because of his close ties to Fascism.[48] The politically charged nature of the leadership appointments in the Ina-Casa administration reflected surfacing tensions over the way in which to deal with the recent Fascist past and those who had supported the regime.

For the head of the *Comitato*, Fanfani chose Filiberto Guala, a counterbalance to Foschini and a representative of the *professorini*.[49] Guala (1907–2000) was an engineer from Piedmont and he shared with Amintore Fanfani a devout Catholic faith and northern Italian roots. Guala was acquainted with Fanfani's political circle that included Dossetti and La Pira. In contrast to Foschini's alliances with the Fascists, Guala had been active in the Italian Resistance. Although the legislation did not clearly explain the roles of the two Ina-Casa leaders, eventually an agreement was worked out. As Guala described his role at Ina-Casa:

> Foschini followed the designs more; I instead occupied myself with the administrative aspects, I took part in the meetings held to see how the implementation of the plan was proceeding in the various provinces. I also went to inaugurations, replacing Fanfani when he couldn't be present.[50]

Guala essentially acted as Fanfani's representative in the implementation of the plan, while Foschini represented Puggioni and INA. The two names for the plan—Ina-Casa and *il piano Fanfani* (the Fanfani plan) —represented a division that was more than

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[48] Nicoloso, "La Grande Ricostruzione," 55.
[49] Ibid., 56.
[50] "Foschini seguiva di più i progetti; io invece, mi occupavo degli aspetti amministrativi, partecipavo alle riunioni che venivano fatte per verificare come procedeva l'attuazione del piano nelle diverse province. Andavo anche alle inaugurazioni, sostituendo Fanfani quando lui non poteva essere presente." Di Biagi and Nicoloso, 136.

symbolic: it had tangible roots in the circles of power and the structure of the administration. Moreover, this division mirrored a larger political conflict in postwar Italy. On one side were those who sought continuity in order to preserve the power they had gained under Fascism, while on the other were those who staked their claim to legitimacy on having fought against the Fascists.

Under Foschini's leadership, the *Gestione* office invited a number of accomplished architects, engineers, and urban designers outside the agency to act as outside consultants in various capacities. The design competitions, for example, were juried by a committee that included: Ghino Venturi, Francesco Uras, and Giuseppe Vaccaro. Members of a technical committee included: Saul Greco, Adalberto Libera, Pier Luigi Nervi, Pasquale Carbonara, Giulio Roisecco, Ghino Venturi, Arnaldo Giaccio, and Adriano Olivetti.[51] In 1955 a group of architects, politicians and bureacrats was convened to assess the progress of the plan and recommend changes for the second *settennio.*[52] Thus the leadership of the Ina-Casa administration was not limited to only those in its direct employ; the program was influenced by leading architectural thinkers and designers both inside and outside the administration. While the possible level of engagement varied widely, Adriano Olivetti's involvement as an outside consultant is worth briefly singling out because of his international influence on urban design theories and practices.

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[51] Ibid., 13, 142-3.
[52] The following were present at the 1955 meeting: Giovanni Astengo, Ludovico Barbiano di Belgioioso, Marcello Canino, Pasquale Carbonara, Salvatore Caronia, Carlo Cocchia, Gino Cipriani, Luigi Daneri, Enrico Del Debbio, Raffaello Fagnoni, Arnaldo Giaccio, Saul Greco, Adalberto Libera, Plinio Marconi, Roberto Marino, Giovanni Michelucci, Gaetano Minnucci, Vittorio Ballio Morpurgo, Saverio Muratori, Giovanni Muzio, Pierluigi Nervi, Adriano Olivetti, Roberto Pane, Gio Ponti, Mario Ridolfi, Giulio Roisecco, Giuseppe Samonà, Giuseppe Vaccaro, Cesare Valle, Virginio Vallot, Bruno Zevi, Vittorio Ziino. Beretta Anguissola, 85.

Adriano Olivetti (1901–60) was the son of the Olivetti typewriter company's founder, Camillo Olivetti, and heir to the family business. Although a capable business leader, his intellectual passion was not for manufacturing, but rather directed towards finding a better way to organize society, something between socialism and conservatism, something that was democratic and respected the rights of the individual. In his early writings Olivetti attempted to tackle nearly every pressing issue of the day including the political structure of society, community planning, labor-industry relations, and the role of religion in politics. Ultimately, however, he focused much of his attention on urban design and architecture stemming from his belief that the form of the contemporary city was responsible for many of society's ills. "The old city," he wrote, "is an exhausted form, often horrible, always unhygienic, and incapable of containing the new life in its proper proportions."[53] Urban design and architecture were thus the means through which a community could begin to express political unity and harmony. Olivetti led by example, starting in the 1930s he created a community inspired by utopian examples in Ivrea, where the Olivetti company was headquartered. To promote his agenda, Olivetti laid out his theories on the re-organization of society in various writings, was an active member of the *Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica* (the National Institute of Town planning), and founded the Comunità movement in the 1940s. Olivetti was never a committed Fascist; he was a Liberal Socialist and ardently anti-Communist. Towards the end of his life, in the mid-1950s he focused increasing attention on direct political action. He founded a national party, won election as mayor of Ivrea and later was elected to parliament.

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[53]Adriano Olivetti, *Society, State, community*, (Milano: Edizioni di comunità, 1954), 122. On Olivetti's urban and architectural legacy see Patrizia Bonifazio and Paolo Scrivano, *Olivetti builds: Modern architecture in Ivrea* (Milano: Skira, 2001); Carlo Maria Olmo, *Costruire la città dell'uomo: Adriano Olivetti e l'urbanistica*, (Torino: Edizioni di Comunità, 2001).

Immediately after the Second World War, Olivetti was a leading figure in reconstruction circles. From the 1940s on, he served as the chairman of the United Nations' housing program in Italy, Istituto-UNRRA-CASAS, which focused on building rural homes for agricultural workers, in contrast to Ina-Casa. These kinds of connections were the reason he was brought in to consult on Ina-Casa projects. Olivetti also used his international standing on behalf of the Ina-Casa plan, particularly in negotiations with the Americans.[54] Moreover, he was, at times, directly involved in the designs. As Filiberto Guala recalled Olivetti's role at Ina-Casa headquarters:

> Olivetti helped me with the fundamental work of selecting designers; it was necessary to select the architects and Olivetti helped organize many competitions. He was effectively a collaborator. [55]

The case of Olivetti demonstrates how, although the Ina-Casa administration was limited in size, many key thinkers and activists outside of it were given a role. Although he had opposed Foschini's appointment, Bruno Zevi, the historian and critic who will be discussed in Chapter Two, worked on the design of a neighborhood in Salerno and wrote a promotional essay for the plan.

Nevertheless, none of the personalities at work, whether inside or outside the administration, had control over every key design decision because of the "capillary" nature of the plan. Therefore the process by which an Ina-Casa project was planned and constructed depended on the clear articulation of roles and responsibilities among the many agencies and actors involved. The Ina-Casa administration produced a wide

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[54] Di Biagi and Nicoloso, 138.
[55] "Olivetti mi ha aiutato nella fondamentale operazione di selezione dei progettisti; bisognava saper selezionare gli architetti e Olivetti mi ha aiutato ad organizzare molti concorsi. Era effettivamente un collaboratore." Ibid., 139.

variety of forms and reports for the designers and agencies involved to guide them through the process.[56] They also produced promotional materials such as a report on the first three years of the plan, *Tre anni di attività del piano Fanfani-Case,* which helped to confirm the goals of the plan for all involved.[57] The rapid pace of construction necessitated a clear step-by-step process and constant communication among a number of actors and agencies. In addition to the *Comitato* and *Gestione*, INA inspectors, city governments, local building cooperatives, and the local unemployment office each had roles in the process.

The *Comitato* of the Ina-Casa administration was responsible for managing the financing of the plan, including collecting worker and employer contributions, and acting as the liaison to both INA and the Treasury minister. In order to get the plan started before the collections of contributions began, an initial 100 billion lire were provided from the state. Of the 930 billion lire ultimately spent by Ina-Casa, roughly twenty-five percent came from workers, forty percent from employers, twenty percent from the state, and fifteen percent from investments [Figure 6].[58] In addition to financing building construction, funding also had to cover the expenses of local agencies involved (2.5%), designers' fees (1.5%), and inspectors' fees (0.3%).[59] Land acquisition costs varied from five to twenty percent depending on the project. During the fourteen years the plan was in effect (1949–56), costs increased significantly due in part to the rising prices of

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[56] See the bibliography for a list of Ina-Casa publications.
[57] *Piano Incremento Occupazione Operaia Case per Lavoratori: Tre anni di attivita del Piano Fanfani-Case*, 1952.
[58] Beretta Anguissola, 2-3. For a more detailed analysis of the funding and expenses see Berretta Anguissola, 16-17, and 39-40.
[59] Ibid., 93.

materials and fixtures, but primarily to rising land values: the average land costs were nearly thirty percent higher in the second *settennio* than in the first [Figure 7].[60]

Despite assigning many tasks to local agencies, the *Comitato* retained the key responsibility for implementing the geographic distribution of construction required by the law, that is, how many new homes would be built in a particular region or city. As Filiberto Guala explained the mandate:

> We had only one rule: that two-thirds [sic] of the homes were built in the Mezzogiorno. In general, need was calculated based on the statistics we had. Fanfani, however, pushed us to build everywhere, as much in the big cities as in the small towns. [61]

In the end, Ina-Casa, as an employment program, was more driven by a desire to equally distribute jobs created by the plan than to simply build housing where it was most urgently needed. Figure 3 illustrates how the "capillary" nature of the program ensured that construction and the jobs that came with it were distributed across the national territory according to the letter of the law.

The geographical distribution requirement of Ina-Casa had unintended side effects. On one hand, it allowed southerners, who might have otherwise migrated north in search of employment, to remain in their hometowns, at least for a little while longer. On the other hand, distributing home construction according to the need for jobs meant that Ina-Casa homes were not necessarily constructed where new housing was needed most. According to Anguissola:

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[60] Ibid., 92-95.

[61] The rule was actually one-third of construction had to be in the south and islands, not two thirds as Guala recalled. "Avevamo un'unica regola: che i due terzi [sic] delle abitazioni fossero fatte nel Mezzogiorno. In generale, veniva calcolato il fabbisogno di abitazioni attraverso delle statistiche che avevamo fatto. Fanfani comunque ci spingeva a costruire dappertutto, tanto nelle grande come nelle piccole città." Di Biagi and Nicoloso, 138.

> The common phenomenon was that public housing was concentrated in the most industrial zones and in the provincial capitals. But in this case, in order to ensure the fulfillment of the plan's goals, that is to increase workers' employment, it was necessary that the benefits of the law be extended to the greatest number of possible locales. One had to, furthermore, take account of the destruction caused by the War, scattered in both large and small centers.[62]

Thus, although the greatest need for working-class housing may have been in the large industrial centers of the north, the need for jobs caused Ina-Casa to be distributed in a capillary manner throughout the country into nearly every small town and provincial capital, even those without housing shortages.

Once the *Comitato* had formulated a national distribution plan and the *Ministero di Lavoro* had approved it, it was up to city governments and local agencies to propose projects. The *Comitato* and the *Gestione* jointly approved proposals at this stage. The local agency selected and researched the site. One of the most critical design decisions was where to locate projects—particularly whether they should be within a city center or on the periphery. It should be noted that the intention of Ina-Casa was to construct housing in pre-existing cities where it was already needed. Entirely new towns were prohibited and left to other agencies, such as UNRRA-CASAS, which built La Martella outside of Matera. In the case of Ina-Casa, local agencies, usually city governments or regional building cooperatives, were charged with the power to select and acquire sites. In fact, land acquisition was handled by the local agencies in ninety percent of Ina-Casa

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[62] È fenomeno comune che l'edilizia popolare si concentri nelle zone più industriali e nei capoluoghi di provincia. Ma in questo caso, per assicurare l'adempimento delle finalità del Piano, cioè l'incremento generale dell'occupazione operaia, era necessario che i benefici della Legge fossero estesi al maggior numero possobile di località. Si doveva inoltre tener conto delle distruzioni prodotte dalla Guerra, disseminate sia nei grandi che nei piccoli centri. Beretta Anguissola, XIX. For detailed summary of the geographic distribution of the plan see also pages 139-168.

projects.[63] The Ina-Casa legislation gave agencies and governments the right to expropriate land as needed, but the practice was rare: less than four percent of the total site area for Ina-Casa projects was acquired in this way.[64] Thus, the way in which Ina-Casa projects related to the larger urban fabric primarily reflected the decisions of many local cooperatives and city governments rather than of the central administration.

Local agencies could usually nominate a designer from the list already approved by the *Gestione*, although in some cases the *Gestione* selected the design team. The site costs and contracts, which were drafted by local agencies, also had to be approved by the *Gestione.* The local agencies were then responsibile for the management and supervision of construction with oversight by the *Gestione*. A project's completion depended on the *Gestione*'s approval of the final costs, and the *Comitato*'s review of appeals to the *Gestione*. The local agency involved was usually responsible for the construction of shops and public facilities.

Once a site and a design team were selected a number of agencies became involved in various capacities. The *Gestione* first approved notification of the new project, to be announced by the local *Ufficio del Lavoro* (employment office), which was also responsible for distributing and collecting applications for housing. A provincial commission was appointed to select the families from those that had applied and to handle appeals. The *Ufficio del Lavoro* then assigned housing to families. Local agencies handled the contracts with residents and the transfer of homes to their new owners. The *Gestione* set the mortgage and rental costs and handled the transfer of

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[63] Ibid., 28.
[64] Ibid., 69.

rented units to purchased ones and vice versa.[65] The new quarters were to be self-managed with the support of the local agencies involved. The Ina-Casa administration's involvement was always envisioned as temporary since the legislation, and therefore the administration, had from the beginning, an end date—initially 1956, then after the plan was extended 1963. Thus the administrators' and designers' involvement in these communities was limited to planning and design rather than on-going management.

The Families of Ina-Casa

Once a project was underway, the important task of selcting families for Ina-Casa homes began. This process was fraught with political tensions, reflecting struggles between classes and regions. The plan determined what kinds of families were eligible for homes, who had the greatest need, and what kind of home they could receive. To complicate matters further, what constituted a family was redefined through the rules of the plan, by limiting who could live together in one home. Direct lineage was the only acceptable family relationship—grandparents were welcome; aunts, uncles, cousins and other extended family members were not. The ways in which the plan determined eligibility and selected families illustrates how the administrators of Ina-Casa envisioned the ideal postwar family.

Ultimately, the Ina-Casa legislation specified that families would be selected according to need, rather than a lottery system. Initially, provincial commissions were set up to manage the application and selection process.[66] Anguissola refers to the application and selection process as a form of "mathematical justice," intended as a fair system for selecting residents: "Every worker, obligated to contribute to the plan with his own

[65] For a mapping of the process and the actors see Ibid., 34-5.
[66] For more detail on the process of assigning housing see Ibid., 423-428.

money must be absolutely convinced that ahead of him were only those that had a need greater than his own."[67] Announcements instructing workers on how to apply for a new home were published sixty days before construction began on a project [Figure 8]. Families then applied to the local agencies managing the projects to either buy or rent an Ina-Casa home, and their applications were ranked according to a set of criteria designed to determine need. Points were assigned to each application based on these criteria, which included family size, current living conditions, and whether members of a family had been separated due to work. Indeed, the majority of the families that moved into Ina-Casa homes were living in difficult conditions: thirty-three percent were living in nearly uninhabitable spaces such as caves, barracks, or basements; seventeen percent were living with other families; while just forty percent came from "normal" houses [Figure 9].[68]

The process of determining "need," however, proved to be fraught with tension and conflict. As a result, in the second *settennio* the *Comitato* took more control over the application and assignation process. One of the most vexing issues that both the local agencies and the state administration faced was how to deal with the fact that the neediest Italians in the large urban areas of the north and center were often recent migrants from the south. Because the policy of assigning new homes was based above all else on need, a disproportionately large share of the new homes were initially assigned to these southern transplants, provoking hostilities and complaints from workers who had lived in an area longer. In response to such problems, the criteria for awarding housing were

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[67] Ibid., XVIII - XIX.
[68] Ibid., 33.

revised in 1957. A provision was added that families with long-term residency in a place would be awarded additional points compared to newcomers.

The nearly 400,000 homes produced under the Ina-Casa plan ultimately housed over a million Italians and probably still do today. But when it came to designing the homes, the Ina-Casa administration did not define success in sheer numbers. They aimed to please the working-class families. In 1956, the Ina-Casa administration surveyed residents in order to learn which aspects of their new homes they most appreciated and how in the second seven years of the plan the designs might be improved. Such attention demonstrates something key about the Ina-Casa administration; at least at some level, they desired to produce housing that was not just sufficient, but satisfied the hopes and desires of the residents.

Designing Ina-Casa

While the Ina-Casa legislation outlined the broad parameters and financing of the plan, and the highest levels of the administration managed its implementation, it was the Projects Office of Ina-Casa, housed under the *Gestione* umbrella, that was responsible for articulating the urban and architectural vision for the plan. Under Arnaldo Foschini's guidance, this office had the responsibility and power to define the new homes for the working-class in terms of sizes, style, materials, interior layouts, services, appliances and more. Yet because the designers employed in the Projects Office in Rome could not possibly do everything, they had to collaborate with designers throughout the country. Foschini decided that competitions should be held in order to identify those qualified for

Ina-Casa work.[69] Designers were asked to submit schematic designs for a generic Ina-Casa project either individually or in teams. Assigning every project through a separate competition would have been unwieldy, so an ongoing series of national competitions were held to create a list of approved designers, including both architects and engineers. While the first competition resulted in a list of just 220 designers or teams, later ongoing competitions ultimately resulted in a total of 1,210, with 665 architects and 545 engineers.[70] In the end, more than one-third of all Italian architects worked on at least one Ina-Casa project, earning the plan its reputation as a jobs program for architects as well as laborers. From the list of approved designers, local agencies or the Ina-Casa administration in Rome could select a designer or team of designers for a specific project. Often, local architects on the list were selected for work in their home region or town.

The competitions were organized by the Ina-Casa Projects Office in Rome. Foschini chose Adalberto Libera (1903–63) to lead it. A former student of Foschini, Libera belonged to a younger generation of architects and had been a member of Gruppo 7 and leading practicioner of Italian Rationalism, a distinctly Italian brand of modernism dating to the 1920s. Working alongside Libera were other former students of Foschini, including Renato Bonelli, Carlo di Maria, and Giulio Roisecco.[71] One of the most important and far-reaching tasks undertaken by Libera's office was the creation of a series of manuals instructing competition entrants on how to design Ina-Casa projects. The first of these manuals was the initial competition brief. Co-edited by Libera and

[69] Di Biagi and Nicoloso, 142.
[70] Beretta Anguissola, 80.
[71] Nicoloso, "La Grande Ricostruzione," 91.

Roisecco, the manuals illustrated the administration's vision for Ina-Casa projects. As Renato Bonelli recalled:

> The idea of making the pamphlets was dictated by the need to teach a method, to re-educate designers, initiating them on a new professional course. One sensed it necessary that the technique have its place, the fixtures inside the homes, etc. [72]

It was through the manuals that the small, centralized administration in Rome was able to communicate its vision and expectations for design to architects and engineers spread throughout the nation. The first two design manuals, *Suggerimenti, norme, e schemi per la elaborazione e presentazione dei progetti: Bandi dei Concorsi* (1949) and *Suggerimenti, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica : Progetti tipo* (1950), provided guidance to architects throughout the first *settennio.* Two new manuals were published for the second *settennio*, reflecting the changes to the plan and ultimately allowing for stylistic changes that distinguished projects built during the two phases from one another.

The design manuals combined normative rules, examples of projects both good and bad, and sometimes abstract ruminations on the relationship between psychological health and living conditions. They are richly illustrated with diagrams of room layouts and drawings and photographs of housing examples. Quantitative guidelines included density limitations (500 people per hectare), an average building height (three stories), and so forth. Additionally, qualitative guidelines instructed architects on such matters as how to approach the site, deal with existing buildings, and the natural landscape. The

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[72] "L'idea di fare i fascicoli era dettata dalla necessità di insegnare un metodo, di educare nuovamente i progettisti, inserirli in un nuovo iter professionale. Si sentiva la necessità che la tecnica avesse il suo posto, gli impianti interni delle abitazioni, ecc." Di Biagi and Nicoloso, 144.

manuals, rather than mandating a particular style, present a societal vision and unified set of standards, while at the same time preserving room for designers to be inventive.

Designers seeking Ina-Casa work would have started by receiving the competition brief, and submitting a design. Winning designers or teams were now approved and listed as eligible to work on Ina-Casa projects. Local governments or agencies usually selected an architect from the approved list for a particular project. The oversight by the central administration, and therefore the usefulness of the design manuals did not, however, end with the conclusion of a competition and the listing of designers. Once a designer or team received a commission for a particular project, they were still guided by the manuals because they had to have their designs approved by the Projects Office of Ina-Casa.

In the beginning, the Projects Office was also quite involved in revising the submitted designs. As Renato Bonelli recalled, in the Projects Office:

> I worked with Adalberto Libera and a certain De Maria—a Sicilian architect—on the revision of projects, the first that arrived were by inexperienced designers and we inexorably rejected them.[73]

The central administration's oversight and involvement in revising designs necessarily eased as the plan progressed. The number of projects underway increased and such intense involvement on the part of the central administration in the details of the design was no longer possible.

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[73] "Lavoravo con Adalberto Libera e un certo De Maria—un architetto siciliano—alla revisione dei progetti, i primi che arrivavano erano di progettisti inesperti e noi inesorabilmenti li bocciavamo." Ibid., 141.

Yet throughout the fourteen years of the plan, the design manuals continued to be the first point of reference for any architect or engineer seeking work on Ina-Casa projects. Consequently, the manuals stand today as not only a richly detailed theory of urban design and architecture, but as a clear illustration of one vision for the new nation produced by the Ina-Casa plan.

Chapter Two
Envisioning a New Italy
The Projects Office of Ina-Casa

In her 1961 manifesto against contemporary city planning methods, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jane Jacobs argued that instead of demolishing existing neighborhoods in order to implement grandiose visions for society, planners should start instead by studying existing cities, by observing first-hand what makes some neighborhoods successful and others fail. Jacobs was outraged by what she perceived as the planning profession's detachment from reality:

> As in the pseudoscience of bloodletting, just so in the pseudoscience of city rebuilding and planning, years of learning and a plethora of subtle and complicated dogma have arisen on a foundation of nonsense. The tools of technique have steadily been perfected. Naturally, in time, forceful and able men, admired administrators, having swallowed the initial fallacies and having been provisioned with tools and with public confidence, go on logically to the greatest destructive excesses, which prudence or mercy might previously have forbade. Bloodletting could heal only by accident or insofar as it broke the rules, until the time when it was abandoned in favor of the hard, complex business of assembling, using and testing, bit by bit, true descriptions of reality drawn not from how it ought to be, but from how it is. The pseudoscience of city planning and its companion, the art of city design, have not yet broken with the specious comfort of wishes, familiar superstitions, oversimplifications, and symbols, and have not yet embarked upon the adventure of probing the real world.[74]

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[74] Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, (New York City: Random House Inc., 1961), 13.

Jacobs railed against the dominant approach to urban planning in the 1950s, which she believed led to monotonous and dull housing projects, civic centers, and commercial developments. They were in many ways the result of the ideas popularized in the 1930s, by the Swiss architect and theorist Le Corbusier, who argued that the best way to deal with the problems of the existing city was to tear down everything and start over from scratch.[75] Le Corbusier viewed the historic urban core of cities like Paris as filthy, chaotic, overcrowded, and sorely lacking in green space. For him, "laissez-fare had created the metropolis in its own image: chaotic, ugly, inhumane."[76] In place of historic Paris, Le Corbusier envisioned a new city neatly segregated by function, composed of towering skyscrapers in a park-like setting.

Jane Jacobs witnessed firsthand the devastating results when a variant of this theory of planning was applied to New York under the leadership of Robert Moses. Where Le Corbusier and Moses saw slums, Jacobs saw diverse, dynamic, and even thriving communities being continuously shaped and reshaped by thousands of different individuals in surprising and unpredictable ways. While Le Corbusier hated the modern metropolis with its overcrowded and unsanitary tenements and complete lack of order, Jacobs was a fierce defender of those urban environments that were not ordered by one mastermind planner but evolved over time from the visions and actions of many. Jacobs believed cities were simply too complex to be designed by one man with a single vision. Le Corbusier's vision was all encompassing and demanded an authority with the power

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[75] I am building on Robert Fishman's discussion of Jane Jacobs' critique of planning and the work of the twentieth century's leading utopian visionaries. Robert Fishman, *Urban utopias in the twentieth century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier*, (New York: Basic Books, 1977), 265-277.
[76] Ibid., 266.

to implement it. Jacobs preferred the messy and chaotic results of a more democratic and market-driven approach.

The history of twentieth-century city planning has often been understood as a story about these two influential and opposing approaches to city planning—one abstract and dogmatic, the other individualistic and unpredictable. But around the same time that Jane Jacobs, Le Corbusier, and Robert Moses were working, something else was being attempted in Italy. The Ina-Casa plan for workers' housing forged a middle ground between these two philosophies of city planning by developing a means of creating new neighborhoods that was responsive to the particular characteristics of every city. At the same time, the plan provided detailed standards for dwellings so as to preclude the further development of overcrowded and substandard housing. The architects of Ina-Casa, sharing with Le Corbusier a concern about the quality of life in the modern metropolis, believed that the physical organization of the built environment had a central role in improving living conditions for society. If designed correctly, the new homes and neighborhoods created under the plan could begin to address social problems beyond employment, such as the physical and psychological health of residents and even crime rates. At the same time, the Ina-Casa administration shared Jacobs' deeply rooted respect for existing cities and recognized that they were never static frozen entities, but were dynamic and changing environments shaped by diverse individuals, traditions, and contexts. The Ina-Casa administration never proposed a single universal solution, but it also did not share Jacobs' skepticism towards planning altogether.

Under the leadership of Adalberto Libera, the first director of the Ina-Casa Projects Office in Rome, the Ina-Casa administration developed a design method that

negotiated between the range of concerns and desires expressed by Le Corbusier and Jacobs. Expressed in a series of design manuals created by the Projects Office of Ina-Casa, this design method reflected the broad aims of the plan. Architects seeking Ina-Casa work and the agencies implementing the plan locally used these manuals first as a handbook for entering the design competitions, and later for guiding the building programs and designs. Two manuals were published for the first seven-year phase of the plan (1949–56), and another two with revised guidelines for the second seven-year phase (1956–63). The manuals included everything from expectations for density limits, costs, and acceptable housing typologies, to interior layouts and the roles of the various agencies involved.

This chapter examines the Projects Office of Ina-Casa focusing on the major figures who were directly and indirectly involved in shaping the Ina-Casa vision, the process they relied on, and the design manuals, the means through which the Ina-Casa vision was communicated to hundreds of designers throughout the country. As previously noted, the leading figures involved with shaping the vision of Ina-Casa were not only those directly employed in the administration, but also the many consultants involved. Together, these architects searched for an Italian solution to the problems of reconstruction that drew on international experiments and theories including European housing experiments of the 1920s and '30s, the Garden City movement, and the debates and arising out of the international association of modernist architects, CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne). The Ina-Casa administration resisted prescribing a style, searching instead for a design method positioned between the two extremes represented by Le Corbusier's Voisin Plan and Jane Jacobs' reaction to it.

Members of the Projects Office

Adalberto Libera (1903–63) was hand-picked to lead the Projects Office (*l'Ufficio progetti*) of Ina-Casa by the president of the *Gestione*, Arnaldo Foschini. Like many of the architects working for the Ina-Casa administration in Rome, Libera was one of Foschini's former students and well connected in the architectural and political circles of the capital under Fascism. His rise to prominence within the profession began in the late 1920s when he first developed professional alliances with a group of architects leading the movement for modernism in Italy. In 1927 Libera joined *Gruppo 7*, a collective of northern Italian architects leading the Italian rationalist movement, whose work was characterized by material and structural honesty, an absence of ornament, and simplicity of form. Libera was also a founding member of the national Rationalist association, M.I.A.R. (*Movimento italiano per l'architettura razionale*). Throughout the late 1920s and 1930s, the Italian rationalists argued that their approach to architecture, rather than historicist styles of the day, was the most appropriate expression of the revolutionary nature of Italian Fascism. While at times this sparked controversy, ultimately the rationalists won significant government commissions. Many of Libera's most recognized projects in the early phase of his career were government commissions including the 1933 post office on Via Marmorata in Rome designed with Mario De Renzi, and the Palazzo dei Congressi at the EUR outside Rome (1938).[77]

Libera continued working for the Fascist government after the enactment of the racial laws in 1938 and the beginning of the Second World War. His actions in these

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[77] For a brief biography of Libera see Alberto Maria Ghisalberti, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960). See also Francesco Garofalo and Luca Veresani, *Adalberto Libera*, (New York, N.Y.: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992). Paolo Melis, *Adalberto Libera 1903-1963: I luoghi e le date di una vita*, (Comune di Villa Lagarina: Nicolodi editore, 2003).

later years cannot be considered passive or apolitical: among other projects, he designed a project for the 1942 *Mostra della Razza* (Exhibition of the Race). After the conflict began to impede construction activity, Libera retreated to his family home in the Trento region where he focused on problems of housing design and construction. A collaborative study with Gio Ponti and Giuseppe Vaccaro on housing design during this time ultimately resulted in the publication of *Verso la casa esatta* in 1945.[78] By 1947 Libera had returned to Rome and in 1949 he was appointed director of the Projects Office of Ina-Casa in Rome. He remained in the directorship until 1952, when he won a competition for a church in Florence. Like Foschini, Libera's biography illustrates how the political and professional connections of the Fascist era were carried over into a similar network of power in the postwar era.[79]

It has been difficult for scholars to pin down exactly who were all of the architects working in the Ina-Casa office with Libera. Within the Ina-Casa administration a philosophy of collective anonymity prevailed; members attempted to work as a unified group and resisted taking individual credit for work or ideas. Because Ina-Casa was to be "a work of everyone," most of its official publications, including the design manuals, do not list authors. Beretta Anguissola explains that because of this desire for collective authorship, "you won't find names of those who undertook the work of realizing the plan."[80] This desire for anonymity makes it difficult to retrospectively attribute ideas or

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[78] Pietro Giulio; G. Beretta; Gio Ponti; P. Pozzi; E. Soncini; Giuseppe Vaccaro; C. Villa Bosisio, ed. *Verso la casa esatta*, (Milano: Editrice Italiana, 1945).
[79] On the relationship between architects and Fascism more broadly see Giorgio Ciucci, *Gli architetti e il fascismo: Architettura e città, 1922-1944*, (Torino: Einaudi, 1989). See also Diane Ghirardo, "Italian architects and Fascist politics:An evaluation of the Rationalist's role in regime building," *Society of Architectural Historians. Journal* (1980).
[80] "Questa la ragione per cui, in una pubblicazione documentaria come la presente, non si troveranno citati i nomi di quanti si assunsero il compito di realizzare il Piano." Beretta Anguissola, XXIII.

drawings produced by the administration to any single individual. We do know that Renato Bonelli and Carlo De Maria worked on the first two design manuals with Libera. Innumerable other architects, however, were directly and indirectly involved in the plan, sometimes in an official capacity as consultants or on appointed committees. They included key figures such as Giuseppe Vaccaro, Mario De Renzi, Mario Ridolfi, Adriano Olivetti, Pier Luigi Nervi, and Pasquale Carbonara.

The Aims of the Design Manuals

The four design manuals produced by the Projects Office are small pamphlets, roughly six by nine inches in size and ranging from fifty to eighty-two pages in length. They are richly illustrated with black and white photographs, diagrams, and drawings. The first manual, the competition brief, *Suggestions, norms, and schemes for the development and presentation of designs: The competition announcement,* was published shortly after the initial legislation was passed in 1949 [Figure 10]. Presenting a description of the Ina-Casa plan, design guidelines for the housing units, and guidelines for the competition entries, the focus of the competition brief is largely on a philosophy of how the built environment is connected to social problems, presented through text and typical floor plan arrangements. Urban design issues are not addressed because it was not clear from the outset that large neighborhoods on undeveloped suburban parcels of land would become the most common type of Ina-Casa development. Initially, the administration and local agencies experimented with smaller-scale interventions inside the historic centers of cities composed of a single or a few buildings.

Eventually, however, constructing larger developments with hundreds or even thousands of homes provided the economic advantage of scale. As the size of typical Ina-Casa projects grew into residential quarters, the administration felt it needed to publish a second design manual to communicate their expectations for urban design. In 1950, the Projects Office created *Suggestions, examples, and norms for urban design: Typical projects* (*Suggerimenti, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica: Progetti tipo*).[81] This urban design manual addresses site and landscape concerns and includes exemplary Ina-Casa projects designed by prominent Italian architects, including Mario Ridolfi and Giuseppe Vaccaro. The winding streets and variation in perspective views that characterizes the first *settennio* neighborhoods are promoted in this second manual. Together the first and second manuals comprise a theory and method of interior, architectural, and urban design for architects working during the first seven years of the plan.[82]

Towards the end of the first *settennio*, a survey was conducted to gather residents' opinions about their new homes.[83] A new pair of design manuals was drafted in response to the resident survey and published in 1956 for the second seven-year phase of the plan. The second pair of manuals have little of the poetry and broad aspirations of the first two. They are more grounded, focusing on programmatic concerns rather than visionary aims. The third manual, *Guide to the examination of Ina-Casa construction design to be realized in the second settennio* (*Guida per l'esame dei progetti delle costruzioni Ina-*

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[81] *2. Suggerimenti, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica: Progetti tipo*, (Roma: F. Damasso, 1950).
[82] The best source on the design manuals is Patrizia Gabellini, "I manuali: una strategia normativa," in *La Grande Ricostruzione: Il Piano Ina-Casa e l'Italia degli anni cinquanta*, ed. Paola Di Biagi (Roma: Donzelli Editore, 2001).
[83] Salvatore Alberti, *Caratteristiche e preferenze di un gruppo di famiglie assegnatarie di alloggi INA-CASA*, (Roma: Gestione INA-CASA Ente gestione servizio sociale, 1956).

Casa da realizzare nel secondo settenio), expands the focus on construction and technical problems, and introduces rules for including community buildings. Tables were included, for example, to help designers appropriately proportion the social centers. It also contains a survey to be completed by architects, engineers and affiliated agencies. The fourth and final manual, *Construction norms for the second settennio extracted from deliberations of the plan actualization committee and the directive council of the Ina-Casa management* (*Norme per le costruzioni del secondo settenio estratte da delibere del comitato di attuazione del piano e del consiglio direttivo della Gestione Ina-Casa*), is more concerned with organizational questions, describing the roles of the various actors and agencies involved, the financing and payment procedures, and updated construction standards.[84]

The third and fourth manuals revised the guidelines and rules for building typologies, minimum apartment sizes, kitchen and bathroom fixtures, etc. But beyond these revisions, the general focus of the third and fourth manuals shifted away from how the plan might change society to practical matters of implementing the plan. They gave more attention to how the plan was organized, the financing structure, and the roles of the various actors and bureaucracies involved. In other words, this set of manuals addressed those questions that had most often arisen during the first seven years of design and construction, such as which type of heating system is best, or at what point one should

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[84] Ministero del Lavoro e della Previdenza Sociale, *1. Suggerimenti, norme, e schemi per la elaborazione e presentazione dei progetti: Bandi dei Concorsi.*, (Roma: F. Damasso, 1949); Ministero del Lavoro e della Previdenza Sociale, *2. Suggerimenti, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica: Progetti tipo*, (Roma: F. Damasso, 1950); Ministero del Lavoro e della Previdenza Sociale, *3. Guida per l'esame dei progetti delle costruzioni Ina-Casa da realizzare nel secondo settenio.*, (Roma: F. Damasso, 1956); Ministero del Lavoro e della Previdenza Sociale, *4. Norme per le costruzioni del secondo settenio estratte da delibere del comitato di attuazione del piano e del consiglio direttivo della Gestione Ina-Casa.*, (Roma: F. Damasso, 1956).

plan to include a cinema in a neighborhood. As a result of the responses collected from residents in the 1956 survey, the new pair of manuals presented a list of prohibited building and apartment types, plan arrangements, as well as architectural elements that residents did not like, including uncovered stairs, units spread over two floors, and homes on the ground level.

Renato Bonelli reported, however, that the Projects Office did not pay a great deal of attention to the survey results.[85] The architecture and urban character of Ina-Caa projects clearly changed in the second *settennio*. Many of the neighborhoods that were built during the second phase are marked by a return to modernism and a break from the limited scale of earlier Ina-Casa neighborhoods. Il Biscione in Genoa, for example, is a series of lengthy concrete linear buildings raised on pilotis that snake along the hills overlooking the city [Figure 11]. It seems that the manuals simply did not carry the same weight as they had in the beginning. Or because the guidelines were less stringent in terms of the character of the neighborhoods, designers felt they could adhere less to the manuals instructions. Because the focus of this study is primarily on the immediate postwar moment, the analysis that follows is concentrated on the first pair of design manuals completed for the first seven-year phase of Ina-Casa.[86]

The content of the first two manuals ranges widely from, for example, ruminations on the social responsibilities of those involved in the plan, ("everyone involved should take care not to waste money, which could be used to build more

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[85] Di Biagi and Nicoloso, 144.
[86] The design manuals of Ina-Casa were part of a long tradition of architectural design handbooks. In the '30s and '40s there were a number of design manuals related to housing design in particular. Franco Nuti has traced the influence of these sources on the Ina-Casa design manuals. See Franco Nuti, *Tre quartieri INA Casa in Toscana*, (Firenze: Polistampa, 2004).

housing for those in need,")[87] to more precise and focused requirements (a maximum density of 500 inhabitants per hectare). Straightforward standards for apartment sizes and maximum cost per room are listed throughout the manuals with additional stipulations as needed; the cost per room, for example, is to be reduced by 7,000 lire when the land is donated. Technical and constructive guidelines are less specific because the program advocated using local materials and methods. The competition brief, for example, simply requires that designers "Briefly relate explicitly the systems of construction, of the finishings of the installation."[88] Standard details and materials are not seriously considered or studied in either of the first two manuals. In fact, the most attention paid to construction methods and materials comes in the form of lists of rules and norms that argue for looking to local traditions above all else.

The competition brief is primarily dedicated to providing architects with examples of how the programmatic requirements might be arranged in a variety of building types.[89] In all, diagrams of eighty-one different apartment floor plans provide designers with a starting point for any combination of four building typologies, three apartment sizes, and three kitchen-living-dining room arrangements [Figure 12]. An elaboration of a single scheme—a three-story building comprised of two-bedroom apartments—into three different designs illustrates how even when architects started with the same essential plan, in terms of the exterior design the outcome could be quite different [Figures 13-15]. One design has pitched tile roofs and shutters; another has flat roofs and playful

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[87] *1. Suggerimenti, norme, e schemi per la elaborazione e presentazione dei progetti: Bandi dei Concorsi.*, (Roma: F. Damasso, 1949), 7.
[88] Ibid., 48.
[89] The acceptable building types were: 1. Casa multipiana continua con due alloggi per scala-piano. 2. Casa multipiana isolata con due alloggi per piano. 3. Casa a schiera ad un piano. 4. Casa a schiera a due piani con alloggio in verticale. Sociale, *1. Suggerimenti, norme, e schemi per la elaborazione e presentazione dei progetti: Bandi dei Concorsi.*, 13.

geometric window patterning. These designs demonstrated how a designer could give a single type different formal and decorative expressions and also take account of varying local building traditions—flat roofs in the south, versus steeper roof slopes in the north, for example. What all of the designs share is a common building typology, scale, and a solid connection to the ground. This elaboration of a single plan into different stylistic expressions highlighted one of the difficulties Libera's group faced: how to clearly define the approach to design and programmatic requirements without inhibiting the creativity of the designers. These questions of stylistic expression will be examined further in Chapter Four.

The centerpiece of the second manual, published in 1950, is a list of twenty-one "Recommendations for urban design," illustrated by photographs and sketches of both "good" and "bad" examples of housing projects from Italy and Scandinavia. A number of the earliest Ina-Casa projects are included as good examples, along with some of the first competition entries. Again, it is evident that the authors struggled with how to articulate their vision for the urban design of Ina-Casa neighborhoods without overly constricting the agency of the individual designers assigned to each project. In some ways, however, the contextual approach to the site advocated in the manuals is looser than the more stringent programmatic requirements to be met inside the buildings. Following the twenty-one points is a series of more detailed designs completed by the Projects Office to demonstrate how the goals laid out in the points might be achieved. The urban design manual concludes with a short section on public areas and green spaces and an excerpt from the Ina-Casa legislation of 1949 on maximum costs per room and criteria for selecting land.

Ina-Casa's Contextual Model and Its Influences

In the first pair of Ina-Casa design manuals, the authors, like many of their contemporaries, blamed overcrowded and substandard housing for playing a part in creating society's most serious problems:

> The recorded statistics document the following grave consequences of overcrowding: deficiencies in hygienic conditions, development of infective illnesses, increases in infant mortality rates, the percentage of fighting, crime, juvenile delinquency, higher rates of illegitimate births.[90]

In response, designers are steered away from those existing architectural typologies that must have led to cramped living conditions, devoid of sunlight and fresh air. They prohibited, for example, "closed, semi-closed, enclosed courtyards and wells" because these were viewed as likely to result in dwellings lacking sufficient light and air.[91] Instead designers were advised that "there should be a respectable distance in relation to the height, to guarantee a minimum amount of sun at the winter solstice at the threshold of the lowest apartment."[92]

Three plans illustrate the closed courtyards and monotonous compositions that were blamed for psychological problems. The first was the plan of a nineteenth-century city with large square city blocks. The plan was largely black with little holes of white peaking through, well representing cramped interiors and stuffy courtyards. The following two city plans were variations of typical rationalist urban plans with long straight streets and narrow blocks, monotonous and unyielding in their pattern [Figure

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[90] Sociale, *2. Suggerimenti, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica: Progetti tipo*, 7-8. "I rilevamenti statistici documentano queste gravi conseguenze dell'affolamento: difetto di condizioni igieniche, sviluppo di malattie infettive, aumento della morbilità e della mortalità sopratutto infantile, percentuale rilevante di litigiosità, criminalità e delinquenza minorile, alto numero di nati illegittimi."
[91] Sociale, *1. Suggerimenti, norme, e schemi per la elaborazione e presentazione dei progetti: Bandi dei Concorsi.*, 10.
[92] Ibid.

16]. What the nineteenth-century city plan shares with the later rationalist designs is uniformity—the scale of the blocks and the ways in which the blocks meet the street do not vary in the least. To add to the monotony, the buildings all look more or less the same.

These plans are contrasted with an Ina-Casa quarter from La Spezia (1951–55) and Lidingö, a neighborhood in Stockholm [Figure 17]. These positive examples, in contrast to the three previous ones, have winding or crooked streets. There is a nearly complete lack of regularity in how the buildings meet the street. The authors declare that if overcrowding could create social problems, good design begins to solve such problems:

> Hence the need to build, limiting the number of inhabitants, reducing the number of floors, and of units, in order to create an agreeable and relaxed environment with diverse views and rich with vegetation, where each building has its distinct physiognomy and each man finds his house easily with reflexive feeling of the true personality.[93]

The authors were positioning these urban plans in opposition to projects that were driven by efficiency alone. As they characterized the problem, "the just concern of cost was so pervasive that it relegated all other human concerns to a secondary position."[94] Densely packed quarters comprised of repetitive blocks might be cheap to build, but the costs to society at large were not affordable. These new publicly funded working-class neighborhoods would be the result of a different approach. The home had to be more

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[93] "Di qui la necessità di costruire limitando il numero degli abitanti, riducendo il numero di piani e degli alloggi, studiando composizioni urbanistiche varie, mosse, articolate, tali da creare ambienti accoglienti e riposanti, con vedute in ogni parte diverse e dotate di bella vegetazione, dove ciascun edificio abbia la sua distinta fisionomia, ed ogni uomo ritrovi senza fatica la sua casa cols entire riflessa in essa la propria personalità." *2. Suggerimenti, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica: Progetti tipo*, 8.

[94] La giusta preoccupazione del costo era tanto invadente da far passare in un piano del tutto secondario." *1. Suggerimenti, norme, e schemi per la elaborazione e presentazione dei progetti: Bandi dei Concorsi.*, 8.

than a functional container for domestic activities; it had to address man's needs—physical, social, and psychological—more holistically.

While the physical health of residents could be positively or negatively influenced by light and fresh air, a broader definition of man's needs could have positive effects on mental health and even on community bonds. As the urban design manual explains:

> Beyond practical considerations, one should be attentive to moral health and psychological well-being. This will also help alleviate problems between neighbors and of depression caused by urban typologies (overcrowding, noise, closed or semi-closed courtyards, visual limits, rigid and monotonous compositions, loss of green space, etc.).[95]

A diverse and varied visual environment was not disparaged as chaotic or undisciplined; it was positively viewed as organic and harmonious.

The positions staked out in the design manuals—rejecting existing "rigidly geometric urban compositions" and promoting select Scandinavian examples—paralleled debates taking place after World War II among architects within the international association of modern architects, CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne). Ina-Casa's rejection of orthodox modernist planning strategies echoes the ideas of some CIAM members including J.M. Richards, then editor of the *Architectural Review*, who rejected the functionalist approach to planning promoted fervently under the leadership of Le Corbusier and Sigfried Giedion. Furthermore, Richards was one of the first to hold up the Scandinavian projects, which he grouped under the rubric of the

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[95] Per raggiungere questo intento occorre eliminare o ridurre le cause di attrito nei rapporti sociali tra vicini, e quelle di depressione dipendenti dai tipi urbanistici ed edilizi adottati (affollamento e disturbi conseguenti di ogni genere, frequenza ed intensità di rumori, cortili chiusi o semichiusi, visuali limitate, composizioni d'insieme rigide e monotone, mancanza di verde, ecc.) *2. Suggerimenti, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica: Progetti tipo*, 8.

"New Empiricism," as examples of a more humane alternative to high modernism and a model for how to move the modern movement forward in the postwar context.[96] Richards' position never really gained ground within CIAM, though he used the organization to promote his ideas. The Ina-Casa manuals never explicitly made reference to CIAM, yet the approach in the design manuals can be better understood in the context of contemporary debates on urbanism, modernity and tradition, particularly those from the first two postwar conferences of CIAM, at Bridgewater, England in 1947 and in Bergamo, Italy in 1949.

Founded in 1928 by a group of Europeans that included the Swiss architect Le Corbusier (1887–1965), the historian Sigfried Giedion (1888–1968), and members of the Swiss Werkbund, CIAM aimed to advance the agenda of modern design against the prevailing historicist styles of the time.[97] Members shared a sense that architecture and urbanism were critical to solving the multitude of problems created by the industrial revolution and population growth in urban areas. Like the architects working in the Ina-Casa administration, they believed that working-class housing was not just inadequate, it could be dangerous; Le Corbusier called the typical family home "an old coach full of tuberculosis."[98] The perpetual revival of historical styles, masking the development of modern construction methods, was an inappropriate response by architects to the serious physical and social problems brought on by the industrial revolution. The aim of CIAM to "work for the creation of a physical environment that will satisfy man's emotional and

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[96] J.M. Richards, "The new empiricism, Sweden's latest style," *Architectural review* 101, no. (1947).
[97] The best source on CIAM is Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2000).
[98] Le Corbusier, *Towards a new architecture*, (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1976), 277.

material needs," taken at face value, seems to share much with those of Ina-Casa.[99] But beyond these general concerns, by the late 1940s CIAM members were divided on questions of both method and form: *how* to approach the problems of the modern city and *what* that city should look like, in terms of planning and aesthetics.

Annie Pedret has categorized the two dominant camps in CIAM as idealists and pragmatists.[100] The idealist or *tabula rasa* approach was advocated by Le Corbusier, Giedion, Alberto Sartoris, and others who believed the existing cities must be destroyed and new cities constructed from scratch under the guidance of a single authority and vision. On the other side were the pragmatists, including Ernst Mayer, Hannes Meyer, Mart Stam, Alfred Roth, and notably, J.M. Richards. These architects were loosely united by the belief that architects and city planners had to develop more nuanced strategies to adapt to and work within existing cities. Richards was concerned that modern architecture alienated "the man in the street" and looked to Sweden for the best examples of modern architecture with popular appeal. Alfred Roth argued for taking regional building traditions and context into consideration. Italians, including Ernesto Nathan Rogers and Giancarlo de Carlo, were taken up by Roth's embrace of "living history" rather than historicism.[101] The heterogeneity of positions in CIAM, however, gave way in the 1930s to the overpowering influence of Le Corbusier and Giedion in the official statements and publications such as the Athens Charter.[102] After 1933, Le Corbusier's notions of functionally based town planning gained ground as the primary

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[99] Kenneth Frampton, "Foreward," in *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960*, ed. Eric Mumford (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2000), xiii.
[100] Annie Pedret, "CIAM and the emergence of Team 10 thinking, 1945-1959" (Dissertation, MIT, 2001), 19.
[101] Ibid., 42.
[102] Le Corbusier, *The Athens charter*, (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1973).

and official position of the group, despite continued resistance and debate behind the scenes.

After the war, however, the fractures within CIAM resurfaced; the debate that ensued was later characterized as one of "heroism" versus "empiricism."[103] J.M. Richards organized the first official postwar meeting of CIAM in Bridgewater in 1947. He used the platform to contest the functionalist approach to planning, arguing that architects must begin to consider the needs and desires of the common man, for whom modern aesthetics offered little. That same year, Richards coined the term "New Empiricism" in *Architectural Review* to describe an emerging style in Sweden, which he believed combined the stylistic simplicity of modernism with a humane scale, traditional forms, and vernacular details.[104] As Eric Mumford describes:

> Instead of modern monumentality and the "heroic" use of materials, the emphasis was on picturesqueness and variation, with the frequent use of brick and wood. Instead of parallel high-rise slab block, the new housing estates usually had a mixture of low-rise and high-rise buildings, often with pitched roofs and brightly colored red, yellow, brown, and gray façades.[105]

This description of Swedish housing could easily be used to describe the typical Ina-Casa design. The parallels don't stop there; Richards, for example, advocated for an architecture that could appeal to the common man through the use of familiar details and the integration of existing buildings. According to Richards, the New Empiricist designs did not forsake the rationalist pseudo-scientific method of functionalist planning; rather

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[103] Rob Gregory, "Heroism versus empiricism," *Architectural review* 207, no. 1235 (2000).
[104] J.M. Richards, "The New Empiricism: Sweden's Latest Style," *Architectural review* 101, (1947): 199-204.
[105] Mumford, 166-7.

they added another science to the mix: that of psychology.[106] Despite his passionate advocacy, Richards did not win over the CIAM leadership to his cause. He again raised his ideas at the meeting in Bergamo but CIAM was still largely under the control of Giedieon and Le Corbusier, although at the same time beginning to fragment.

How exactly the architects working in the Ina-Casa administration discovered Richards' arguments or Swedish New Empiricism remains unclear, partly because there are so many ways in which Adalberto Libera and others might have learned about these debates. They may have simply read Richards' editorials in *Architectural Review* or learned about his ideas through Italian CIAM members such as Ernesto Nathan Rogers, Giancarlo de Carlo, or Enrico Perressutti. Further research is needed to trace with some precision the many possible connections between Richards and the New Empiricism, and Ina-Casa designers and the manuals. What is clear from the design manuals is that they owe much either directly or indirectly to both J.M. Richards' suggestions for a more humane modernism that could appeal to the common man and consider psychological needs, and to his advocacy of the New Empiricism as a model.

While Ina-Casa principles and built works certainly share much with the Scandinavian projects touted as exemplary, the manuals never suggested a direct copying. Instead, the focus was on creating a contextually sensitive design. In order to achieve the variation in urban design that would provide each inhabitant with a unique and recognizable home, the design manuals' authors did not simply advocate winding streets and variations in site arrangements, although these were common in the illustrations. At the heart of the first two manuals' guidelines was the repeated

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[106] Ibid., 167.

recommendation to use local materials, forms, and construction techniques. This approach was partly tied to the desire to create jobs for unskilled workers throughout Italy: by using local methods and materials, more jobs could be created in a shorter period of time.[107] That traditional construction methods might be more labor-intensive was viewed as a positive effect of the plan.

Yet there is more at stake in the discussions of local and regional difference than simply economic or practical concerns. Ina-Casa mandated that designers consider every aspect of the context, from the site and landscape to the local customs and design traditions. They were instructed to begin the design process by studying the site carefully, accounting for each hill and gully, every existing building and thoroughfare:

> Do not begin a project without first having a direct knowledge of concrete data and that is of the terrain, with its plan, elevation and geological characteristics of the exact location, of the access streets and connecting ones, of the hygienic possibilities and buildings of their physical aspects and panorama, of connections with the regulatory plan (or burdens) and of the possibility of connections to the network of public services (sewer, water, electricity, etc).[108]

In other words, Libera's team was advising against the *tabula rasa* approach advocated by Le Corbusier and in CIAM publications in which sites were viewed as blank canvases, regardless of what region or city they were located in.

Considerations of the local context meant more than just identifying straightforward physical realities; designers were asked to study the traditions of the

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[107] As Nicoloso has demonstrated, this was also a matter of architects looking out for themselves. There was a fear that too much standardization would mean fewer jobs for architects as well. See Nicoloso, "La Grande Ricostruzione."

[108] "Non metter mai mano a un progetto se prima non si è presa diretta conoscenza dai dati di fatto concreti del tema e cioè del terreno con le sue caratteristiche planimetriche, altimetriche e geologiche, della sua esatta ubicazione, delle vie di accesso e dei collegamenti, delle sue possibilità igieniche ed edilizie, del suo aspetto fisico e panoramico, dei vincoli di piano regolatore gravanti su di esso e delle possibilità di allacciamento alle reti dei servizi pubblichi di prima necessità (fognatura, acquedotto, elettricità, gas, ecc.)" *1. Suggerimenti, norme, e schemi per la elaborazione e presentazione dei progetti: Bandi dei Concorsi.*, 11.

people and places as well. One of the first instructions in the first manual was that the home:

> should make itself loved corresponding to our habits of life. These in their fundamental aspects are derived often from a tradition that varies from region to region and is always somewhat affected by precise yet valid circumstances. It is recommended therefore the attentive consideration of the local issues considering each point of view (the habits of life, local traditions, climate, latitude and altitude, local materials of construction, artisan products, workmen, constructive systems, heating systems).[109]

Any new design and construction, the authors suggested, should account for and adapt to the history and artistic heritage of the place. Discontinuity or "violent contrast" should be avoided.[110]

Drawings from an Ina-Casa competition entry by Piero Lugli for a site in Abruzzo were presented to illustrate how a project could positively take advantage of a site [Figure 18]. Lugli's row houses follow, rather than contrast, with the contour of the hill. As the caption describes the project, "it is molded in curves along the terrain."[111] A design from Stockholm showed what not to do: "An example of too showy volumetric elements that disturb the serenity of the natural spectacle represented by the course of the water."[112]

A successful urban design was one in which the existing features of the natural landscape were respected.[113] One of the most recurring suggestions related to the context, for example, was to preserve existing vegetation when possible, and design in response to

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[109] Dovrà farsi amare corrispondendo alle nostre abitudini di vita. Queste, nei loro aspetti fondamentali, derivano spesso da una tradizione che varia da regione a regione ed è quasi sempre effetto di circostanze precise tutt'ora valide. Si raccomanda pertanto l'attenta cosiderazione del *problema locale* sotto ogni punto di vista (abitudini di vita, trazioni locali, clima, latitudine ed altitudine, materiali da costruzione locali, prodotti dell'artigianato, maestranze, sistemi costruttivi, riscaldamento)." Ibid., 8-9.
[110] Sociale, *2. Suggerimenti, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica: Progetti tipo*, 9.
[111] "si modella in curva lungo il terreno." Ibid., 13.
[112] Esempio di elementi volumetrici troppo appariscenti che turbano la serenità dello spettacolo naturale rappresentato dal corso d'acqua." The illustration used was taken from *Rassegna.* Ibid., 15.
[113] Sociale, *2. Suggerimenti, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica: Progetti tipo*, 15.

the existing contours of the site. The design should first and foremost respond to the physical terrain and climate:

> There will be, therefore, the conditions of the land, the sunshine, the countryside, the vegetation, the existing environment, the sense of color to suggest the planimetric composition so that the inhabitants of the new quarters have the impression that in these there are some spontaneous things, some genuine, undeniably fused with the place from which they rise.[114]

Natural elements could become motivators for the whole design composition; existing vegetation, for example, was to be considered in terms of "volume, form, and color."[115] Careful consideration for solar exposures, for every existing tree, shrub, or pathway, was necessary in order to best create a project that conformed to its context.

Mario Ridolfi and Wolfgang Frankl's Ina-Casa project in Cerignola (1950–51) was included as a positive example of how a composition had been arranged around a group of existing pine trees on the site [Figure 19]. Simple terraced rectilinear volumes face onto a central open green space filled with pine trees. The Cerignola example lacks the nostalgic, curvilinear, and seemingly spontaneous urban design that is found in many Ina-Casa neighborhoods. The stepping white buildings of the Cerignola project could even be considered modernist. Yet they also bear traits of vernacular Mediterranean architecture house types—white planar walls, flat roofs, simple volumes. The rectangular green at the center of the neighborhood and the orthogonally driven architecture proves that although the manual repeatedly admonished architects to consider and respect the

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[114] Saranno dunque le condizioni del terreno, il soleggiamento, il paesaggio, la vegetazione, l'ambiente preesistente, il senso del colore a suggerire la composizione planimetrica affinchè gli abitanti dei nuovi nuclei urbani abbiano l'impresione che in questi sia qualche cosa di spontaneo, di genuino, di indissolubilmente fuso con il luogo sul quale sorgono. *1. Suggerimenti, norme, e schemi per la elaborazione e presentazione dei progetti: Bandi dei Concorsi.*, 11.

[115] *2. Suggermenti esepmi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica : Progetti tipo*, 1949. LCCN: a 53-4262, 21.

natural landscape, this did not mandate an irregular urban design composition. The neighborhoods to emerge from this approach were to be as visually and materially as heterogeneous as the thousands of Ina-Casa sites across the country.

Although some modernist designs were acceptable, the call to respect the landscape justified a rejection of many of the recognized formal characteristics of modernist urban design. The authors argued, for example, "the natural environment is varied and thus not taken to rigid geometric compositions, especially in hilly zones."[116] The difference between the inhumane and "rigid" examples criticized by the authors and those designs such as Cerignola was variation in the forms and arrangements of buildings. Every aspect of the design, from the urban scale to the architecture, was to include a certain amount of variation so as to be more palatable and visually interesting for the people who lived there. "Architecture should be complex in space, volumes, color, dimensions, and give a figurative intonation to the place."[117] This complexity was to be achieved in part by varying the distances between buildings, as well as their heights.

Two projects in Copenhagen illustrated the effects that variation in urban design, or the lack of it, could have. The photograph of the first project, Sudparken, was taken directly from *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* and exemplified the banal and depressing result of arranging identical buildings in straight lines [Figure 20]. In contrast, the end goal of variation in arrangements and typologies was to create dynamic and changing perspective views throughout the site. Yet as we saw at Cerignola, this goal did not rule out some repetition or regularity. An artists' quarter from Copenhagen, Utterslev Mose,

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[116] *2. Suggerimenti, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica: Progetti tipo*, 16; *Manuale dell'architetto*, (Roma: C.N.R.-U.S.I.S., 1946).
[117] *2. Suggerimenti, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica: Progetti tipo*, 15.

provided a positive example of how even a single building type could be arranged and repeated in such a way to create a lively and animated urbanism [Figure 21]. Here the single house type is repeated on oblique axes, creating dynamism through the site arrangement. Moreover, the form of the house, though entirely rectilinear, is rich and complex, due to the breakdown of the whole into smaller volumes. It illustrates the manual's instruction to "Take care that continuous series are broken and vary the number of floors and volumetric elements."[118] The manual did not prohibit rectilinearity in design, either in the buildings or street patterns; what was to be avoided was the combination of simple solid massings, rectilinear buildings and gridded street patterns into a repetitive and monotonous streetscape.

Those buildings illustrated in the design manuals that are not Italian are almost universally drawn from Scandinavian projects that were part of the style labeled "New Empiricism." Like Ina-Casa, these projects were marked by their adoption of traditional building techniques and use of garden city planning methods. In a sense, the New Empiricism was the closest precursor to Ina-Casa ideas and the character. Introduced to Italy in the pages of journals such as *Rassegna* and *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, the Projects Office reproduced these illustrations in the manuals for didactic purposes and elements of these projects quickly found their way into the designs of Ina-Casa. The Ina-Casa manuals did not explicitly cite British projects as they did Scandinavian ones, yet the theory of design and some of the neighborhoods constructed under the plan have similarities to the idea of the picturesque, which resurfaced in Britain after the war.

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[118] Ibid., 29.

The idea of the picturesque originated and was codified in Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth century by Sir Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight. Characterized by variety, architecture in harmony with the landscape, and irregularity, the picturesque was a reaction against the rigid formalism of neoclassicism. After the Second World War, the picturesque was taken up once again by British architects and theorists as a distinctly English antidote to modernist planning theories imported from the continent. Championed in the pages of the *Architectural Review* and by the likes of Gordon Cullen and Nicholas Pevsner, the revival of the picturesque led to the development of the Townscape movement, which John Macarthur writes was

> intended to be a consensual popular modernism with a fair dose of English nationalism. In fact, the major modification of mainstream modernism called for by Townscape was a modern version of Price's village picturesque: that new architecture be allowed to appropriate old buildings.[119]

The urban ideology of Ina-Casa shares with theories of the picturesque a preference for buildings that respond to the natural landscape, varied perspective views, and formal variety and irregularity.

Like the picturesque, the theory of design articulated in the Ina-Casa manuals was grounded in an appreciation for the natural landscape. The characteristics of the place were not just to be valued for their beauty, but also for their influence on the health of the residents. Designers are asked to take advantage of the natural landscape to

> bring out the value, where it exists, of the resources of the countryside such that it exercises a great influence on the psychology of the inhabitants, taking care that in a panoramic view the arrangement of the houses brings out the value and frames the countryside.[120]

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[119] John Macarthur, *The Picturesque: Architecture, Disgust and Other Irregularities*, ed. Caroline van Eck, The Classical Tradition in Architecture(London: Routledge, 2007), 106.
[120] *1. Suggerimenti, norme, e schemi per la elaborazione e presentazione dei progetti: Bandi dei Concorsi.*, 11-12.

Just as the inhabitants were not helped psychologically by rigid, ordered compositions that were imposed irrespective of the context, the landscape itself was ill-suited to such order. The second manual rejected modernism on the basis that nature itself could not accomodate some forms of modern architecture: "the natural environment itself is varied, irregular and episodic, and does not take well to rigidly geometric urban compositions, above all in unleveled areas."[121] This romanticized relationship between man and the built environment also implies what was considered unhealthy. The "spiritual needs of man" are dependent upon a natural or "spontaneous," rather than an abstract or modern urbanism and architecture.[122]

"Spontaneous" and "organic" were the descriptive terms that Libera's group used to characterize their vision in the design manuals.[123] The use of the word "organic" is no accident, for Libera and many of his collaborators were members of the *L'Associazione per l'architettura organica* (Association for Organic Architecture or APAO). The organization was founded by Bruno Zevi (1918–2000) in 1944, and the theory of design advocated by the group closely resembles that of the first *settennio* of Ina-Casa. According to the APAO's constitution, for example,

> Organic architecture is a social, technical and artistic activity at the same time, aimed at creating an environment for a new democratic culture. Organic architecture signifies an architecture for man, modeled according to the human

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[121] *2. Suggermenti esepmi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica : Progetti tipo*. 17. "L'ambiente naturale, di per sè stesso vario, irregolare ed episodico, non si presta ad accogliere composizioni urbanistiche rigidamente geometriche, sopratutto in zone non pianeggianti."

[122] *1. Suggerimenti, norme, e schemi per la elaborazione e presentazione dei progetti: Bandi dei Concorsi.*, 10-11.

[123] On the terms used to define the various strands of vernacular and organic architecture see Michelangelo Sabatino, "Back to the drawing board? Revisiting the vernacular tradition in Italian modern architecture," *Annali di architettura: rivista del centro internazionale di studi di architettura Andrea Palladio, no.16* (2004).

> scale, according to spiritual necessity, psychological and material of man associated. Organic architecture is, however, the antithesis of monumental architecture that serves the myths of the state. It is opposed to the contemporary axes of neoclassicism, to the vulgar neoclassicism of arches and columns and to that false one that hides behind the pseudo-modern forms of contemporary monumental architecture.[124]

Zevi, an Italian Jew, fled Italy in 1938 to London and then later to the United States, where he attended Harvard. During his time in the U.S., it was not Walter Gropius, the head of Harvard's architecture department, who primarily influenced him, but rather Frank Lloyd Wright. Like Wright, Zevi believed that organic architecture was not simply a style, but at its core the best expression of a democratic, humane, and just society.

After the war, Zevi returned to Italy, bringing with him a commitment to organic architecture as practiced by Wright, but with a political twist of his own. Like many of the architects who lived through the tragic events of the Second World War, architecture and all it encompassed were never again viewed as apolitical or neutral by Zevi. He developed his theory of organic architecture into a historical framework, re-reading the architecture of the past through the lens of politics. Buildings that were symmetrical, for example, were anti-democratic, i.e. Fascist. He became a leader in the struggle to define a new and democratic Italian state. As Maristella Casciato explains, "intellectuals were in the front line and Zevi's was the most committed voice in Italian architecture after the

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[124] "L'architettura organica è un'attività sociale, tecnica e artistica allo stesso tempo, diretta a creare l'ambiente per una nuova civiltà democratica. Architettura organica significa architettura per l'uomo, modellata secondo la scala umana, secondo le necessità spirituali, psicologiche e materiali dell'uomo associato. L'architettura organica è perciò l'antitesi dell'architettura monumentale che serve miti statale. Si oppone all'asse maggiore e all'asse minore del neoclassicismo contemporaneo, al neoclassicismo volgare degli archi e delle colonne e a quello falso che si nasconde dietro le forme pseudo-moderne dell'architettura monumentale contemporanea." "La costituzione dell'associazione per l'architettura organica a roma," *Metron* 2, no. (1945): 75.

war."[125] Zevi's theory of politics and architecture was pulled together and published years later as *The Modern Language of Architecture*.[126]

Zevi's influence is palpable throughout the first two Ina-Casa design manuals, despite the fact that he had a conflicted and inconsistent relationship with the Ina-Casa administration and plan. He opposed the appointment of Foschini to head the *Gestione* because for him it represented the worst kind of continuity with the Fascist government—the same people in positions of power. Initially, Zevi tried to convince his colleagues in the APAO not to work for Ina-Casa unless they were first assured of some power in the organization. Later, Zevi would blame their collaboration with Ina-Casa for the failures of the APAO:

> And the APAO? It clashed with the building revival and with the "Ina-Casa" program directed by Arnaldo Foschini, one of the most hardened conservatives on the Rome scene. He held a competition to select suitable planners. I said "We cannot participate if we have not assured ourselves of at least some minimal power in the institution." I asked for the Studies Center. But no one expected me to get it. Everyone rushed to collaborate with Foschini. One of the APAO meetings held in the Porta Pinciana center was dramatic. I asked my colleagues not to participate in the "Ina-Casa" competition before we had obtained control of its Studies Center. Adalberto Libera got up and stated that he had accepted a position in the "Ina-Casa" project. Mario Ridolfi had prepared some schemes for the competition. Giuseppe Samonà had agreed with the request to be a member of the jury. Ludovico Quaroni advocated participating in the competition. No one knew how to wait. The spasmodic rush to take up the profession again made everyone blind; for a fistful of dollars paid up front everyone proceeded rashly without any insurance for the future. In such conditions, the APAO was finished.[127]

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[125] Maristella Casciato, "A propos of Bruno Zevi," *Archis* (2000).
[126] Bruno Zevi, *The Modern Language of Architecture*, (Seattle: The University of Washington Press, 1978).
[127] Giovanna Brucato, "Tutto Zevi 2: 1945-54," *Architettura* 46, no. 535 (2000).

Zevi later gave in to the call to work for Ina-Casa. At the request of Foschini, he wrote an essay on the plan in 1952.[128] Additionally, Zevi is credited with leading the design team for the "Pastena" Ina-Casa quarter in Salerno.[129]

But more important than his personal involvement was the influence of Zevi's ideas, which he preached through his writing, teaching, and as editor of *Metron*. Despite his characterization of APAO as "finished" because its members rushed to work for Ina-Casa, today it is possible to understand the first *settennio* of Ina-Casa as an experiment into precisely those principles of organic design advocated for by Zevi. Mario Ridolfi, Adalberto Libera, Mario De Renzi, Saverio Muratori, and Luigi Vagnetti were credited with directly infusing the manuals with their organic principles, but as Renato Bonelli put it, "in a certain sense, Zevi illustrated the plan."[130] Although Zevi himself was only marginally involved in the administration of the plan, his ideas permeated deeply into the work of the architects of the APAO, and in particular into the Ina-Casa manuals.

It was not simply Zevi's own ideas and theories that can be traced throughout the design manuals and neighborhoods of Ina-Casa. Rather, Zevi, *Metron*, and other journals such as *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* acted as a kind of conduit for international ideas and projects, many of which left a mark on Ina-Casa rhetoric and designs. *Metron,* for example, contained regular updates on the postwar reconstruction in Great Britain, which served as a model for work in Italy. Significantly, the first article in the first issue of *Metron* was Lewis Mumford's "An American Introduction to the 'Garden Cities of Tomorrow.'" In the article, Mumford also mentions other figures and projects, which

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[128] Bruno Zevi, "L'architettura dell'INA-CASA," *L'INA-CASA al IV Congresso Nazionale di Urbanistica* Ottobre, no. (1952).
[129] Beretta Anguissola, 346-7.
[130] "In un certo senso Zevi ha illustrato il piano." Di Biagi and Nicoloso, 145.

were key for Ina-Casa designers, including Frank Lloyd Wright, Ernst May's work in Frankfurt as well as Clarence Stein and Henry Wright's design for Radburn, New Jersey.[131]

The garden city as first envisioned by Ebenezer Howard in 1898 and promoted by Mumford in *Metron* half a century later point us to another key influence on Ina-Casa. The Ina-Casa manuals never make direct references to the idea of the garden city, but the influence is apparent in its theories and projects. In *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, Howard argued that the best way to address the problems of the metropolis was to abandon it altogether and start over by building new towns.[132] Howard's garden city was the antidote to the chaos and ailments of the metropolis, which in his view was the cause of strife between classes, lowered productivity, and man's strained relationship to nature. Instead he advocated for the construction of new smaller cities of no more than 30,000 people spread out across the landscape and linked by rail and roads. In the garden city, the best characteristics of both city and countryside would be brought together; the fresh air and water, freedom, parks, and low prices of the countryside would be complemented by the high wages, cultural activities, economic resources, and cooperation of the city [Figure 22].

Garden cities were definitely not bedroom suburbs adjacent to the metropolis, the typical form of Ina-Casa quarters. Howard's garden cities were to be holistic communities with their own industries, commercial and civic centers. By the 1950s, Howard's original idea had taken on a life of its own, an international movement had

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[131] For a more comprehensive analysis of the various precedents for Ina-Casa see Paola Di Biagi, "La "citta pubblica" e l'Ina-Casa," in *La Grande Ricostruzione: Il Piano Ina-Casa e l'Italia degli anni cinquanta*, ed. Paola Di Biagi (Roma: Donzelli Editore, 2001), 22.
[132] Ebenezer Howard, *Garden cities of to-morrow*, (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1902).

been formed, and designers around the world were experimenting with ways of translating his idea into reality. Howard's abstract geometric diagrams had, through experimentation and implementation, been translated into winding streets, ample green spaces, and buildings designed for the human scale. Some Ina-Casa neighborhoods manifest the permeation of Howard's idea into the consciousness of Italian designers. *Metron* was one means for disseminating the garden city idea, but hardly the only one. By the time of Ina-Casa, Italian designers would have been aware of the international movement and the experimental towns being constructed around the world. While most Ina-Casa neighborhoods never achieved the autonomy or size envisioned by Howard, many nevertheless reflect attempts to create self-sufficient communites in harmony with the landscape outside of—or more likely on the edge of—the metropolis.

Ina-Casa Design Principles

The blank slate envisioned by Le Corbusier as the starting point for urban design, was not just unimaginable to Ina-Casa designers, it was undesirable. The manuals' authors rejected the idea of demolishing existing cities, and also went one step further by instructing designers to consider preserving the buildings on site and taking design cues from them. They should begin their compositions with careful attention to the historic buildings and then to design their projects in harmony with them:

> Existing buildings are part of a discourse that should not be contradicted but reprised and continued. And above all without re-denying the structures and forms most suitable to our existence that become used without polemic pretense but with simplicity and purity, because it is only these that we can use with spontaneity and coherence.[133]

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[133] "L'edificio esistente è parte di un discorso che non deve essere contraddetto ma ripreso e continuato. E tuttociò senza rinnegare le strutture e le forme più idonee alle nostre esigenze, che vanno usate senza pretese polemiche ma con semplicità e schiettezza, appunto perchè sono le sole che possiamo usare con

A project in Bologna designed by Giuseppe Vaccaro was used to illustrate the point [Figure 23]. A perspective drawing and an elevation show how the contemporary addition to a medieval building in Bologna's Piazza Malpighi drew on the context. An asymmetrical façade does not clash with the adjoining buildings, which appear to have been developed over time. The new structure does not mimic the existing buildings nor does it pretend to be medieval itself, rather it adopts elements of the scale, fenestration patterns, and materials to create something new in harmony with the old.

Beyond considerations of context, the manuals prescribed more limited and definitive characteristics for the architecture. The competition brief listed four acceptable domestic building types: 1) the multi-level row house with two units per stair; 2) the multi-level block with two units per floor; 3) the row house of one floor; and 4) the row house with two floors and vertically distributed units. All were given height limitation of seven to eight stories and a recommended average height of three stories. Five- or six-stories were not recommended for two reasons: elevators were not economical for less than seven stories and walking up five to six flights of stairs was not desirable. Architects were encouraged to intermix the four building types so as to create urban variety. The actual size of each building grew out of the interior spatial requirements. Libera was able to quantify this into a rule of thumb relating the number of units to the length of the building in his 1952 essay on the plan.[134]

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spontaneità e coernenza." *1. Suggerimenti, norme, e schemi per la elaborazione e presentazione dei progetti: Bandi dei Concorsi.*, 12.

[134] Adalberto Libera, "Ina-Casa: La scala del quartiere residenziale," in *Esperienze urbanistiche in Italia* (Roma: Istituto nazionale di urbanistica, 1952).

The manuals called for a strong connection between every unit of housing and the outdoors through the incorporation of balconies and patios, which became characteristic features of Ina-Casa housing. Ideally each apartment would have two opposite exposures so as to allow for cross-ventilation. Every apartment was required to have an outdoor space, as the competition brief advised: "provide units with ample and deep loggias for family life outside, above all for those units losing contact with the ground."[135] Moreover, every home was to receive plenty of natural light even on the winter solstice, which necessitated careful study of the distances between buildings and the layout of the interior spaces relative to the orientation of the building. Designers were advised to "vary the number of floors and volumetric elements."[136] In many ways, the spaces between the buildings was as key to the neighborhood character as the buildings themselves. Combined with these recommendations were more suggestive ones, such as the "architecture should be complex in space, volume, color, distances, and give a figurative intonation to the place."[137] The authors further suggested that high and low walls surrounding or dividing the site alternate along with short and long ones.

Often the four building types listed in the first manual do not match the examples shown in the second manual, illustrating the elasticity of the guidelines. One of the most common Ina-Casa building types, for example, the *edilizio a stella,* or star-shaped tower does not fit precisely into the categories of the first manual. The building type can, instead, be traced back to Scandinavian examples included in the second manual [Figure 24]. Built examples of this *edilizio a stella* typology can be found in innumerable Ina-

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[135] *1. Suggerimenti, norme, e schemi per la elaborazione e presentazione dei progetti: Bandi dei Concorsi.*, 57.
[136] *2. Suggerimenti, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica: Progetti tipo*, 29.
[137] Sociale, *2. Suggerimenti, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica: Progetti tipo*, 15.

Casa neighborhoods; Saverio Muratori used it at Valco San Paolo in Rome, and Mario Ridolfi created such towers in the Tiburtino in Rome.

The competition brief focused a great deal of attention on the possible layouts of the interior spaces. It specified that units could be from one to five bedrooms with minimum sizes for each type.[138] Furthermore, each unit could incorporate one of three kitchen arrangements: the combined kitchen, dining and living space; the alcove kitchen; or the separate kitchen. With these five sizes and three types of kitchen arrangement, the manuals' authors went on to diagram eighty-one different possible floor plan arrangements in the competition brief. These were not actual plans but rather new diagrammatic arrangements envisioned by the members of the Projects Office. In providing these diagrams to designers, the authors hoped to help designers save time; the diagrams were to serve as a sort of menu of possible starting points. The diagrams also ensured that designers were more likely to meet with success in achieving the more complicated criteria of sufficient light, cross ventilation, and spatial adjacencies.

By attempting to allow for so many different sizes and arrangements of interior spaces of the homes, the Ina-Casa administration was accepting family diversity, the idea that some families were small and others large, that some regions preferred one type of kitchen as opposed to another. In allowing for and even encouraging such diversity, the Ina-Casa plan differed from postwar housing experiments in other nations. Nicole Rudolph details how in France, for example, postwar planners in the Ministry of Reconstruction and Urbanism (MRU) strove to perfect a single apartment type and plan for all. "Rather than trying to accommodate various ways of inhabiting space, the MRU

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[138] Minimum sizes were 30, 45, 60, 75, 90 square meters for 1-5 bedroom units. *1. Suggerimenti, norme, e schemi per la elaborazione e presentazione dei progetti: Bandi dei Concorsi.*, 10.

was moving toward the conception of a one-size-fits-all home."[139] Generally speaking, regionalism, not modernism, was politically tainted in France, where architects sought to define man's universal needs and construct spatial requirements to serve them.[140] In Italy, the imagined residents of Ina-Casa were certainly working-class families, but beyond that commonality they were envisioned as diverse. The designers believed that these families would have different needs and preferences, and they attempted to allow for this through the provision of many types of apartments and building types.

While the Ina-Casa architects sought to work collaboratively and anonymously, they did not expect collective anonymity from the working-class residents of the new quarters. Instead they believed that the design of the home should foster a personal connection with its inhabitants:

> The house should contribute to the formation of the urban environment, having present the spiritual and material needs of man, of real men and not of an abstract one: of man, therefore, that does not love and does not comprehend the indefinite repetition and monotony of the same type of habitation, between those which are not distinct, except for a number, he does not love the arrangement of a chessboard, but those environments cozy and varied at the same time.[141]

In other words, the house must be more than "a machine for living in" as Le Corbusier argued. "The place where the family lives needs to be more than four walls and a roof," the competition brief argues and advises that with a little care it is easy to give the house

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[139] Rudolph, 47.
[140] Ibid., 105.
[141] La casa dovrà contrubuire alla formazione dell'ambiente urbano—tenendo presenti i bisogni spirituali e materiali dell'uomo reale e non di un essere astratto: dell'uomo cioè, che non ama e non comprende le ripetizioni indefinite e monotone dello stesso tipo di abitazione fra le quail non distinfue la propria che per un numero; non ama le sistemazioni, a scacchiera, ma gli ambienti raccolti e mossi al tempo stesso." *1. Suggerimenti, norme, e schemi per la elaborazione e presentazione dei progetti: Bandi dei Concorsi.*, 10-11.

human warmth.[142] The house was more than the sum of its spatial requirements; the architects recognized that the home could even be a form of personal expression for the family.

Technology

The design manuals were brief and vague when it came to technical considerations and yet their stance on technology was one of the most controversial aspects of the plan. The administration recognized that Italy's regions had such disparate climates, materials, and building traditions that to mandate a single wall type, for example, would have created more problems than it solved. Instead, designers entering Ina-Casa competitions were instructed to specify the methods of construction in their entry and note the relationship to local climate, latitude and altitude, local construction materials; local building customs; constructive systems; and heating.[143] If designers were at a loss for guidance on traditional construction detailing, they could look to another, earlier design manual, Mario Ridolfi's *Il Manuale dell'architetto*.[144] Similar to *Architectural Graphic Standards,* Ridolfi's handbook provided standard construction details. But Ridolfi's version, published in 1946, focused on details typically used in traditional buildings throughout Italy. Manfredo Tafuri has characterized Ridolfi's manual as "national-popular and a cross-section of regionalism in folk dress."[145]

Although Ina-Casa projects did not universally rely on industrially produced and standard building materials, the manuals did advocate using some standard measurements such as floor heights and window sizes in order to make room for them. In addition to

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[142] "Il luogo dove una famiglia vive, il cioè dove essa oltre ai primitivi 'quattro mure ed un tetto'" Ibid., 8.
[143] Ibid., 58.
[144] *Manuale dell'architetto*. (Roma: C.N.R.-U.S.I.S., 1946).
[145] Manfredo Tafuri, *History of Italian architecture, 1944-1985*, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989), 13.

the design competitions, there was also a series of competitions for the design of a variety of mechanical, heating, and plumbing equipment including a coal burning stove, a hot water heater, a water purification system, and sunshades.[146] It is not clear what came of these competitions and if, in fact, some of the fixtures and equipment used in Ina-Casa homes were mass-produced as a result. At least one Ina-Casa project, Sebastopoli near Torino, did experiment with industrially produced materials. But Sergio Pace reports that Sebastopoli cost more and took longer to build than the La Falchera Ina-Casa project nearby, which used load-bearing brick.[147]

Conclusions

The Ina-Casa administrators were ambitious, yet it was also realistic. The Ina-Casa approach to design eschewed the extremism of the *tabula rasa* method of planning in favor of a more moderate and contextual approach. Rather than moving towards extremes, the administration sought a more cautious approach to creating harmonious communities without destroying existing cities. The administration similarly walked the line between socialism and capitalism in the policy itself, which created state-funded housing using private builders.

At the same time, the Ina-Casa design method also reflects particular anxieties of the postwar moment. Doubts about the power of the machine to transform society for the better are evident in the traditional construction technologies taken up by Ina-Casa. Moreover, the desire to create distance from functionalist planning experiments was not simply a design decision; it was also a political one, a means to distinguish postwar

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[146] The requirements for these competitions are outlined in *1. Suggerimenti, norme, e schemi per la elaborazione e presentazione dei progetti: Bandi dei Concorsi.*
[147] Sergio Pace, "Oltre Falchera: Torino e dintorni," in *La Grande Ricostruzione: Il Piano Ina-Casa e l'Italia degli anni cinquanta*, ed. Paola Di Biagi (Roma: Donzelli Editore, 2001), 284.

designs from Fascist ones. Thus, despite the continuity of power networks and personnel between Fascist and postwar Italy, the vision offered through the design manuals is distinctly postwar, perhaps because it was precisely those who had worked at the highest level of Fascism that had the greatest need to demonstrate atonement.

Part II
Introduction: The Results of the Plan

> Driving through the periphery of almost any Italian city it is easy to distinguish the Ina-Casa quarters, which have become a characteristic feature of the landscape. Ample spaces around the buildings, gay colors, prominent balconies. Not one house identical to another, each quarter with its unique character, harmonized with the structure of the historic city center. [148]

As Luigi Berretta Anguissola rightly described, the neighborhoods of Ina-Casa left a distinctive mark on many Italian cities. Although those working in the administration claimed, "We didn't have a 'style' it was the quality of concrete products that were before us and it was maybe this that guaranteed from the start the success of the initiative," [149] there are nevertheless common traits that make these projects, particularly those from the first *settennio* recognizable as Ina-Casa designs. Moreover, every Ina-Casa neighborhood had a tile designed by an artist used to mark the buildings as part of

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[148] Percorrendo la periferia di qualsiasi città italiana è facile distinguere i quartierei dell'INA-CASA, divenuti ormai un elemento caratteristico del paesaggio. Ampi spazi intorno agli edifici, colori gai, balconi prominenti. Nessuna casa identica all'altra, ogni quartiere con una sua caratteristica inconfondibile, armonizzata con la struttura del nucleo storico cittadino. Beretta Anguissola, XVI.

[149] La nostra posizione era questa: ciò che contava non era la 'tendenza', era la qualità del prodotto concreto che avevamo di fronte ed è stato forse questo a garantire sin dall'inizio il successo dell' iniziativa. Di Biagi and Nicoloso, "La Grande Ricostruzione," 142.

the plan [Figure 25]. The Ina-Casa name lives on today through these little tiles affixed to the buildings.

In terms of sheer numbers alone the results of the plan are impressive.[150] In all, over 350,000 homes were built during the fourteen years of the plan for a total of approximately two million habitable rooms. Sixty-three percent of Italian cities had at least one Ina-Casa project. In some regions of the south nearly every town had at least one project; ninety-one percent of cities in Puglia, for example, had an Ina-Casa project. This translated, at the most basic level into an enormous increase in housing stock. Between 1951 and 1961, the number of housing units increased by twenty-three percent, while the number of habitable rooms was up by twenty-five percent, resulting in a decrease in overall density from 1.27 people per room to 1.08. One out of every twenty-four workers in the north received a home, while one in twelve workers in the south did.

The results of the plan, however, cannot be quantified in numbers alone. In order to examine the neighborhoods of Ina-Casa in greater depth, I have selected three case study neighborhoods that illustrate how the theory of design articulated by the Projects Office of Ina-Casa was put into practice in the north, center, and south of Italy. Because the focus of this study is primarily on the early postwar moment, I have selected two neighborhoods from the first *settennio* and one from the second phase. Together the three case studies begin to outline the types of diversity found in Ina-Casa designs, while also revealing what were the common traits that distinguished these projects from their surroundings. The greatest difference between these case studies results from their very different contexts of Rome, Bologna, and Matera. What binds them together most

[150] For detailed statistics on the results of the plan, including the ones cited here see Beretta Anguissola, 29-54.

strongly are the interior plans. In the chapters that follow, other Ina-Casa projects are brought into the discussion as needed in order to fill in details or provide additional examples. Finally, Fascist exhibitions and projects are included for comparative purposes to illustrate how Ina-Casa differed from earlier public sponsored housing projects and towns.

Case Study One: The Tiburtino, Rome, 1949-52

The Tiburtino neighborhood is located about five kilometers to the northeast of Rome along the Via Tiburtina. Mario Ridolfi (1904–84) and Ludovico Quaroni (1911–87) led a team of designers that included Mario Fiorentino, Federico Gorio, Pier Maria Lugli, Michele Valori, Carlo Melograni, Guido Rinaldi, Carlo Aymonino, Carlo Chiarini, Sergio Lenci, Maurizio Lanza, and Gian Carlo Menichetti. The Tiburtino is located on an eight-hectare site and is comprised of thirty buildings with 684 dwellings housing approximately 4,000 residents [Figures 32-34, 58-64, and 93-94]. Building types include six- and seven-story housing towers, and three-story row houses as well as a few small shops scattered throughout the neighborhood. No schools, churches or other public facilities were planned as part of the neighborhood because they already existed or were being planned elsewhere nearby.

Case Study Two: Borgo Panigale, Bologna, 1951–55

Borgo Panigale is located roughly four and a half miles to the northwest of Bologna's city center [Figure 37-44, 72-77, and 82]. The name Borgo Panigale actually refers to a larger quarter that predates the Ina-Casa neighborhood and may derive its name from either *panico,* a type of grain grown locally or from the soap factory, La

Panigal that was located nearby.[151] Within Bologna, the Ina-Casa neighborhood is referred to as "Villaggio Ina-Casa," but in order to distinguish it from all the other Ina-Casa villages discussed here, I refer to the Ina-Casa quarter by the name of the area, Borgo Panigale. The Bolognese architect Giuseppe Vaccaro (1896–1970) was charged with the urban design and leading the team of architects, which included G. Cavani, A. Legnani, and F. Santini. The neighborhood has twenty-two buildings including two- and three-story row houses, five-story blocks, a church, schools, and market area spread out across a twelve-hectare site. The original design also included a cinema, covered market area, and police station, which were never constructed.[152] In all, the neighborhood has 584 housing units with a total of 3,771 habitable rooms.[153]

Case Study Three: Villa Longo, Matera, 1959–62

Villa Longo was designed during the second *settennio* of Ina-Casa [Figures 47-51, 85-88, and 96]. While the exact dates of design and construction are unclear, I have estimated them as 1958–62 using drawings and publications from the time. The earliest drawing contained in the Archivio di Stato files in Matera dates from 1958.[154] An article on the design in *L'Architettura* dates from 1959. Construction was complete by the time Luigi Berretta Anguissola published his study of Ina-Casa in 1963, which includes photographs of the built project. The Roman architect Domenico Virgili led the design

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[151] Manuela Iodice, ed. *Borgo Panigale: Da villaggio mesolitico a quartiere cittadino*, (Bologna: Cassa Rurale ed Artigiana di Borgo Panigale, 1990).
[152] For a plan of the neighborhood as initially designed (with three additional buildings that were never built and an earlier design for the church) see Beretta Anguissola, 172-3.
[153] There is a small and limited amount of literature on the Ina-Casa neighborhood at Borgo Panigale that can be found within studies on Giuseppe Vaccaro or on the Ina-Casa plan as a whole. For a full listing see the Bibliography.
[154] The earliest documents and drawings related to the Ina-Casa project at Villa Longo in the archive are from 1958, see Busta 209, Archivio di Stato di Matera. On Villa Longo see also Buste 185, 203, 207, and 219.

team which also included G. Nale and M. Provenzani. The five-hectare site is located three kilometers to the northwest of Matera. With 285 units and a total of 1,482 rooms, Villa Longo is about half the size of either Borgo Panigale or the Tiburtino. It was the last of three Ina-Casa quarters located between the two roads leading out of the city. The only public buildings are those in the center of the quarter, an existing building which now houses a small store and a community association, and a multi-purpose facility with a medical center, a senior association, and a fenced-in play yard. Just outside the quarter, stores and restaurants line the main routes into the city.[155]

[155] There has been very little written about the Villa Longo neighborhood of Matera. The neighborhood is mentioned in Beretta Anguissola and in broader studies of the postwar planning of Matera. There is also more research needed on the architect Domenico Virgili.

Chapter Three
Building Community
The Urban Planning and Urban Design of Ina-Casa

A panoramic view across a rocky hillside on the edge of Naples forms the opening scene of the 1963 film *Le Mani sulla Città* (Hands over the City). As the camera pans the landscape, a voice declares, "I know the city is going that way according to the master plan, but that's exactly why we have to bring it over here." We see the speaker, a well-dressed city councilman and developer, Edoardo Nottola, gesturing [Figure 26]. His companions, who are investors, reply "you make it seem easy" and "What? We change the master plan?" Nottola explains:

> There's no need. This land is zoned for farming. What's it cost a square meter? Maybe 500 or 1,000 lire. But tomorrow, this same land, this same square meter could be worth 70,000 lire or even more. It's all up to us. A 5,000 percent profit. There it is, that's today's gold.[156]

This opening scene precedes the credits, which roll over aerial views of Naples. A second scene follows, opening with the noise and activity of a construction site in Naples' historic city center. A pile driver pounds rhythmically into the ground. Stepping back, we see the construction site is on a dark, narrow, and congested street, full of life.

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[156] Francesco Rosi, *Le mani sulla città (Hands over the city)* (Irvington, NY Chatsworth, CA: Criterion Collection ; Distributed by Image Entertainment).

A woman hurries down the center of the cobblestone street, a man sweeps up, and a couple cooks and sells hot food to the workers. Then, there is a loud creaking noise and a single stone falls off of the older building adjacent to the construction site. The people in the street look up to see the top of the building swaying. They scream and run as the wall and then most of the building collapse to the ground. We later learn that Councilman Nottola was the developer for the construction project on the street that caused the collapse. Ultimately the city government declares the block unsafe and forces the residents of the block, largely poor and working-class, out of their homes. Nottola uses the collapse to further his scheme to build new apartments on the block, apartments that few of the original residents will be able to afford.

Together these two scenes, the first on the rolling farmland at the edge of the city and the second in the dense and chaotic urban center, present the contested sites of postwar urban planning battles in Naples as well as in other Italian cities. In addition to these two poles of development, the film focuses on two groups of actors: powerful politicians and developers on one side, and the largely powerless working-class and poor on the other, highlighting the social conflicts that rebuilding brought to the surface. As *Le Mani sulla Città* demonstrates, urban development debates of this time exacerbated tensions among classes and power brokers and provoked questions about how cities should grow, what should be the responsibilities of government to plan and manage such growth, and what were the rights of the citizenry in the face of powerful developers.

This chapter considers these tensions between center and periphery, as well as among the different classes by examining how Ina-Casa projects contributed to the spatial development of Italian cities, at both the metropolitan and neighborhood scales. In

postwar Italy, cities continued to follow an earlier pattern of growth and change that led to the lower classes being settled on the periphery and the wealthy in the center.[157] The poor were routinely shuffled to the margins of cities while the centers were preserved for the upper classes. An examination of three case studies, in Rome, Bologna, and Matera, begins to shed light on how and why these development patterns continued in the postwar years. At the same time comparative case studies enable us to understand how the urban theories of Ina-Casa outlined in the design manuals were put into practice in north, center, and south, as well as in towns and metropolitan areas. The process of activating the plan at the urban level blurred the easy dichotomies brought to life in *Le Mani sulla Città*—rich and poor, center and periphery—transforming them beyond recognition in the postwar period.

As discussed previously, the significance of postwar class struggles was magnified by what was at stake both nationally and internationally: the battle between the political Left, a union of communist and smaller parties, and the Right, led by the Christian Democrats, had become a proxy for the developing Cold War between East and West. After their historic victory in the elections of 1948, the Christian Democrats had to pacify, win over, and control large sections of the working-class in order to maintain their power. Ina-Casa was one tool for accomplishing all three. The provision of a new home under the Ina-Casa plan convinced many working-class Italians that the Christian Democrats were taking their need seriously by rapidly creating much-needed jobs and

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[157] The larger question of how and why continental European cities tended to develop differently from their British and American counterparts (wealthy in the suburbs and lower classes in the center) is beyond the scope of this study. It is hoped, however, that the postwar case studies presented here will contribute to a better understanding of the different beliefs and processes at work in Italy. On Anglo-American development see Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois utopias : the rise and fall of suburbia*, (New York: Basic Books, 1987).

housing throughout the nation. Yet the construction of these neighborhoods also allowed the national and city governments to control where the working-class would be permitted to live. Most often these neighborhoods were constructed on the edges of Italian cities, thus continuing the Fascist trend in which the poor were put into a sort of forced exile, relegated to the margins of the city and society.[158]

In addition to tensions created by class, Italians had to deal with another form of division: regional differences marked by distinct dialects, traditions, and daily practices. As channels of immigration abroad narrowed and job opportunities in northern and central Italian cities grew, increasing numbers of Italians migrated from south to north and from countryside to city.[159] Thirty percent of Italians from the south and the islands migrated elsewhere in Italy between 1962 and 1971, with twelve percent of them leaving the south and islands altogether for parts of the center and north.[160] These migration patterns forced a confrontation among Italians of different regions. As an elderly woman in the Garbatella neighborhood of Rome explained to me, "the neighborhood was full of *stranieri* in those days." The word *stranieri* literally translates as foreigners, but could also be used, as it was here, to refer to Italians from different regions rather than people from other countries. In Rome, for example, an Italian from Calabria or Puglia would have been considered a *straniero*. Southern Italians in particular were considered outsiders and viewed with suspicion and resentment in cities of the north and center of the country. Thus Italians had to negotiate two types of division: class and region, both of

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[158] See Ferruccio Trabalzi, "Low Cost Housing: Twentieth-Century Rome," in *Out of site : a social criticism of architecture*, ed. Diane Yvonne Ghirardo (Seattle: Bay Press, 1991).
[159] On postwar migration patterns see Donna Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 153-173. See also Ginsborg, 217-229.
[160] Ginsborg, 439.

which shaped how people spoke, dressed, what they ate, how they raised their children, and more.

These encounters of difference strained the bonds of the young republic, and in some cases forced a contest over the historic center in Italian cities. The question of who would control and live in it was more than a simple territorial struggle: it was a fight to define civic identity. Which individuals or groups occupied the city center implied who was suited to represent the city as a whole. Allegiance to a city was, and still is, stronger for many Italians than an allegiance to the nation or region. Romans, for example, often see themselves as Romans first and only secondarily as Italians. Consequently, decisions over who would be permitted to live in the historic center determined who would define what it meant to be *Romani*, *Bolognesi,* or *Materani*.

Urban planning decisions to offer working-class housing on the periphery were therefore not neutral or simply benevolent acts. Many Italian cities had already begun to remove the working poor from their centers, often forcibly. In Rome, for example, the Fascist government had destroyed whole neighborhoods in the center in order to resurrect ancient monuments such as the Mausoleum of Augustus and the Fora.[161] The residents of the neighborhoods that were demolished in the process were relocated, sometimes forcibly, to the periphery. This link between center and periphery, one as the point of origin and the second as the destination point, persisted in the postwar period.

Visions and Realities of Urban Planning

Amidst the rubble and ruin of 1945, architects and planners saw an opportunity. Beyond the pragmatic and immediate needs of reconstruction, visionary thinkers believed

[161] Spiro Kostof, "The emperor and the Duce; the planning of Piazzale Augusto Imperatore in Rome," *Art and architecture in the service of politics* (1978).

that it was possible to reconstruct Italian society in a way that would alleviate many social problems caused by poor living conditions. Some went further, suggesting that a reorganization of the physical fabric of the nation could address even political problems and more. The urban planner's special responsibility was to reform society. As Adriano Olivetti explained the planner's role and the possibilities of reconstruction:

> Town-planners and architects will have the special responsibility of constructing the community city, its new residential sections, churches, streets and parks, factories and offices, in a word, all its visible forms. In this way, the celebrated beauty of our old towns glowing with renewed splendour, shall be a worthy noursishment for the spirit.

He continues:

> But if in them, at the same time, the sense of love and justice and the power of truth flourish, the real communities will be born… Only by means of an intermediate structure between the individual and the state—a new real community—will it be possible to restore the lost harmony to man's labour, provide Europe with a new order, eliminate idolatry of the State and party politics and renovate the present outdated and monopolistic economic structure that hinders progress instead of assisting it.[162]

As agents of social change, planners were obliged to address health, crime, and moral problems through their designs. The planner, in this vision, became a heroic figure responsible for a total reorganization, "in a state organized along the lines of political ideals, town and country planning becomes extraordinarily important, because it has the function of organizing and adapting the plans which closely reflect the life and resources of the community."[163] Planners now had an enormous responsibility and with that came the rise of the town planner (or in Nottola's case the developer-councilman) as a powerful figure on par with political leaders.

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[162] Olivetti, 21-22.
[163] Ibid., 21.

In reconceptualizing the significance of the planner, Olivetti and others were also elevating the significance and agency of a city plan. A well-planned city could influence nearly every aspect of its residents' lives. Tensions between labor and management, and the excesses of unchecked nationalism and capitalism could all be addressed through urban design. As a result of these developments, planning was increasingly politicized in the postwar era. A good master plan was not just to enable the construction of homes for those in need and rebuild roads, they could begin to heal divisions among Italians of different classes and return the nation that had veered down the path of Fascism to a more balanced and harmonious state.

The leaders of Ina-Casa shared many of Olivetti's aspirations for reconstruction, believing that the physical and psychological health of the working-class was at stake in the designs of new homes and neighborhoods. But as a government entity, the Ina-Casa administration's vision had to be more limited, precise, and pragmatic than Olivetti's big dreams. From the start, the two central goals of the plan were to create jobs and to build homes. In fact, its success was always calculated in terms of work-days created and homes turned over to needy families per week. These measures of success shaped the priorities of the plan: speed and quantity were prized above all else. The 1949 legislation provided another limitation on the scope of the administration's vision, by restricting who the new neighborhoods would serve: working-class families, including both manual laborers and clerical workers. Moreover, the Fanfani law mandated that Ina-Casa projects be constructed in zones that were connected to the city, and already had both civil and social services. This precluded new villages outside the city such as those built by UNRRA-CASAS. Ina-Casa neighborhoods were intended only to serve workers in

cities. Finally, the legislation determined the financing and economic constraints, such as maxiumum cost per room. Together these parameters of who, where, and how much it could cost, defined the broad outlines of the plan. The Ina-Casa administration and the local agencies involved filled out the next level of detail, but the visionary potential of Ina-Casa projects was limited from the start.

The sheer size of the Ina-Casa plan made it a powerful tool for reshaping postwar Italian cities, but as discussed in Chapter One, this power was shared on the ground between the central administation and the local governments and agencies involved. One of the most significant decisions was where to locate neighborhoods within existing cities. City governments were permitted to expropriate land if necessary, but they rarely did.[164] Initally, many municipalities built smaller projects of just a single or a few buildings on small available lots inside city centers in a piecemeal fashion. As the plan evolved, however, administrators learned that it was faster and more economical to purchase large parcels of land on the peripheries of Italian cities where entire quarters could be constructed.[165] This approach, in turn, necessitated that Ina-Casa provide services to the new quarters, which often meant extending electricity and sewer lines as well as building schools, markets, and social assistance centers. So although it was never the express intent of the Ina-Casa administration to marginalize them by relocating them to the periphery of cities, the desire to build quickly and economically ultimately resulted in the development of large quarters for the working-class on the edges of Italian cities.

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[164] This was controversial with those on the left believing more expropriation from wealthy landowners was necessary. See Filippo DePieri and Paolo Scrivano, "Representing the 'Historical Centre' of Bologna: Preservation Policies and reinvention of an Urban Identity," *Urban History Review* 33, no. 1 (2004).
[165] Beretta Anguissola, 69-74.

The Ina-Casa administration never questioned this strategy. Perhaps this was because it was in keeping with existing practices to preserve city centers as the domain of the wealthy and to relocate the lower classes to the periphery. In other words, the Ina-Casa administration never attempted to enact the dramatic social changes Olivetti believed possible, nor to restructure the economic or political systems. But despite the lack of revolutionary aims, the fact that the Ina-Casa plan provided hundreds of thousands of well-outfitted homes to families previously living in barracks, shacks, and caves did transform the living conditions and thus the lives of millions of Italians for decades to come.

Functional Principles and Formal Outcomes

Faced with the challenge of designing more than just individual homes, but also new neighborhoods on the edges of cities, the administration and designers focused their attention on the daily functioning of neighborhoods. The Projects Office of Ina-Casa under the leadership of Adalberto Libera articulated its vision for the urban design of Ina-Casa projects during the first *settennio* in the second design manual, *Suggerimenti, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica: Progetti tipo*.[166] How could the new quarters be designed to best serve the needs of the people while also promoting harmony and goodwill? In order to serve the daily needs of the residents, facilities for social and community services were needed. The facilities constructed in a quarter depended on the size of the project and what was already available or being planned nearby. Consequently some Ina-Casa neighborhoods have few social or civil services of any kind, while others have churches, schools, markets, police stations, senior centers, and more. The one

[166] *2. Suggerimenti, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica: Progetti tipo*.

exception was for quarters that would have over 10,000 residents. They were to receive the full slate of community facilities even if some already existed in the surrounding area.[167] Adalberto Libera gave more details in his 1952 essay for the INU on what size of population particular facilities could serve, as well as when to plan for more than one center in a community [Figure 27].[168] Libera's essay was not nearly as influential as the design manuals but it does provide additional insight into the workings of the plan, particularly in regard to the provision of neighborhood services. Churches, schools, social centers, markets, and cinemas were among the building types included in Ina-Casa projects.

In studying the nature of spatial-functional characteristics that distinguished neighborhoods that were operationally successful from the rest, Libera's essay focused on density as related to neighborhood size. While density and population were variable, Libera pushed designers to maintain a relatively stable distance between the center of a neighborhood and the most distant unit of housing. Thus whether a neighborhood housed a population of 2,000 or 10,000 the distance between the center and edge of a neighborhood would be relatively consistent, while the density varied.[169] As Figure 28 illustrates, Libera attempted to map the ideal relationship between density and neighborhood size, arguing that density should increase with population. At the heart of Libera's argument was the belief that the maximum distance a resident travels to meet their most basic daily needs should be limited to 200 meters. When the distance between

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[167] "il quartiere dovrebbe essere così distante da altri centri per cui tutte le attrezzature teoricamente necessarie per la convivenza civile, oltre che sufficienti, fossero praticamente ed economicamente possibili. In pratica, e nelle nostre condizioni, dovrà quindi parlare di *grado di autosufficienza*; intendendo con ciò che la attrezzatura necessaria sarà limitata da quella già esistente appunto nei quartieri e nelle città relativamente vicine e fosse sufficiente e valida anche per il quartiere in esame." Libera, 134.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Ibid.

the center of the neighborhood and the furthest home exceeded this, Libera argued that it became necessary to add a secondary center, which might include shops of first necessity, a bus stop, nursery school, and playground.[170]

According to the Ina-Casa design manuals, density and open space were critical determinants of the social and physical health of a community. Neighborhoods with straight streets, densely packed and monotonous buildings, and enclosed courtyards were undesirable. Coupled with density limitations was a mandate that neighborhoods provide six square meters of open space per resident.[171] Additionally, regulations sought to prevent roadways from taking up too much of the site: streets were limited to between 1/10 and 1/3 of the site area.[172] These recommendations for openness and limited density seem to relate less to spatial or economic efficiencies and more to the quality of the life of the Ina-Casa residents.

As discussed in Chapter Two, it was not considered necessary by Ina-Casa to entirely reject straight streets or orthogonally ordered compositions. Nevertheless, the overall urban character suggested by the design manuals was organic, and sensitive to the local context including natural features. Due to the number of housing units constructed and the geographical diversity of the plan, it is difficult to characterize the architecture and urbanism created under the plan as a whole. Moreover, the number and quality of public facilities provided in a neighborhood varied widely because of the contextual approach. As a result, the experience of life in Ina-Casa quarters could be dramatically

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[170] Ibid., 135.
[171] *2. Suggerimenti, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica: Progetti tipo*, 55.
[172] Ibid.

different depending on what commercial, civic, and religious facilities were constructed. This in turn, had an impact on the culture of the community.

Initially social assistance centers were not envisioned as part of the neighborhoods of Ina-Casa. But it was soon recognized that there were some problems that design alone could not solve, including creating harmony between families from different classes and regions. The Ina-Casa administration had to do something to help ease the transition for families and the predictable tensions between new neighbors. In 1952, social workers began operating out of the community centers in the new quarters, helping residents with difficulties in transitioning to the new way of life in the Ina-Casa neighborhoods. Beretta Anguissola describes some of the problems:

> Those who did not live in true and real homes before must learn to live in a civilized dwelling, maintaining cleanliness and order, getting used to living with neighbor—no longer in a depressing promiscuity in the open but possessing finally an exclusive sphere for intimate family life, to accept being subjected to comparisons (of economic status, of the cleanliness of children, of the maintenance of the house, of furnishings, etc.) with the other families of the building and the neighborhood. [173]

Thus the assignment of a new home began a process of transformation for the family. One can well imagine how an entire community of people undergoing such changes and feeling the pressure of new behavioral expectations would have conflicts and strife.

According to Beretta Anguissola, residents did not only have personal problems adjusting to the new way of life in their new homes, there were also problems among

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[173] "Per coloro che prima della consegna non abitavano in veri e propri alloggi, si tratta di imparare a vivere in una abitazione civile, mantenendola pulita e ordinata, di abituarsi a convivere con i vicini non più in una deprimente promiscuità all'aperto, ma possesendo finalmente una sfera esclusiva di intimità familiare; di accettare d'essere sottoposti a confronti (sul livello economico, sulla pulizia dei bambini, sulla manutenzione dell'alloggio, sul mobilio, ecc.) con le altre famiglie del fabbricato e del quartiere." Beretta Anguissola, 121-122.

residents stemming from pre-existing differences. He reports, for example, that some families did not send their children to school because they did not want them to come in contact with children of a lower class.[174] This might have been due to the fact that both manual laborers and clerical workers were included in Ina-Casa's definition of "working-class." In addition to problems between different classes, regional differences also provoked conflict, especially in the north, where a large number of families from different regions were brought together in the Ina-Casa quarters.[175]

One element of urban design that the design manuals did not discuss was the private automobile. The authors did not seem to anticipate a future where the working-class residents of Ina-Casa quarters would have private cars. The economic boom, which lifted the living standards of Italians, enabling the working-class to afford cars, did not begin until 1958. Thus in the 1950s, there were just 21 cars per 1,000 people, but by the 1960s, there were five times that, with 116 cars per 1,000 Italians.[176] In the first *settennio* of Ina-Casa no one foresaw this massive increase in car ownership. As a consequence, most of the early neighborhoods built under the plan could not accommodate the ever-increasing number of cars. Today many of the carefully designed green spaces of Ina-Casa neighborhoods have been paved over for parking.

The Legacy of Urbanism in Rome: from 1870 to WWII

Some of the earliest Ina-Casa neighborhoods were built in Rome. They added to a long-standing tradition of publicly sponsored working-class housing projects in the capital. In 1871 when Rome became the capital of the new Italian nation, the city had a

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[174] Ibid., 125.
[175] Ibid., 126.
[176] Istituto centrale di statistica, *Sommario di statistiche storiche, 1926-1985*, (Roma: Istituto centrale di statistica, 1986), 276.

population of just 230,000. It did not come close to filling out the skeleton of the ancient city, which had a population of over a million under Augustus. But the new capital expanded rapidly; by the end of Ina-Casa's second *settennio* the population was on its way to multiplying by thirteen times, to over three million. The city's explosive growth was driven not only by its newfound status as capital, but also by twentieth century migration patterns, where Italians from across the nation left their farms and villages for work in urban areas. As Rome's population exceeded that of the ancient city, the boundaries of the metropolis expanded in all directions [Figures 29-31]. Between 1940 and 1966 alone the city more than doubled in area.[177]

After unification in 1870, successive city and national governments each tried their hand at reigning in or at least managing the city's explosive growth. Yet the immediacy of the population's housing needs resulted in an uncontrolled pace of development that was difficult if not impossible to restrain or manage. New migrants were continuously pouring into the city, filling every available space and setting up makeshift housing on the periphery. Furthermore, political and economic interests often conflicted with more pragmatic concerns, including building housing for the poor. At the same time that developers focused their attention on middle and upper class housing, the national government often viewed Rome's historic center as a canvas for creating monumental symbols for international consumption. Achieving these various aims and satisfying the many powerful interests involved often exacerbated the problems of the powerless. Like the Naples of *Le mani sulla città*, the story of the poor and working-class

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[177] Robert C. Fried, *Planning the eternal city; Roman politics and planning since World War II*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 2.

in modern Rome is one that takes place simultaneously in two contexts, the center and the periphery.[178]

Rome, famously the city of seven hills, is bisected by the Tiber River. The remnants and ruins of centuries of periodic expansion and contraction left ruins miles and miles from the center in areas that in the early twentieth century were still sparsely populated. In terms of transportation, the ancient roads of Rome, such as the Prenestina, Tiburtina, Appia Antica, and Casilina, continued to serve the city's need for connections outward to the region and the rest of the nation. The city was never an industrial one and lacked a strong proletariat base, rather it was an administrative capital populated by the people and activities serving the Papacy and the Italian state. The populace found work as artisans, shopkeepers, and clerical workers in service to the Church and State. At the end of the middle ages, successive popes created legacies for themselves through elaborate building programs throughout Rome, leaving their marks in the form of piazzas, churches, and fountains. The unified Italian state eventually attempted to do the same, reshaping the capital to reflect the strength and values of the nation.

The history of planning modern Rome is the story of how a metropolis evolved in the absence of a government with both the authority and will to activate a comprehensive development strategy. Plans were drawn time and again, to no avail. Soon after Rome became capital in 1871, a commission was set up to create a new plan for the city.[179] The plan suggested developing the city to the east and discouraging industrial development in

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[178] On the urban history of modern Rome see Italo Insolera, *Roma moderna: un secolo di storia urbanistica, 1870-1970*, (Torino: G. Einaudi, 1993).
[179] On Rome's first master plan as capital see Spiro Kostof, "The drafting of a master plan for Roma Capitale; an exordium," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 35, no. 1 (1976). See also Fried, 19-29.

order to limit the growth of a politically powerful proletariat. The design was driven more by abstract aesthetics than by necessities. As Spiro Kostof describes:

> Budgets, traffic rationale, the surmounting of topographical and social difficulties – these supplied ammunition for the defense of a beautiful design after the fact rather than being the primary determinants of that design.[180]

In the end, powerless or careless to control or direct much of the new development, the city government tried to encourage construction by committing to provide services to new areas open to private development. Ultimately the complexity of interests and authorities in the capital proved to be too multifarious to overcome. The city council voted against adopting an official legally binding plan, enabling private development to continue largely unchecked.

Just over a decade later, the city engineer developed a new master plan that became law in 1883. It suggested rebuilding parts of the center as well as developing new areas outside the walls, such as Prati. But this plan was never fully implemented; instead a limited number of projects were undertaken in a piecemeal fashion. In 1909, the city government tried again to direct development adopting yet another master plan. Like its predecessors it too was largely a paper dream as development continued outside the boundaries of the plan.

Only after the Fascists consolidated their power in 1927, was there a government with the power necessary to control the city's growth and development. Yet while the Fascists did make their mark on the city, much of what was demolished and constructed still did not result from a clear overarching vision set out in a master plan. The first plan drafted under the Fascist government, the1931 master plan, combined idealistic goals,

[180] Kostof, "The drafting of a master plan for Roma Capitale; an exordium," 18.

such as to "create a splendid, monumental capital," with more pragmatic concerns such as to ease traffic congestion.[181] The absence of a coherent process for translating the large-scale plan into reality prevented many of these goals from ever being realized, even though the 1931 master plan remained law until 1959.[182] Instead like its predecessors, the Fascist government only implemented a few of the practical ideas, preferring instead to focus its efforts on politically charged projects of restoration and renewal that could be used as symbols of the regime's progress and power.

Archaeologists and architects undertook excavation and reconstruction projects at various ancient sites to link Fascism to the Roman empire. These included the Mausoleum of Augustus, Largo Argentina, the Imperial Forum, the theater of Marcellus, the area around the temple of Fortuna Virilis, and the Capitoline Hill.[183] In order to showcase ancient monuments, these projects often involved a process called *sventramento*. Literally translated as "gutting," the process entailed the clearing away of Rome's existing urban fabric including many medieval buildings that for centuries had provided affordable housing to the working-class in the center of the city. Between the Capitoline Hill and the Colosseum, for example, an entire neighborhood was removed in order to excavate the Imperial Forum. At other sites, buildings were demolished to make room for new roads, such as the Corso di Rinascimento near the Piazza Navona, in order to provide easier access to important symbolic sites. A section of the Borgo Vaticano neighborhood was destroyed in order to build a grand new avenue, the Via della

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[181] Fried, 33.
[182] On the 1931 master plan see Ibid., 29-40.
[183] On work done in the center under Fascism and new developments such as the University of Rome and the EUR, see Italo Insolera and Alessandra Maria Sette, *Roma tra le due guerre: cronache da una citta che cambia*, (Roma: Palombi, 2003). See also Insolera, *Roma moderna: un secolo di storia urbanistica, 1870-1970*.

Conciliazione, leading up to St. Peter's Basilica and symbolizing the renewed alliance of the Italian State with the Catholic Church in 1929. On the whole, the Fascists focused their attention in Rome's center on grandiose projects for the sake of triumphal symbolism and pageantry, and in the process rendered the people even more powerless.

It was outside the center that the Fascist government constructed housing for the poor and working-class, some of whom had been left homeless by the imperialistic projects undertaken in the center. Removing the poor from the center and resettling them in new developments outside the center was official fascist policy. Called *borgate* (singular: *borgata*), these new neighborhoods tended to be located beyond the edge of the city out of reach of most public transit.[184] As Italo Insolera describes, "*borgata* is a subspecie of *borgo*: a piece of the city in the middle of the country, that is not really one or the other."[185]

The housing in the *borgate* was substandard: dwellings generally consisted of a single room at ground level without running water, electricity, or plumbing. At one *borgata*, there were only 25 toilets shared by 5,000 people.[186] What made life even more difficult for residents was the great distance from the center. To travel there usually entailed walking a great distance just to get to the nearest public transit stop, and moreover, the cost of the fare was often beyond the means of the *borgate* residents. This meant that they were by and large cut off from services, such as shops, post offices, banks, and schools, as well as employment opportunities. This situation was dire for the

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[184] On the borgate see Insolera, *Roma moderna: un secolo di storia urbanistica, 1870-1970*. See also Albert Guttenberg, "Abusivismo and the Borgate of Rome," in *Spontaneous Shelter: International Perspectives and Prospects*, ed. Carl V. Patton (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988); Trabalzi.
[185] Insolera, *Roma moderna: un secolo di storia urbanistica, 1870-1970*, 135-6.
[186] Ibid., 138.

many who made their livings as artisans or in the service industry, and had served clients located in the center of the city. As a man living in the center of Naples explained in *Le Mani sulla Città*, "We are blacksmiths here, we're not leaving here. These others are blacksmiths, tailors, cobblers, carpenters; their work is here, they cannot leave."[187] Similarly, the Romans forced out of the center and relocated to the *borgate* were no different: for many, their livelihood was tied to their proximity to the city center.

For the Fascist government, however, the *sventramenti-borgate* combination made it easier to control lower class populations of Rome. Transit to the center could be suspended, and in some cases neighborhoods could be cordoned off and policed. Moreover, once they were relocated out of sight, this population was rendered invisible to the public eye. The historic center of Rome had long represented not just the city but the Italian nation to the world. With the development of the Fascist *borgate,* fewer poor and working-class Italians would be able to have a presence or a voice on the world stage of the city.

The Tiburtino, Rome

Rome was bombed during the Second World War, but did not suffer the destruction that befell many other central and northern Italian cities such as Bologna. The most severely damaged areas were those around the Basilica of San Lorenzo, the University, and the neighborhoods along the Via Prenestina, the Via Tiburtina, and the Via Casilina. Instead of simply the need to rebuild, postwar pressure for new housing was primarily driven by the ever-growing population. The city would not, however, have a new master plan to guide its growth until 1965. The master plan of 1931 remained in

[187] Rosi.

effect while planners and politicians debated which way the city was to grow, how to connect new centers, and how best to preserve the historic core.[188] In Rome, Ina-Casa was born into a moment not unlike the preceding century, when a clear plan to guide development was neither enacted nor enforced. The result was sporadic, uncontrolled, and sprawling growth—to which Ina-Casa contributed.

Given the rapid pace of population growth, the legacy of Fascist planning, the absence of a coherent plan, and the status of Rome as capital, the Ina-Casa administration faced a complex and highly charged challenge in its hometown as it set out to activate the urban ideology articulated in the design manuals. In the absence of a comprehensive vision for growth in the decades following the war, the location of Ina-Casa neighborhoods was based on where available land could be purchased, with little regard for the holistic development of the city.[189] Ultimately over 22,000 units of housing were constructed in the capital during the fourteen years of the plan; only in Milan and Naples were there more homes built under the plan. An examination of the Tiburtino neighborhood illustrates one way in which the urban ideology of Ina-Casa was translated into reality in relationship to the knotty and circuitous context of Rome.

The Tiburtino neighborhood (1949–52) is located along the Via Tiburtina, which leads northeast out of the city. It sits roughly five kilometers to the northeast of Stazione Termini and just south of the present Pietralata metro stop on the B-line [Figure 32]. Today Rome's periphery has pushed far past this Ina-Casa neighborhood, reaching at least another five kilometers beyond it along the Via Tiburtina. Even the metro goes

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[188] For more on the postwar planning debates leading up to the 1965 plan see Fried, 41-68.
[189] On Rome's Ina-Casa neighborhoods see Margherita Guccione, Segarra Lagunes, Maria Margarita, Vittorini Rosalia, *Guida ai quartieri romani INA Casa*, (Roma: Gangemi, 2002).

three kilometers beyond the neighborhood. At the time the Ina-Casa neighborhood of Tiburtino was built, however, the surrounding area was largely undeveloped and the neighborhood formed the outer edge of an ever-expanding periphery [Figure 33]. Nevertheless, there was bus service from the neighborhood to the center when it was built. Moreover, because it was adjacent to existing development to the south, the site was not as isolated as many of the fascist *borgate*.

The thirty buildings that make up the neighborhood contain 684 dwellings and house approximately 4,000 residents [Figure 34]. The hilly site is an irregular "L" shape that today nestles into the surrounding developments. In combination, the topography and shape of the site divide the neighborhood into smaller disconnected parcels. Relatively few social services were provided because the neighborhood was adjacent to existing and planned development—Ina-Casa specified that the provision of services take into account what already existed, or was under construction in the area. Thus, no schools or recreation facilities were included in the planning of the neighborhood. A church immediately adjacent to the neighborhood in the corner of the "L" shaped site was readily accessible. The only building types other than housing included in the design were a few shops and a social center. Instead of clustering these shops together in a central location, the designers spread them out across the site.

The result of the irregular shaped site, the hilly topography, and the thin distribution of just a few public buildings and spaces is a neighborhood with no real center. In fact, the Tiburtino has a paradoxical relationship to its surroundings. The neighborhood is visually distinct from the surrounding periphery due to the smaller scale buildings and patches of green space spread throughout the quarter. As Carlo Aymonino

characterized it in 1957: "Together it has the character of a village, archaic and free, as something more intimate to the chaos of the periphery of the metropolis."[190] Yet while on one hand the Tiburtino does have a different character from the typical peripheral development that surrounds it, on the other hand, it is seamlessly integrated into the surrounding area. Walking through the quarter today it is hard to understand where the boundaries of the neighborhood are. Without a strong center or precise boundaries, the only sense of cohesion comes from the common architectural language, created by the palate of colors, materials, and the scale. But this alone is not enough to clearly define the community against its surroundings.

Architecturally the neighborhood has a folky and rustic character. The buildings have plaster walls painted in warm shades with wooden shutters, and sloped roofs. The few commercial buildings are just a story tall, while most of the residential ones are three- to four-stories high. Taller towers of seven or eight-stories can be found on two edges of the site. All of the buildings are arranged somewhat haphazardly across the site, creating oddly shaped intermediary spaces between buildings. The overall character of the neighborhood is difficult to capture in words, as Manfredo Tafuri explains, "Neither a city nor a suburb, the complex, strictly speaking, was also not a 'town,' but rather an affirmation of both rage and hope, even if the mythologies that sustained it made its rage impotent and its hope ambiguous."[191]

Positing their approach as "organic," the architects of Tiburtino attempted to use the project to reject Fascism and offer something new in its place. The first step in paving the way forward was to define what was undesirable, politically or socially, about

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[190] Aymonino: 20.
[191] Tafuri, 17.

these existing approaches to design; then the architects had to create something new in opposition. They zeroed in on the monumentality of neoclassical planning and the cold abstraction of Italian Rationalism. As Aymonino explained in regards to Rationalism:

> From the beginning of the project, the idea of moving beyond a rationalist type of composition, dictated by uniform orientation, constant measurements, and by the repetition of a few building types was accepted… We abandoned every idea of planimetric rhythm, of abstract proportion, searching instead to find a spatial reality that appeared alone as a constructed project. [192]

Thus it was in contrast to the regularity and formalism of Rationalism that the architects of Tiburtino sought to create something natural and colloquial. The architects centered their opposition to neoclassical planning on the question of scale. Aymonino cited the constitution of the organic architecture movement writing, "organic architecture is therefore the anti-thesis of monumental architecture that serves the myths of the state. It is opposed to the major and minor axes of contemporary neoclassicism."[193] The small scale, irregularity, and spontaneity of the Tiburtino can be understood as a way of creating distance from Fascism by using techniques that were, to the architects, in direct opposition to those most associated with the styles of the regime.

The picturesque qualities of the planning and composition of the Tiburtino—variety, irregularity, and spontaneity—were created in direct contrast to those urban design characteristics that came to be associated with Fascist urbanism after the fall of the regime. There was no singular approach to neighborhood design under Fascism, but by

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[192] "Sin dall'inizio della progettazione del quartiere fu accettata l'idea di superare una composizione di tipo razionalistico, dettata dall'orientamento uniforme, da distacchi costanti, dalla ripetizione di pochi tipi edilizi… Abbandonata ogni idea di ritmo planimetrico, di propozioni astratte, si è cercato di raggiungere una realtà spaziale, che apparirà soltanto a progetto costruito." Aymonino.

[193] "L'architettura organica è perciò; l'antitesi dell'architettura monumentale, che serve miti statali. Si oppone all'asse majore e all'asse minore del neoclassicismo contemporaneo…" Ibid.: 19.

the 1950s a stereotype had developed and was recognized. The Fascist new town of Latina (initially named Littoria), designed by Oriolo Frezzotti in 1933, not only provides one of the best examples of how designers attempted to translate political ideals of community into urban form, but also well illustrates the design characteristics of this stereotype. Two characteristics make Latina an ideal site for comparison. First, the fact that it was entirely new allows us to see how Fascists realized their ideals without the constraints of existing buildings and street patterns. Second, the size of the town, larger than a neighborhood but smaller than a metropolis, enables us to understand the architects' vision of how the different sectors and functions of society should be physically organized in relation to one another.

Latina is the provincial capital and largest of the new towns constructed by the Fascists in the reclaimed marshland of the Agro Pontino during the 1930s [Figure 35]. A rectangular shaped piazza anchors the radial town plan. Six main avenues lead outward from the center and each corner of the rectangle, creating a radial star-like pattern. These major streets combine with cross streets in concentric circles around the central piazza to form the city's street pattern. Secondary piazzas are located at other major intersections. The most important government buildings of the regime were situated on the main piazza. Public buildings of secondary importance, including the main church, were located on secondary piazzas throughout the city. Thus the centralized form set up a hierarchy of spaces and building types, which served as a physical diagram of the hierarchical organization of an ideal Fascist society. Like the public spaces that were organized and divided according to function, the private housing was organized

according to class; neighborhoods were segregated according to housing typologies and class.[194]

The distinctively hierarchical and geometric plan of Latina is what differentiates it most from the organic and picturesque urbanism of the Ina-Casa neighborhoods. The grand radiating avenues and regularly shaped piazzas of Latina contrast with the crooked streets and irregular green spaces of the Ina-Casa quarters. The ways in which Ina-Casa designers responded to the conditions of the site were also fundamentally different from Latina. Ina-Casa designers were instructed in the manuals to take the natural landscape into account, to design around existing buildings, hills, and even trees. The Latina plan, in contrast, was based on conquering and civilizing the marshland: the plan as a result is an ideal one that could be imprinted on any blank slate. Of course the area where Latina now stands was not a blank slate awaiting the idealized imprint of an ideal city; it too had existing landscape that designers could have taken into consideration. The sensitivity to context and landscape on the part of Ina-Casa designers was thus a break from the approach taken by Frezzotti at Latina. Instead of domesticating the land, Ina-Casa architects strove to respond to and work with the natural landscape. Thus Ina-Casa administrators and architects pinpointed and rejected certain characteristics associated with Fascist urbanism, including hierarchy, order, and disregard for the landscape or context in favor of the exact opposite.

Despite these differences, at the heart of Ina-Casa planning lies a great deal of continuity with Fascist planning strategies. Most importantly, the Tiburtino plan continued to apply the earlier idea of class separation. Thus the community envisioned in

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[194] Ghirardo, *Building new communities: New Deal America and Fascist Italy*.

the new Italian republic was still one physically segregated by class. In the end, the manuals' authors and the designers concerned themselves with change primarily at a formal level. They twisted the streets and worked with the landscape in deliberate contrast to the well-known ordered streets and imposing plans of Fascist new towns like Latina. These visual differences will be discussed in depth in Chapter Four. Although the administrators and architects of Ina-Casa rejected the symbolic trappings of Fascist Italy, they utilized similar planning policies, which ultimately served to further divide Italians and to render the lower classes in cities as invisible as before.

Planning in Bologna

While Ina-Casa neighborhoods by their nature could never be independent cities with a mix of classes, there are some projects that come closer to a more holistic vision of community, similar to Howard's idea of the garden city, through the incorporation of more community services and the design of a strong and well-utilized neighborhood center. Borgo Panigale in Bologna, is one of the best examples.

Bologna, capital of the Emilia-Romagna region, was occupied by German troops in 1943 and was not liberated until April 1945, nearly two years after the allied forces had invaded southern Italy. Allied bombing raids damaged and destroyed much of the city's infrastructure and building stock. Exacerbating the problem, new construction slowed dramatically during the war. The calamities of war demanded a rethinking about how the city functioned, should be rebuilt, and should be further developed. Architects and planners were challenged to repair the extensive damage and draft new plans to account for future transit, infrastructure, and housing needs. They were free to imagine

projects on a grand scale that expressed ideas about how society might be reorganized in a way that could alleviate many of the problems caused by poor planning.[195]

After the war, Bologna, home to Europe's oldest university with nearly 100,000 students, became a center for Communist party politics. Communist mayors governed the city from 1945 into the 1990s, during which time it became known as a model government, characterized as democratic, efficient, and effective. Bologna's planning history is often cited as a positive example of what an open and democratic planning process can achieve: the preservation of architectural heritage while accommodating the demands of modern life.[196] Yet, this reputation as a model of good planning is largely due to developments that took place in the 1960s leading up to the new regulatory plan of 1970. The Ina-Casa neighborhoods in Bologna predate this period. They were constructed in the still chaotic immediate postwar period when the city was trying to cope and just beginning to develop the first official postwar plan of 1955.

Bologna is the regional capital of one of Italy's richest agricultural regions, the Emilia-Romagna, and acts as a trade center for agriculture. A number of distinct physical characteristics mark the city. It lies on the main railway line and along the major highway leading from Florence north to Milan and Switzerland. The railway line cuts a deep divide into the ground and separates the historic center from later development to the north. Connections between the city's northern quarters and its center are therefore limited to a number of bridges over the vast expanse of tracks. The southern edge of the city is also distinctly bounded, by a series of steep hills [Figure 36]. Together the parallel

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[195] On the history of planning in Bologna see Giuliano Gresleri's work on the subject, particularly Pierluigi Giordani, Giuliano Gresleri, and Nicola Marzot, *Bologna: architettura, citta, paesaggio*, (Roma: Mancosu, 2006).
[196] See DePieri and Scrivano.

boundaries of the depressed railway line to the north and hills to the south have contributed to development stretching towards the east and west. The University of Bologna is spread throughout buildings on the eastern side of the city center. The international airport lies to the west of the city. Architecturally, the center of the city is famous for its arcaded walkways that protect its inhabitants from rain, snow, traffic, and the hot Italian sun.

The modern plans for Bologna follow its development from a town into a provincial and regional capital, starting with the master plan of 1889. In 1927, the Fascist mayor Leandro Arpinati called for revisions to be reflected in a new master plan. In it, Bologna was conceptualized as a metropolitan region for the first time. This was to be achieved politically by incorporating neighboring towns into the city, including Borgo Panigale, which lies to the west of the center along the main road leading to Modena.[197] The 1927 Fascist plan was the first to conceive of Bologna as something greater than the historic center alone, an idea that would be taken up and developed by later planners.[198]

In 1938, the Fascist government again sought to create a new plan for Bologna and launched a design competition for that purpose. Although it was clear that the war would interfere with any implementation, the competition nevertheless generated novel proposals for the city. One of the three winning entries was crafted by Bottoni, Giordani, Legnani, and Pucci and based on CIAM planning principles. It was distinguished by the desire to create a plan free of class divisions. Instead of separate zones with distinct housing typologies for the upper, middle, and working-classes, this plan proposed a

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[197] Giuliano Gresleri, "Tra '800 e '900: Gli architetti, 'Le opere e i giorni'," in *Bologna : architettura, citta, paesaggio*, ed. Pierluigi Giordani, Giuliano Gresleri, and Nicola Marzot (Roma: Mancosu, 2006), 126-128.
[198] Ibid., 126.

unified approach to housing, "based on the political ethic of our time."[199] The "political ethic"—Fascism—was interpreted, rather uniquely in this instance, as a force that could erase class divisions by creating national bonds centered on Fascist ideals. The Bottoni group's plan, however, was never realized and the new idea of planning for mixed income neighborhoods would not be widely taken up by city planners until the late twentieth century.

Two plans were developed while the city was under German occupation, an official one designed by Graziani, Ramponi, Setti, and Torrelli, and a "clandestine" one by Luigi Vignali, Giorgio Pizzighini, and Gildo Scagliarini.[200] Both groups focused their attention on the problem of how to heal the scar created by the railway line that divided the city center from expansion to the north. The "clandestine" plan promoted the idea of small autonomous quarters separated from the main city by green space in the spirit of Ebenezer Howard's garden city idea. Although neither plan was ever approved or implemented, they did prompt discussion and debate after the war. Moreover, the idea of satellite cities independent from the center was one that would be taken up again.

The first *settennio* of Ina-Casa had nearly ended by the time Bologna had its first approved postwar regulatory plan. In 1952 designers were once again charged with creating a new city plan, which led to a plan three years later in 1955. It took the broad view of the 1927 plan a step further and considered not only the problems of the metropolis, but the region as a whole. Infrastructure and roads were designed to accommodate a future Bologna with a population of one million in the metropolitan area.

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[199] Giancarlo Consonni, Lodovico Meneghetti, and Graziella Tonon, eds., *Piero Bottoni: opera completa*, (Milano: Fabbri Editori, 1990), 283.
[200] See Alberto Pedrazzini, "Il meta del '900: La ricostruzione," in *Bologna : architettura, citta, paesaggio* (Roma: Mancosu, 2006).

A ring road was to be constructed around the city and its major traffic arteries were to be improved. Similar to the "clandestine" plan of 1944, the 1955 plan imagined a metropolitan Bologna comprised of a constellation of satellite cities on its outskirts, each with its own independent services, commerce, and other necessities to allow for autonomy from the center. The idea of satellite cities, independent and disconnected from the city center, was not in keeping with the Ina-Casa guidelines, which specifically mandated that neighborhoods be connected to the center even if located on the periphery. Nevertheless, the satellite city idea did carry over in limited ways into Ina-Casa developments in Bologna.

Borgo Panigale, Bologna

A number of Ina-Casa projects were constructed in Bologna, some in the first phase before the 1955 plan became law.[201] The Ina-Casa neighborhood of Borgo Panigale, constructed from 1951-5 has the self-sufficiency of a satellite city, but the connection to the city required by Ina-Casa. It is located roughly four and a half miles to the northwest of Bologna's city center [Figure 37]. The name Borgo Panigale actually refers to a larger quarter that predates the Ina-Casa neighborhood and probably derives its name from the soap factory, La Panigal that was located nearby.[202]

The neighborhood was constructed on a twelve-hectare site sandwiched between the main railroad line and an arterial road, Via Emilio Lepido, which leads to Bologna's international airport and ultimately to Modena. Today the area is easily accessible due to its location adjacent to the city's outerbelt and bus lines that connect the city to both the

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[201] On Ina-Casa in Bologna see *Per Bologna: Novant'anni di attività dell'Istituto Autonomo case Popolari 1906-1996*.
[202] Iodice, ed.

center and other sections of the periphery. When the Ina-casa project was constructed, however, the site was on the outer edge of Bologna's periphery. In the early 1950s the tram-line along Via Emilio Lepido stopped about a kilometer short of the new Ina-Casa quarter. It was extended shortly after the neighborhood was completed in order to serve the new quarter. Though adjacent to the pre-existing town of Borgo Panigale and connected to Bologna, the site was largely agricultural, "virgin territory."[203]

The well-known Bolognese architect Giuseppe Vaccaro was charged with designing the urban plan of Borgo Panigale and led the architectural design team.[204] Although the formal adoption and approval of Bologna's 1955 master plan occurred after the construction of the neighborhood, Borgo Panigale reflects one manifestation of the idea of a satellite quarter complete with its own services [Figure 38]. The new neighborhood included 584 units of housing for a total of 3,771 habitable rooms. The community buildings are located in the center of the neighborhood and include a church, parish facilities, elementary school, gymnasium, nursery school, and social center. There are shops and cafes in a long arcaded building on Via Normandia [Figure 39]. A bar sits in an open green on the edge of the center near the arterial road Via Emilia Lepido. The original design also included a cinema, covered market area, and police station, which were never constructed. Residential building types are comprised of two-story row-houses, and three-, four- and five- story blocks of flats. [205]

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[203] Linda and Massimo Calzoni Carlone, "Il villaggio INA-CASA di Borgo Panigale: piccola cronistoria di un quartiere," in *Borgo Panigale: Da villaggio mesolitico a quartiere cittadino*, ed. Manuela Iodice (Bologna: Cassa Rurale ed Artigiana di Borgo Panigale, 1990), 148.
[204] The design team included G. Cavani, A. Legnani, and F. Santini. Beretta Anguissola, 172-3.
[205] For a plan of the neighborhood as initially designed (with three additional buildings that were never built and an earlier design for the church) see Ibid.

The building types are loosely grouped together by function or typology, mirroring those city planning principles that dictated class and functional separation at the scale of the residential quarter. Private residential buildings fan out around the center, which houses all of the public buildings. The church anchors this public zone [Figure 40]. The two schools and the social center, all public civic buildings, are on one side, while the other side is dedicated to the public commercial buildings, the shopping street. The cinema would have formed the third, entertainment component of this array of public spaces surrounding the church. The residential area is arranged by building type, and thus implicitly by economic status and/or family size. The two-story row houses, which are the largest homes with three to four bedrooms each, are grouped together in the northwest section of the site [Figure 41]. These row houses are the only homes that have a clear connection to a private exterior space; each house is allotted a private garden behind and sometimes in front of the house. The scale, typology, and relationship to the site together create a more private sense of ownership for the residents of the largest and most expensive homes. The various blocks of flats, in contrast, tend to have two to four units per floor [Figure 42-44]. While each apartment does have at least one patio or balcony providing access to the outdoors, the ground area surrounding these buildings is shared common green space. Instead of mixing together these disparate building types, Vaccaro segregated them and mimicked the larger division of the city, where working-class quarters comprised of blocks of flats such as this one would be separate and distinct from upper class zones.

These spatial divisions raise a question: at what scale are functional and typological/class divisions productive and useful, and at what scale do they engender

social divisiveness or make daily life more arduous? In this case, the loose differentiation between the public buildings at the center of the neighborhood and the surrounding domestic buildings is a typical functional separation between public and semi-public or private. Further, the subtle distinctions between different residential typologies are above all a product of the particular sites for which they are designed. The formal integrity of each type depends on its site: if the two-story row-houses alternated with five story blocks, the integrity of each would have been compromised. If such divisions between housing types or buildings types were created at the metropolitan scale, for example, with all the schools and shops together in a single zone separated from all residential buildings, travel between places would be inconvenient on a day-to-day basis. At the neighborhood level, however, this separation is effective. Since everything in the quarter is within walking distance, such divisions do not negatively affect daily life.

Borgo Panigale is among those Ina-Casa neighborhoods that reflect many of the ideas central to Ebenezer Howard's original concept of the garden city. Because the Ina-Casa administration focused on working-class quarters adjacent to existing cities, it was impossible for any garden cities, in the truest sense of Howard's idea, to be constructed under the plan. Furthermore, Ina-Casa quarters were limited to one class and much smaller than the entire cities of 30,000 envisioned by Howard. Despite these differences and limitations, however, some Ina-Casa neighborhoods including Borgo Panigale do reflect many of the planning principles of actual garden cities. Borgo Panigale, however, does not share the same level of irregularity and variety found in the Tiburtino, characteristics which are commonly associated with garden cities. It also lacks the

architectural unity of the Tiburtino; the buildings of Borgo Panigale openly reveal the fact that they were designed by different architects. While Borgo Panigale may not capture the more typical planning style associated with actual garden cities, it is much closer to Howard's ideal than the Tiburtino because it functions more like a garden city. Experientially, Borgo Panigale is separate from the rest of the area because it has two strong boundaries; the railway line to the north and the arterial road to the south. The well-served center with its commercial and community buildings provides a focal point around which the neighborhood congregates and the actual cohesiveness that the Tiburtino lacked.

Borgo Panigale's cohesive urban design elides the larger competing political actors that came together at this site. Here the national Christian Democratic government, which created Ina-Casa, was working alongside the local Communist government and the Catholic Church. In fact, each of these political forces had its own agenda and policy for implementing that agenda. The church, for example, was part of the archdiocese of Bologna's postwar strategy to colonize the periphery. They all came together here, led by the hand of the "apolitical" architect Vaccaro. The neighborhood reflects the complicated, yet in this instance fruitful, co-existence of these conflicting powers.

Planning in Matera

Southern Italy did not suffer greatly from wartime destruction. Yet here the need for development was every bit as urgent as it was in those sections of the country that had suffered allied bombing and lengthy Nazi occupation. The south and islands were slow to industrialize and plagued by endemic government corruption, difficult terrain, and a

general lack of resources.[206] By almost all measures of quality of life, education, or opportunity, the south was far behind the northern and central regions of Italy. In 1951, for example, twenty-five percent of islanders and southerners were illiterate, compared to just three percent in the northwestern regions of the country.[207] There were also significant disparities in the quality of housing and services: just fifty-two percent of Sicilian households had running water in 1951, compared with eighty-eight percent of homes in Lombardy. And while ninety-four percent of homes in Lombardy had electricity in 1951, just sixty-nine percent of them did in Sicily.[208]

Located in the remote hills of the Basilicata region, Matera is 257 kilometers from Naples and 65 kilometers from Bari. But even from Bari, Matera is difficult to reach; today the local train still takes roughly an hour and a half to cross the rocky terrain between the two cities. The area is not well connected to the rest of the country; there are only a few routes in and out of Matera traveling either by car or train. The city itself is most famous for its *sassi,* cave dwellings carved out of the tufa hills, where thousands of Italians still lived in poverty and squalor in the late 1940s [Figure 45]. Within the urban fabric, the *sassi* appear to be terraced stone buildings blanketing a hillside. But inside they reveal themselves to be cave dwellings carved into and out of the hills. In the 1950s, most of the *sassi*, lacking electricity and adequate ventilation, were dark and humid inside. For the residents, predominantly peasants who worked the land, the living conditions were decidedly unhealthy. In the two main *sassi* the average density was 4.36

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[206] On the nature and history of the divisions between north and south see Tommaso Astarita, *Between Salt Water and Holy Water: A History of Southern Italy*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2005).
[207] The south and islands (Sicily and Sardinia) are usually grouped together, when discussing regional differences.
[208] Istituto centrale di statistica, *IX censimento generale della popolazione, 4 novembre 1951*, (Roma: ABETE, 1954), 28-29.

people per room—"rooms" really meant caves in Matera. Further, fifty-five percent of the dwellings had been deemed "absolutely uninhabitable" in 1938.[209]

Following unification, successive national governments intermittently attempted to address conditions in Matera. During both the liberal and fascist eras, detailed studies were made, plans drafted, resulting in some progress. Street lighting was installed in 1908, and Matera was first connected by rail to Altamura in 1912. Developments in the '20s and '30s continued to focus on infrastructure, and, after the city became the capital of the province in 1927, on the construction of administrative buildings. In the 1930s, a new center adjacent to the *sassi* was built around Piazza Vittorio Veneto and included a new hospital, library, and INA headquarters, as well as new roads.[210] A limited number of new *case popolari* were constructed on the edge of the city. These *case popolari* were used, however, as a sort of forced exile for political enemies of the regime instead of providing much needed housing to those living in the caves.

Inside the *sassi*, change was slower to come. Water services were improved and new roads were built enabling vehicular access into the area in the 1930s. But for the most part, the residents continued to live in overcrowded and unhealthy conditions. In 1936 Mussolini came to Matera to inaugurate the new road into the *sassi,* promising that the Fascist government would finally address the situation and that within two years, "the *sassi* way of life would be extinct."[211] Sadly, it would be almost twenty more years

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[209] See Cosimo Damiano Fonseca, Rosalba Demetrio and Grazia Guadagno, *Matera*, (Bari: Editori Laterza, 2003), 83-120.
[210] Mimmo Fiore, "Il Piano Regolatore e l'architettura negli anni trenta a Matera," *Storia Urbana* 22, no. 85 (1998).
[211] Fonseca, 89.

before the living conditions of the *sassi* residents were addressed in a serious and comprehensive manner.

Postwar politicians pointed to the situation in Matera as an indictment of the previous government as well as the local bourgeoisie. It was not until after the war, when writer Carlo Levi's account of the region garnered national and international attention, that the caves were evacuated by law and new housing constructed for the residents. Levi was exiled to the villages of Grassano and Aliano near Matera in the 1930s for his opposition to the Fascist government. Through his book, *Christ Stopped at Eboli*, first published in 1945, many Italians, who had never visited the region, learned for the first time just how desperately poor and troubled the south of their nation was.[212] As Levi recalled his sister's observations of Matera:

> The houses were open on account of the heat, and as I went by I could see into the caves, whose only light came in through the front doors. Some of them had no entrance but a trapdoor and ladder. In these dark holes with walls cut out of the earth I saw a few pieces of miserable furniture, beds and some ragged clothes hanging up to dry. On the floor lay dogs, sheep, goats, and pigs. Most families have just one cave to live in and there they sleep all together; men, women, children, and animals. This is how twenty thousand people live.

These conditions took their toll, especially on the youngest inhabitants:

> Of children I saw an infinite number. They appeared from everywhere, in the dust and heat, amid the flies, stark naked or clothed in rags; I have never in all my life seen such a picture of poverty. My profession has brought me in daily contact with dozens of poor, sick, ill-kempt children, but I never even dreamed of a sight like this. I saw children sitting on the doorsteps, in the dirt, while the sun beat down on them, with their eyes half-closed and their eyelids red and swollen; flies crawled across the lids, but the children stayed quite still, without raising a hand to brush them away. Yes flies crawled across their eyelids, and they seemed not to even feel them. They had trachoma. I knew that it existed in the south, but to see it against this background of poverty and dirt was something else again. I saw other children with the wizened faces of old men, their bodies reduced by

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[212] Levi's book was translated into a number of different languages with the first English translation published in 1947. Carlo Levi, *Christ stopped at Eboli*, (London: Penguin Books, 2000).

> starvation almost to skeletons, their heads crawling with lice and covered with scabs. Most of them had enormous, dilated stomachs, and faces yellow and worn with malaria.[213]

Put simply, *Christ Stopped at Eboli* drew international attention to the alarming fact that thousands of Italians were living in squalid and overcrowded caves in the 1950s.

The Italian Communist Party leader Palmiro Togliatti called this situation "the shame of Italy." When Prime Minister Alcide de Gasperi visited the city in 1950, he referred to the *sassi* as "vergognose tane" (shameful dens) and promised action.[214] This time decisive legislative action mandating change followed political pronouncements. While the problems of the region were certainly more complex than housing, this was clearly the most pressing issue and a physical solution was sought.[215] On May 17, 1952 Law 619 was passed, mandating that *sassi* deemed uninhabitable were to be evacuated and new housing constructed for the inhabitants. Initially the law proposed three strategies for addressing the problem: the renovation of *sassi* that could be improved to livable condition (roughly one-third), the construction of new satellite villages around Matera for farmers, and the construction of new suburbs on the edge of the city for those *sassi* residents whose jobs required they remain near the city center. Of the 3,374 dwellings, only 43 were already in livable condition, while another 859 could be

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[213] Ibid., 86.
[214] Fonseca, 97.
[215] Sydel F. Silverman characterized the region's long list of problems: the traditions of continued dominance by distant powers, the entrenched and insidious two-class system, the bureaucracy, the clientele system – perpetuated both by clients and patrons, the exploitation and ineptness of the national government, the utilization of law as an instrument of the powerful, the lethargy and mutual suspicion among the people, the isolation of families, the degrading position of women and the frustrating relationships between the sexes, the antipathy towards manual labor, the interpretation of education as a possession of the privileged and as an avoidance of reality. Sydel F. Silverman, "The Hoe and the Book: An Italian Experiment in Community Development (book review)," *American Anthropologist* 63, no. (1961).

renovated. That left 2,581 families in need of new homes; of these 1,653 needed new homes near the city and 928 were farmers.[216]

As a result of Law 619, Luigi Piccinato, one of Italy's leading urban designers, was hired to draft a new master plan for Matera [Figure 46]. Piccinato proposed five new satellite villages to serve the needs of those engaged in agricultural work: La Martella, Borgo Venusio, Santa Lucia, Dragona di Picciano, and Torre Spagnola. For those who needed to remain close to the city, he proposed a series of new suburban quarters adjacent to the city: Serra Venerdì, Spine Bianche, Villa Longo, and La Nera. These new suburbs would line the arterial roads leading to Bari, Potenza, and Metaponto and continue city growth in the direction of earlier Fascist plans. Piccinato himself designed the satellite town of Borgo Venusio and the suburban quarter, Serra Venerdì, an Ina-Casa neighborhood. A national competition was held to select architects for the other new quarters and villages.

The five rural villages were each provided with necessary civil and social services, including schools, churches, markets, and government outposts. The suburban quarters, however, were not so well supplied. Instead they were conceived of as having a daily relationship with the city center and therefore not requiring a full slate of communal and commercial facilities. The relatively small size of Matera made it possible to imagine suburban communities whose residents' needs for shopping, municipal government, schools, hospitals might be served by the city center.

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[216] Luigi Piccinato, "Matera : i sassi i nuovi borghi e il piano regolatore," *Urbanistica* 24, no. 15-16 (1954).

Villa Longo, Matera

Villa Longo (1958–62), designed by Domenico Virgili, was one of the suburban quarters included in Piccinato's plan. Located three kilometers from the center of Matera, the neighborhood was constructed as part of the second *settennio* of the Ina-Casa plan [Figures 47]. It occupies five hectares and is comprised of 285 housing units with a total of 1,482 rooms [Figure 48–49].[217] The streets of the quarter are named after those other parts of the country that feel so distant and foreign in Matera: Via Trieste, Venezia, Palermo, Milano, Torino, and Genoa. Two buildings and an irregularly shaped outdoor area with a couple of benches occupy the center of the quarter [Figure 50–51]. The first, the only pre-existing building on the site, contains a small store and a community association. Across from this existing building is a multi-purpose facility with a community medical center, a senior association, and a fenced in play yard. Visiting today, one finds that the irregular outdoor area—one could hardly call it a piazza—is filled with the chatter of the elderly men of the quarter, creating their own sort of evening *passeggiata*. There are no other public facilities such as schools, churches, or markets in the quarter, though these can be found nearby. Spine Bianche, the Ina-Casa quarter immediately to the south, for example, has a central square with a church and school. A variety of shops, cafes, and restaurants line Via Dante and Via Nazionale, the city arterial roads bordering Villa Longo.

There are thirteen residential buildings spread more or less evenly across the five-hectare site of Villa Longo.[218] The residential buildings vary in footprint but are all four-story zig-zagging blocks of flats. They share a common palate of materials and colors:

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[217] Beretta Anguissola, 314-315.
[218] "Complesso residenziale a Matera-Villa Longo," *Architettura : cronache e storia* 5, no. (1959).

concrete frames with yellow plaster infill walls. There is some variation in the roof types, which alternate between hipped and pitched. The overall sense, however, is one of architectural uniformity among the residential buildings and, in the absence of shared services, it is this uniform aesthetic that binds the community together. While there is not a physical boundary such as a wall defining the edge of the quarter, the fact that all the buildings look more or less the same immediately signals when one has entered or exited the Villa Longo neighborhood. Moreover, the zig-zagging way in which the buildings meet the crooked streets is distinctive. What Virgili achieved in the design of Villa Longo was the creation of a picturesque experience without the use of historical details or materials. Thus the neighborhood illustrates how far from aesthetic traditions designers could venture and at the same time reinterpret traditional experiences.

Although Law 619 provided for the renovation and preservation of some of Matera's *sassi*, ultimately the idea of recuperating almost 900 caves was abandoned as funds were directed towards new construction instead. All of the residents were forcibly evacuated and relocated to new neighborhoods. In a sense, the policy enacted in postwar Matera mirrored that of Fascist Rome or of the Italians living in the center of Naples depicted in *Le Mani sulla Città*. In each case, the working-class residents were forced out of their homes in the center of the city and forced to relocate elsewhere outside the center. In Rome, the resurrection of ancient monuments provided the necessary rationale, whereas in Naples and Matera the low-quality of the housing was to blame. Ironically, the *sassi* have since been deemed a World Heritage site and are being preserved and repopulated, this time with chic restaurants and hotels.

In a sense Luigi Piccinato, the planner of postwar Matera, was able to accomplish what he set out to do by definitively addressing the dire living conditions of the *sassi.* The residents of the caves finally had the modern conveniences of electricity, running water and indoor plumbing—all those things necessary for a civilized life. But despite Piccinato's success, the project to physically reorganize the city in order to alleviate the social ills of the community, largely failed in Matera. Forced into new homes in the suburban quarters like Villa Longo or in the new towns like La Martella, the peasants and working-class of Matera did not have the income necessary to afford the rent on their new homes.[219] Farming, a common occupation among *sassi* inhabitants, declined dramatically in these years. Thirty percent of Italians were peasant proprietors in 1951; by 1961 that number had dropped to roughly twenty-percent and by 1971 to roughly ten-percent.[220] No strictly architectural cure could solve the endemic social and economic problems that plagued Matera. Luigi Piccinato understood his limitations writing, "only a new economic restructuring of the region could address the basis of the urban problems."[221] Without the jobs and wages they needed to pay for their new homes, some residents tried returning to their old caves, which the government had closed off completely. Many more simply abandoned their new Ina-Casa homes on Via Genoa, Via Torino, or Via Milano as they migrated north to search for work in Genoa, Turin, Milan, and elsewhere.

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[219] Italians were not accustomed to dedicating a large portion of their income to housing in the early 50s. Housing accounted for just 6% of household expenditures in 1953-4 (Italy Today, ISTAT, p. 35).
[220] Ginsborg, 433.
[221] Piccinato: 143.

Conclusions

It would be unfair to criticize the designers of Ina-Casa for failing to break from two of the most problematic policies of Fascism—locating, or relocating, the working-class on the periphery and segregating the city into zones by class. These two aspects of the Ina-Casa plan and its implementation were out of the control of the neighborhood designers. But they were within the purview of the administrators of Ina-Casa. As previously noted, the administrators justified the policy of building neighborhoods on the periphery of large cities by holding up the easy availability of large swaths of land at reasonable prices in these areas. The urgency with which the administrators had to confront the dual crises of housing and unemployment can not be overstated and thus there is some justification for the policy of building large neighborhoods rapidly on the outskirts of cities. This approach enabled Ina-Casa to rapidly build large scale neighborhoods and ultimately to construct nearly 400,000 new homes in just fourteen years. But the urgency of the need did not justify the continued segregation of the city by class. At the time, however, politicians and planners rarely imagined another way of organizing the city, one that would result in mixed income neighborhoods.

Despite the pragmatic justifications for building Ina-Casa quarters on the periphery, there was, in the postwar moment, an opportunity missed to reshape the organization of Italian cities. At some level, the nature of the Ina-Casa plan itself is to blame: the housing constructed under the plan was first and foremost *for* the working-classes. This class specificity meant that the construction of Ina-Casa quarters throughout Italy contributed to further segregation by class in cities and towns. Had the Ina-Casa administration persisted in building small projects inside the city center they never would have been able to accomplish building so much so quickly. Yet they could

have helped to shape more economically diverse cities, where the day-to-day activities of the citizenry became moments of diverse encounters. As implemented the Ina-Casa plan constructed communities where the working-class had little opportunity to cross paths with those of other classes. Ultimately, the churches, schools, social centers, and markets of Ina-Casa neighborhoods were designed to serve the working-class of the neighborhood.

In the end, however, people of every class found themselves slowly forced out of city centers into ever expanding peripheries. By the 1970s, for example, fewer than one in ten Romans was living in the historic center.[222] This population shift out of the center into varying realms of the periphery has forever changed the way in which all Italians, not just the poor and working-class, live their daily lives. The periphery has redefined the city as a whole. As a consequence the definition of what it means to be *Romani, Bolognesi,* or *Materani* has been altered, expanded to encircle the wide variety of urban experiences possible in these ever changing places. Contributing to this cultural redefinition was neorealism in literature and film during the 1950s and 1960s, which spotlighted the new way of life in Italy for the world to see, bringing visibility to these otherwise marginalized populations. The authentic Italian experience was no longer to be found exclusively in the historic center of Italian cities. Furthermore, today Ina-Casa neighborhoods are rarely the province of the working-class alone. While searching for an Ina-Casa project in Alberobello, Puglia, a woman explained to me that yes, the buildings I was pointing to had been built by Ina-Casa, but she emphatically emphasized that they were no longer "*case popolari*." The little tiles marking the buildings as Ina-Casa had all

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[222] Fried, 7.

been removed. Today, like most Ina-Casa projects, they are simply condominiums. The social barriers inherent to class based quarters have, in many places, evaporated as new families move in and working-class families join the middle class.

Chapter Four
Building on Tradition
Appropriations of Local Histories in the Neighborhoods of Ina-Casa

In Pier Paolo Pasolini's 1959 novel *Una Vita Violenta*, the protagonist, Tommaso, lives in a shack at Pietralata on the outskirts of Rome. He describes the construction of a new neighborhood nearby:

> But then one day they started flinging together new buildings around there, along the Tiburtina a bit above the Fort: it was an enterprise of the government-sponsored INA-Case, and the blocks of housing began to sprout on the fields, on the little hills. They had strange shapes, pointed roofs, little balconies, skylights, round and oval windows: the people began to call those buildings Alice in Wonderland, Magic Village, or the New Jerusalem, and everybody laughed, but all the people who lived in those slums began to think: "Aaaah, at last they're gonna give me a palace!" And there wasn't one of the refugees, the shanty-dwellers, who hadn't tried presenting an application to get out of the miserable heaps of junk they lived in.[223]

The curious looking Promised Land described by Tommaso is the Tiburtino neighborhood, one of the capital's first Ina-Casa projects. Completed in 1954, it remains one of the most controversial housing projects of the postwar period. Much of the debate stems from the extremity with which the design team, led by Ludovico Quaroni and Mario Ridolfi, appropriated historical urban patterns and architectural forms. From the picturesque arrangement of streets and buildings to the village-inspired scale, rustic

[223]Pier Paolo Pasolini, *A Violent Life*, (Manchester: Carcanet, 1985), 178-9.

materials, and details, the Tiburtino design did not just take inspiration from Italy's architectural heritage: it disguised itself as a slice of historic urban fabric. As one of the designers, Carlo Aymonino, explained in 1957, "A bit of historic city or town was fabricated ex novo."[224] The extremity with which the Tiburtino designers sought to re-use historical forms of architecture and urbanism begs the question: why? Rather than seeking to create an original design, why did the architects of the Tiburtino try to create something new that appeared old?

This chapter examines the architectural traditions that were selected and invented and the ways in which they were appropriated in order to uncover how breaks and bridges with the past were communicated and the consequences. The guidelines set forth by the Ina-Casa administration encouraged the architects to take cues from the environment—at the particular site, as well as local building methods and materials. Yet at times, as in the Tiburtino, the architects went beyond the mandate of the Ina-Casa administration and used every means available to revive particular histories and geographies. This chapter considers how historical and geographical references were appropriated in order to convey meaning, tell stories, or invent connections.

Nations have used building traditions to tell stories about themselves for centuries, in part because architectural forms can embody multiple, mythical or symbolic, and often contradictory meanings. Take, for example, the United States Capitol building or the White House, both of which make direct reference to ancient Rome and Greece with the aim of connecting a very young government to a much longer history of western democracy. While the use of history is common to nations seeking to define themselves,

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[224] Aymonino: 21.

the different choices about what past to mine, how to edit those pasts, or whether to invent new traditions altogether can reveal the ways in which the makers of culture and political leaders seek to shape and influence the idea of the nation in the collective imagination. In other words, the relationship between political power and culture is far more complex than is allowed by a simple reading of a national monument for its symbolic associations. The *process* by which the nation is fabricated from bits of collective practices and histories as well as the conflicts and contestations in that process reveal the values upon which leaders construct a nation.

Through a study of these processes we can learn about the particular nature of a nation's power. Eric Hobsbawm's concept of "invented traditions" provides a useful framework for thinking about the practices that go into using history for nation-building purposes.[225] Hobsbawm considers how traditions are created or recovered for the purpose of creating community bonds through rituals, festivals, monuments, and other forms of culture. As he explains:

> "Invented tradition" is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past… The peculiarity of "invented" traditions is that the continuity with it (the historic past) is largely factitious.[226]

The purpose of the invented tradition is to define and bond a society, and this is achieved through cultural productions that use history or illusions of history. As a result, invented

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[225] Eric Hobsbawm, and Terence Ranger, ed. *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1983). In particular see Hobsbawm's introduction where he defines this concept of "invented traditions" and discusses their use in nation-building.
[226] Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Tradition," 1-2.

traditions are the fabric of nations, the tangible and connective tissue of culture through which the abstract idea of the nation is represented and experienced in everyday life. The need for these inventions, according to Hobsbawm, arises most urgently in communities that are undergoing rapid changes, where societal bonds are being threatened or weakened.

This was exactly the case in postwar Italy. Because of the way in which the Fascist government fell and the war developed, Italians were left without a shared experience of the war or a shared attitude towards Fascism upon which to form a common ground. In response, the architects of Ina-Casa sought to redefine the collective identity of the nation by adapting old forms to "new national uses" and by creating new but seemingly old forms from scratch.[227] One way is to fabricate a sense of historic continuity, that is, to invent continuity, which in turn implies an erasure of the recent past. Yet the invention of traditions is not limited to temporal constructions. Under the larger category of tradition, this chapter examines not only the use of history but also what I call the use of geography: that is how architects resurrected forms associated with particular places rather than, or in addition to, particular time periods. These allusions to geographies can be equally revealing and are in some ways more important in the work of Ina-Casa, for the administration and the architects ultimately put more emphasis on from *where* to draw inspiration as opposed to from *when*.[228] Through this examination, the different case study neighborhoods illustrate how three sets of conflicting issues were

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[227] Ibid., 6.

[228] I am indebted here to Mia Fuller's theorization of the difference between historic modern and essentialist modern under Fascism. She distinguishes the two by the concern with a period or place within a historical trajectory vs. a search for essences. I have altered her terms, replacing essentialist with geography to reflect my own understanding of the postwar context. See Fuller, *Moderns abroad: Architecture, Cities, and Italian Imperialism*, 96-98.

negotiated: the pressure to reject fascism while seeking continuity, the desire to support and express regional diversity while establishing a more unified image of the nation, and the struggle to embrace the working and peasant classes while transforming and incorporating them into a modernized Italians way of life.

Techniques of Appropriation

The practice of using traditions in contemporary design was in keeping with methods of studying and using history popular at the time such as those taught by Gustavo Giovannoni (1873–1947). As a professor at the University of Rome in the 1930s Giovannoni educated many of the leading architects of the postwar period. He was one of the first historians and practitioners to emphasize the value of architectural history not just for period styles but for more practical and substantive uses in contemporary design. As Maristella Casciato writes, "this represented a crucial change in conceiving the history of architecture as a historical process instead of the analysis of stylistic episodes."[229] Giovannoni advocated a method based on direct and complete observation as well as the study of the building through surveying and the making of measured drawings. Casciato describes the aims, "the purpose was not to represent architecture as a painter might, but to understand proportion as well as materials."[230] The end goal was to understand historical buildings so that their materials, scale, and building methods could be brought to bear in contemporary designs. By the 1950s Giovannoni's approach had spread beyond the Roman circle of architects and was well known throughout Italy.

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[229] Maristella Casciato, "The Italian mosaic: the architect as historian," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, no. 1 (2003): 95.
[230] Ibid.

Whether directly or indirectly, it informed the ways in which Ina-Casa designers studied and appropriated particular building traditions.

A good example of how Ina-Casa architects appropriated and adapted traditions is found in Alberobello, a city in the Puglia region of southern Italy. The area is most famous for its *trulli*, an indigenous building type with a distinctive cone-shaped roof constructed from dry stacked flagstone [Figure 52]. The walls of the *trulli* are usually covered in white plaster, hiding the limestone blocks beneath them, while the grey stone of the roofs is left exposed, giving the city a particular profile of pointed roofs against the sky. In contrast, the flat white walls meet the streets squarely and create a sharp line. During the first *settennio* of Ina-Casa, Renato Venturi designed a housing project for Alberobello, composed of just three buildings containing nineteen dwelling units, centered on a small green.[231] A two-story block of townhouses is on the east side of the green, a line of single-story row-houses on the north, and a three-story building of flats on the west [Figures 53–56]. The roofs are pitched gables that were originally covered in tile with a stone edging. In trying to create a neighborhood that evoked the local traditions, Venturi did not resort to a simple copying of the most distinctive form of the *trulli*, cone-shaped roof forms. Instead he relied on various techniques of appropriation to create a project that fluctuates between mimicry and an allusion towards Alberobello and its *trulli*.

First and most obviously, Venturi relied on the local materials and methods of construction: like the *trulli*, the walls are built from limestone blocks and finished with white plaster. Instead of stone, the roofs are ceramic tile, but the edges are lined by a

[231] On Venturi's project in Alberobello see Luigi Beretta Anguissola, "Bari: Nucleo edilizio ad Alberobello," in *I 14 anni del Piano INA-CASA* (Roma: Staderini, 1963), 354.

narrow stacked stone border similar to that of *trulli* [Figure 57]. The scale of the neighborhood does not exactly match that of Alberobello's most traditional quarters; instead the buildings here are taller, with larger windows and doors. Yet this project retains the sense of intimacy and enclosure found in the city. The housing blocks do not exceed three stories and are relatively short in length. The individual units are articulated by voids and projections helping to break down the overall scale of the façades, thus complementing the flat white plaster walls that make a more formal reference to the existing cityscape. The use of traditional materials, construction methods, and scale together begin to create a fusion of tactile and visual stimuli, inspired by that of the *trulli.*

Similarly, the high-pitch of the gable roof on the two-story row houses recall the angle of the cone-shaped roofs of the *trulli.* But here in the roof form Venturi turns to what I call an experiential reference rather than a formal copying.[232] In other words, rather than directly adopting a traditional form, Venturi has attempted to recreate the experience of that form without necessarily using the cone form itself. Although the Ina-Casa roofs are rather different from the *trulli* roofs, they make a similar impression on the viewer: both the pitched gable roofs of the Ina-Casa row houses and the steep cone-shaped roofs of the *trulli* have equivalent profiles against the sky. The Ina-Casa project thus mimics the rooflines of the *trulli* in a gestural way. The experience of walking through the streets of Alberobello is recreated in the way the peaks of the highly pitched

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[232] I use the term "experientital reference" for instances when designers sought to mimic or recreate a particular spatial experience usually through form, building and street orientation, and scale. The Ina-Casa architects do not discuss this technique explicitly, but it can be found in many Ina-Casa projects. At the time, however, planners, theorists, and architects such as Kevin Lynch and Steen Eiler Rasmussen were experimenting with similar ideas based on their direct observations of cities. More research is needed to establish whether there was any connection between these architects and Ina-Casa. See, for example, Kevin Lynch, *The image of the city*, Publications of the Joint Center for Urban Studies(Cambridge, Mass.: Technology Press, 1960). See also Steen Eiler Rasmussen, *Experiencing architecture*, (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1964).

roofs of Ina-Casa meet the sky and in the alteration of taller and shorter peaks even though the roof slope is only two directional rather than a 360-degree cone. Venturi's Ina-Casa project in Alberobello thus illustrates five different techniques of appropriation that can be used to make reference to the existing urban context and architectural forms: the use of traditional construction methods; the use of traditional materials, similar scale, the adaptation of pre-existing formal elements, and an experiential reference.

Tiburtino, Rome

As discussed in the introduction to Part Two, the Tiburtino is comprised of thirty buildings, most of which are domestic with the exception of a few scattered small shops and a short commercial block on the main avenue [Figures 32–34]. Gently winding streets and pedestrian passages criss-cross the area of the neighborhood; the only parallel streets are those that enclose it. The terrain slopes upward on the southeast side of the project and the curvature of the roads responds to the changes in grade. The relationship between the buildings and the winding streets is haphazard, appearing to lack rules or regularity. For example, on the north side of Via dei Crispolti, the central avenue, there are three long narrow blocks of flats, each with the small end facing the street [Figure 58]. The repetition of these three end façades presented an opportunity for the architects to create a sense of order or rhythm. They could have designed the three blocks to meet the street with the same orientation, and to be similar in size or elevation. Instead differences were emphasized: each block is oriented in contrast to the others and irregularly with respect to the avenue. Further, each façade is articulated distinctly. Thus any similarity among the three buildings is undermined by their differences in orientation and form. Even the buildings that do meet the street squarely, like the one designed by

Quaroni on Via dei Crispolti, break the line of the street with the recession of wings, the carving out of voids, and the protrusion of balconies [Figure 59].

This spatial variety continues in the way the buildings relate to one another. The spaces between them are irregularly shaped as if they were leftover patches of land resulting from an incremental development rather than a carefully planned one. The three matching towers along the western edge of the quarter, designed by Ridolfi, could have created a strong sense of boundary for the neighborhood [Figures 60]. Instead, the twisting form, combined with complicated roofscapes and the irregularly shaped gardens at their base, makes any perception of order among the three towers nearly impossible. The towers share with much of the neighborhood an aesthetic that seems unplanned and emerged.

In fact, in many areas it is difficult to even discern the boundaries between buildings. Single buildings are visually divided into narrow vertical strips mimicking an idea of a historic palazzo elevation, while at the same time are connected by separate loggias or bridges.[233] Mario Fiorentino and Ludovico Quaroni's rambling block in the center of the neighborhood twists and turns, spinning off wings and making it difficult to perceive that it is actually one large building, rather than a series of smaller ones with shared party walls [Figures 61–62]. Not only do the roofs break up and down, the window patterning reveals how the interior floor levels follow them. The paint colors

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[233] This reconstruction of a single block in what appear to be smaller medieval palazzi in terms of shape and scale has precedents under Fascism. In Arezzo, for example, D. Medina Lasansky has documented how a number of buildings and urban spaces were reconstructed according to an ideal medievalism as opposed to the documented evidence of the buildings' history. Similarly, at the Piazza Navona in Rome a number of buildings were constructed by the Fascist regime to appear medieval. See D. Medina Lasansky, *The Renaissance perfected : architecture, spectacle, and tourism in fascist Italy*, (University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004). On Rome see Insolera and Sette, *Roma tra le due guerre: cronache da una citta che cambia*.

shift accordingly, further suggesting that this enormous block is actually a series of tall and narrow semi-independent units, like palazzi in a medieval city. Only in plan is the architects' secret revealed and does the building become legible as a unified whole. The materials and construction methods further emphasize the medieval qualities. The walls are painted plaster over tufa blocks. Details such as wooden shutters and fake wood rafters tacked onto the eaves of the roofs complete the scene [Figure 61]. The designers used every means of historical appropriation available, from its materials and methods to its forms, scale, and an experiential reference, in order to create a new rendition of a historical urbanism.

The architecture and urbanism of the Tiburtino did not draw on a single period or building tradition. Instead, the designers mixed details and forms associated with rural traditions with those of medieval cities and villages. Moreover rather than looking to monumental civic or religious architecture, domestic and agrarian buildings were the point of departure. In describing the project, the architects used words such as *popolare, organica, tradizionale, spontaneità, romanesco, folklore, scenografico, eterogeneità*, and *anonima.*[234] At the same time, Ludovico Quaroni referred to the quarter as "il paese dei barocchi" or "the village of the baroques," not for the classicism of the Baroque style, but for its theatrical qualities.[235] As Carlo Aymonino recalled "we ventured so far as to reach the absurdity of taking inspiration from 17th century Rome, conceiving of the façades as theater decorations."[236] The architects went beyond an incidental or arbitrary use of

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[234] See Aymonino.
[235] "Il paese dei barocchi" is also a pun on the "paese dei balocchi" the town of toys from the story of Pinocchio.
[236] Some of the architects of the Tiburtino reflected on the design three years after construction was completed. See Aymonino.

precedents. Instead of merely taking architectural prototypes as starting points, their ultimate goal was to create something new that looked old by collaging together forms, façades, and details drawn from vernacular and agrarian landscapes. Yet, the architects tried to create a neighborhood that did not just mimic or refer to a particular history: they tried to plan a new neighborhood that appeared old and unplanned [Figure 64].

The designers of the Tiburtino deliberately appropriated popular traditions in such an exaggerated way in part because it offered a way to reject Fascism and reach back to a less tainted past that could form the cultural and spiritual basis for the new Italian nation. Ludovico Quaroni, for example, later reflected that the project was an attempt by the architects to distance themselves from the recent past by rejecting the sterility and inhumanity of Rationalist architecture.[237] Thus the project reflected an initial reaction by the architects to the fall of Mussolini's government and a more specific aim of rejecting the two styles most closely associated with it: Italian Rationalism and Neoclassicism. In place of the rigid orthogonality associated with Rationalism and the monumentality of Neoclassicism the designers of the Tiburtino envisioned a neighborhood with the scale of a small village that feels randomly arranged. In contrast to the regularity, formalism, and grandiosity of Fascist designs, the architects of Tiburtino sought to create something natural and colloquial.

The lack of rigid order in the urban design of the neighborhood, and the preference instead for a seemingly unplanned urbanism suggests yet another way in

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[237] "Il paese dei barocchi non e' il risultato, appunto, di una cultura solidificata, d'una tradizione viva: e' il risultato di uno stato d'animo che ci sosteneva in quei giorni nei quali, per ognuno di noi, qui a Roma, interessava solo fare qualche cosa che fosse distaccato da certi errori d'un certo passato al quale rimproveravamo la sterilita' e il fallimento sul piano umano, non importa quanto costasse, poi a noi, all'INA e ai futuri abitanti dei nuovi quartiere," Quaroni: 24.

which the architects attempted to distance themselves from Mussolini's regime and reveals a larger anxiety about nationalism, and the singular authority of a central power. Compared to one of the most politically charged city plans, that of the Fascist new town Littoria (now called Latina), which was discussed in Chapter Three, there is a clear difference in regards to notions of authority and spatial hierarchy becomes [Figure 35]. In Latina, one can read the political and social hierarchy in the plan: the city is based on a radial plan centered on the main piazza, which is home to the most important government buildings. The church and government buildings of lesser importance were located on secondary piazzas. The public architecture of Latina was monumental, usually symmetrical and often modernist in their detaling and almost always directly parallel to the streets like most buildings in the city. The radial roads all point to the powerful central authority, and the entire city is determined by its singular vision. It is this sense of a coherent vision that is clear in Latina, which is completely absent in the Tiburtino. Instead we see innumerable competing visions and ideas and a nearly complete lack of hierarchy or order. The buildings turn around and around, never fronting one another or the street directly. The tallest buildings are, if anything, more randomly detailed than the others. Nowhere in the neighborhood can we find a sense of a centralized and singular power of the kind present at Latina: it represents a rejection of the hierarchical vision.

This rejection was also played out in the process of design. Instead of each building reflecting the signature style of an individual architect, the Tiburtino designers worked together and tried to create a neighborhood that seemed anonymously

designed.[238] We see this collectivism, for example, in the central block designed jointly by Quaroni and Fiorentino as well as in a common palate of materials, details and forms in all of the buildings. Due to this cooperation, the project was more successful in presenting a holistic yet diverse collection of buildings than other Ina-Casa projects, such as the Cesate neighborhood in Milan, where the disparate approaches to the design instead break up the sense of the neighborhood as a unified whole. Working on the Tiburtino inspired the architects to respond to the changed social and political climate by questioning their own process of design and the signature style of the architect. Negating past trends in the profession, the Tiburtino group aimed to work collectively and semi-anonymously.

In order to communicate their vision for a popular and humble society, the architects of the Tiburtino turned to vernacular architecture. As Michelangelo Sabatino has demonstrated, vernacular architecture was associated with ideas of morality, simplicity, necessity, and humility.[239] Through these associations, a design could communicate a notion about the character of the people and quality of life in this village within a metropolis. Because the adoption of the vernacular including rural architectural traditions had precedents in the Fascist era, we need to consider how neighborhoods built based on such models in the interwar years differ from those constructed under the Ina-Casa plan. A comparison between the Garbatella neighborhood of Rome, designed and constructed before the Second World War, and the Tiburtino illustrates continuities

[238] Aymonino: 20.
[239] Sabatino.

between the two periods; it also shows how in both design and intentions, the appropriation of these precedents in Ina-Casa differed from its earlier predecessors.[240]

The Garbatella was constructed by the *Istituto Case Popolari* (ICP), a government agency for workers' housing starting in 1920, and was designed and built in phases throughout the 1920s and '30s [Figure 65–66]. The neighborhood is located on the southeast side of Rome, on the east side of the Tiber river. Gustavo Giovannoni, who was discussed earlier, was a prominent advocate for incorporating traditional elements into contemporary architecture, and designed the first section of the neighborhood with Massimo Piacentini. Later buildings were designed by Innocenzo Sabatini among others. The neighborhood has often been referred to as a garden city because of the urban design and architecture: the streets are gently curved, taking into account the natural landscape, and the buildings are mostly two and three story, duplexes, and row-houses, with a number of larger blocks of flats in the more public areas [Figures 67–68]. Most of the buildings are set back from the street, but placed parallel to them. The original design was focused around a public piazza and green; later as the neighborhood expanded, some of the original buildings were demolished, and the center of the neighborhood was developed around a new piazza flanked by the church and government buildings.

The Garbatella and the Tiburtino share an approach to design that begins with an organic and village-like urbanism. Both neighborhoods are composed of curvilinear, small-scale streets and both might pass today for being older than their respective ages of eighty-five and fifty-five years. But in the Garbatella, there is not the complete rejection of order that we saw in the Tiburtino. For example, the central piazza of the Garbatella

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[240] Enzo and Gianni Rivolta Gori, *Garbatella mia*, (Roma: La Campanella, 2004); Monica Sinatra, *La Garbatella a Roma: 1920-1940*, (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2006).

anchors the neighborhood and creates a hierarchy of space, which was missing altogether in the Tiburtino. In other words, while the Garbatella might share some of the same planning principles as the Tiburtino, it does not go to the same extremes to appear unplanned and disorderly.

Turning to how the buildings meet the street and each other, we see that there are also subtle yet distinct differences between the two neighborhoods. Like the overall urban design, the specific relationships among the Garbatella buildings mix order and disorder but their scale and orientation are similar: the overall forms and ornamented details are varied from one to the next. Often the buildings meet the street squarely, forming a rather traditional and predictable urban fabric [Figure 69]. The Tiburtino, in contrast, lacks regularity throughout its urban plan, from the layout of streets, to the siting and orientation of buildings. The harder you look for an underlying order in the Tiburtino, the more elusive that order becomes. The Tiburtino suggests a rejection of order and thus, of authority and hierarchy, and centralization.

The architectural details of the two projects are another place where clear differences are evident. The detailing in Garbatella is rich, florid, and complex, sometimes even whimsical [Figure 70–71]. This ornamentation is unnecessary, even excessive, and suggests a class that could afford such fanciful extras, despite having been constructed for the working-class. The Tiburtino, in contrast, draws on a more humble tradition of functional and agrarian buildings; there is nothing extraneous in its design. The most characteristic detailing of the Tiburtino, the perforated masonry wall, is derived from agrarian building types. Whereas the Garbatella is a working-class neighborhood with bourgeois aspirations, the Tiburtino is proudly working-class with its simplicity and

poverty of details. The Tiburtino celebrates farmers, villagers, and peasantry, making no allusions to the bourgeoisie.

The articulation of this approach to design also embodied positive ideas about the direction and character of the postwar nation. Specifically, the architects tried to create a more humane neighborhood, taking into account the spiritual and psychological needs of man. They hoped, for example, that in this neighborhood no individual would ever find himself lost and unable to recognize their own home among the rest. In other words, although the architects were anonymous, the clients were envisioned as unique individuals. As Aymonino defined it, "organic architecture signifies architecture for man modeled according to a human scale, according to spiritual, psychological and material needs of men."[241] Yet the fact that this neighborhood resembled something closer to a medieval village than a 1950s metropolis suggests that the "psychological and material needs of men" as defined by these architects were better met by traditional and village-scaled communities. In turn, these architects' vision for the people of postwar Italy suggests a rejection of the metropolis and modernity and a nostalgia for a lost past. Furthermore, looking at the Tiburtino's architecture we also get an idea of who this project was intended to represent and thus which Italians among the many defined the "we" of the nation. The intentional appropriation of materials and details, like the perforated masonry exterior wall typical of Italian farmhouses, illustrates a desire to embrace a particular segment of the Italian populace: the farmers, peasants, and working-class [Figure 60]. This valorization of the lower classes stemmed from a desire on the

[241] Aymonino: 19.

part of the architects to respond to real social problems, concerns, and people, and to use architecture as a concrete means of intervention.

This choice of who would be represented—peasants, villagers, and farmers—combined with the absence of order in the quarter, and the elements selected from agrarian geographies, point to a more recent past upon which the new nation could move forward: the Italian Resistance. The lengths to which the designers went to create a neighborhood lacking in hierarchy and seemingly spontaneously emerged evokes an idea of the Resistance that was becoming part of the selected national collective memory at the time. The history of the Resistance is a complicated one, involving Italians of all classes in urban and rural areas. Resistance acts included both organized activities like strikes and less organized ones by individuals and small groups. By the early 1950s, however, the history of the movement was already being transformed into a founding myth for the new Republic. [242] Along with this transformation came revision and redaction. One history of the Resistance, narrated, for example, in Italo Calvino's *The Path to the Spider's Nest*, painted the movement as a village- and countryside-based one, composed of small groups of bandits, assisted by villagers and farmers. This version of the Resistance was spontaneous and organic, rather than ordered or hierarchical. And this version provided something key in the postwar period: redemption for the Italian people as represented by the peasants and villagers who fought against the Fascists and Nazis. The Tiburtino shares with this idea of the Resistance a valorization of villagers and peasants bound together in a naturally emerged community rather than a planned one.

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[242] On the way in which the history of the Resistance has been memorialized see Filippo Focardi, *La guerra della memoria : la Resistenza nel dibattito politico italiano dal 1945 a oggi*, (Roma: GLF editori Laterza, 2005).

In the end, the vision of the nation embodied in the Tiburtino, cloaked as it is in traditional dress, represents a desire to romanticize a distant past and revise a more recent one so that together they might forge a path forward for the new Italy.

Borgo Panigale, Bologna

While reconstruction offered architects opportunities to work through their own ideas about the nation, the task also proved problematic, in part because any idea of a unified image of the nation was contested after the war. Most of the architects involved with Ina-Casa had either been schooled under Fascism or matured as practitioners while working on projects for the regime. Seventy-eight percent of Italian architects were members of the Fascist Architects Syndicate and many of the most prominent designers had spent years trying to either create a Fascist brand of architecture or arguing that their designs were already most representative of the regime.[243] Thus after the Second World War, many of the architects charged with designing Ina-Casa projects for the new Italian Republic had some relationship to the previous regime.[244] In the postwar political climate, they had to reconsider their approach to design. The same was true for those architects who were never committed Fascists, since it was likely that they had absorbed some of those elements associated with the fallen regime. It is never easy for an artist or architect to re-invent their practices and for the designs of Ina-Casa there were no exception. Lawrence Vale has characterized the struggle of post-colonial governments charged with building projects as a conflict between practical and ideological goals, "the

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[243] Fabrizio Bottini, "Gli obiettivi sociali: un'alfabetizzazione alla modernita," in *La Grande Ricostruzione: Il Piano Ina-Casa e l'Italia degli anni cinquanta*, ed. Paola Di Biagi (Roma: Donzelli Editore, 2001).
[244] In fact 1 in 10 Italian architects entered the first Ina-Casa competition. On the relationship between architects, the Ina-Casa administration, and the Christian Democrats see Nicoloso, "La Grande Ricostruzione."

pressure to start fresh and the pressure to reuse colonial structures and languages of power."[245] In Italy, architects confronted similar pressures in regards to Fascism both at the level of government administration and bureaucracy and at a more personal level. The pressure to rebuild quickly and efficiently provided a powerful argument in favor of some degree of continuity. At the same time, designers had to rethink what exactly were the political implications of their own process of design, and of the forms and styles they created, as well as if and how their own practices and projects should reflect the changed political environment. New mandates from the Christian Democrats, filtered through the bureaucracies of government, took the form of explicit warnings against using Italian Rationalism in the Ina-Casa design manuals. This dismissal created a dilemma: what do you do if you are an architect, like Vaccaro, who has been practicing in a rationalist vein?[246]

In his design for Borgo Panigale, Giuseppe Vaccaro negotiated between the pressure from the Ina-Casa administration to distance his postwar designs from characteristics associated with Fascism and the more practical need for continuity of design methods. Vaccaro was able to both embrace the new populist aesthetic laid out in the Ina-Casa guidelines, and reflected in the Tiburtino, while at the same time maintain his own more modernist approach to design. According to his daughter, Vaccaro was never a committed supporter of Fascism, but like many Italian architects he did work for

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[245] Lawrence Vale, *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*, (Yale University Press, 1992), 10.
[246] On Vaccaro in the postwar period see Pier Giorgio Massaretti, "Storiografia vaccariana nel nodo della ricostruzione post-bellica," in *Architetture per Bologna* (Bologna: Editrice Compositori, 2006).

both the Fascist and Christian Democrat governments.[247] His most memorable works for the Fascist regime are the central post office in Naples and a summer camp in Cesenatico on the Adriatic coast, both of which are marked by a grandiose scale, minimal ornamentation, and a severity or crispness of form. At first glance Vaccaro's Ina-Casa neighborhood Borgo Panigale appears drastically different from these earlier works. It is scaled to humans, the details are rustic, and the forms playful. A closer inspection, however, reveals similarities and continuities between the design of Borgo Panigale and Vaccaro's earlier projects, specifically in the use of geometry, repetition, and formal manipulation.

As previously noted, Borgo Panigale is composed of twenty-two buildings including a commercial area, a church, an elementary school, a nursery school, two-story row houses, and three-, four-, and five-story blocks of flats [Figures 38–44]. In the plan of the neighborhood we see that the streets are straight but at oblique angles to one another, giving the quarter a somewhat casual character. The buildings address the street in a variety of ways but often have façades that are not parallel to the street. Even when the façades are aligned with the street, as in the case of the commercial area, the street turns slightly, forcing the building to bend along the line of the road [Figure 39]. Despite such outwardly random and varied arrangements of buildings and streets, there is also an underlying, though not readily apparent, order in the arrangement of the buildings within the quarter. The five-story blocks, for example, have a complicated relationship to the street: they are skewed about fifteen degrees from the line of the street [Figure 42]. Yet

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[247] Interview with Carolina Vaccaro, June 2006. On the relationship between architects and Fascist politics see Nicoloso, *Gli architetti di Mussolini: Scuole e sindicato, architetti e massoni, professori e politici negli anni del regime*.

because there are four of these blocks with the same orientation, there is a sense of order within this random geometry, an order found in the repetition of the buildings along the street. Walking through the neighborhood or looking at the plan, one's initial impression is of a haphazard or unorganized urbanism. But upon experiencing the neighborhood a little further, or studying the plan a little closer, one uncovers ordering systems, created through the playful use of geometry, repetition, and rhythm.

This uneasy union of order and disorder is also found in the way in which the buildings relate to each other. On the western edge of the neighborhood, for example, we see two short blocks of two-story row houses facing each other across a small street [Figure 72]. At first glance, there seems to be little relation between the two buildings. One zig-zags along the street, while the other has a nearly solid façade bordering the street. Upon closer inspection, however, a relationship between the two buildings is evident; the entry voids carved out of the brick building are at angles parallel to the white zig-zagging building across the street [Figure 73]. Thus the voids create a dialogue between the two and reveal a sense of order within the seemingly haphazard design.

The materials used in Borgo Panigale are rather simple; most of the buildings are either white or warm shades of plaster, with wooden shutters and tiled roofs. A stone or brick base runs along the lower edges of the walls. In terms of form, the residential buildings tend to have simple massings that incorporate oblique or irregular angles, similar to the geometries seen in the urban relationships. A block of two-story row houses, for example, has an unadorned façade that is broken into small angled planes, creating a sense of folding along the road [Figure 74]. The roof planes bend up and down in tandem with the undulations of the façade. An analogous play between geometry and

form is evident in the five-story buildings [Figures 42 and 75–76]. Each block is comprised of two wings joined by a central stair and utility core; within each wing, there are two dwelling units oriented at slight angles to one another. Where the two units of each wing meet in the façade, a balcony is carved out, creating a void filled only by a thin wall plane separating the two spaces. The balcony rails are at yet another slightly different angle to the building, to each other, and to the actual balconies. Thus the forms of the buildings incorporate the same sort of formal game playing, mixing order and disorder, pattern and break.

There is one additional thing to note in the five-story blocks: the communal *stenditore* or clotheslines are incorporated into the buildings as design elements [Figures 42 and 77]. Rather than being hidden behind high parapet walls, the *stenditore* here are raised on rooftop platforms exposed for all to see. This crowning of the buildings with clotheslines shows a veneration of the mundane and small details of everyday life. This embrace of the everyday is part of what earned these designs a Neorealist label. The celebration of the plebeian architectural details of Italy's unsung classes in the Tiburtino led to an association between this architecture and the wider cultural movement of Neorealism.[248]

The term itself dates back to at least the early 1930s, when it was used to describe literature that captured the everyday lives of ordinary Italians. The literature and films of

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[248] On the connections between neorealism and Ina-Casa see Maristella Casciato, "Neorealism in Italian Architecture," in *Anxious Modernisms: experimentation in postwar architectural culture*, ed. Sarah Williams and Rejean Legault Goldhagen (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 2000); Maristella Casciato, ""L'invenzione della realta": realismo e neorealismo nell'Italia degli anni cinquanta," in *La Grande Ricostruzione: Il Piano Ina-Casa e l'Italia degli anni cinquanta*, ed. Paola Di Biagi (Roma: Donzelli Editore, 2001); Bruno. Reichlin, "Figures of Neorealism in Italian Architecture (Part 1)," *Grey Room* 05, no. (2001).

the movement were characterized by an attention to the small details of daily life, and seemingly minor events in the lives of the working-class. Often with this approach came a disdain of or even hatred for the bourgeoisie. Neorealist literature is often permeated with un-heroic and working-class characters, vulgar language, garbage, and other banal realities of the present moment. In the early 1940s the term was expanded from literature to cinematic productions and after the war it was used to describe new tendencies in architecture. Bruno Reichlin explains:

> Italian architectural criticism derived the term Neorealism from literature and film once the works and authors laying claim to the term already enjoyed a certain popularity among critics and the public, and those who were designated Neorealist architects accepted the description with varying degrees of conviction and enthusiasm.[249]

Thus the celebration of the working-class in Neorealist architecture, film, and literature points to a larger shared vision at work here: a quest to confront and accept the harshest realities rather than to try to escape them.

The team of designers led by Vaccaro appropriated architectural traditions at Borgo Panigale in a number of ways: the shifting and varied streetscapes that recall traditional urban patterns without directly mimicking them; the use of traditional materials and construction methods; the use of a domestic vernacular; and the pedestrian scale. The last three tendencies are largely due to the guidelines set forth by the Ina-Casa administration. What is particular in this neighborhood is the underlying sense of order just beneath the historical dressing, for which the design team, led by Vaccaro, was responsible. While this approach to design is in some ways continuous with Vaccaro's

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[249]Reichlin: 79.

earlier works, it also illustrates a shift. A brief comparison with the Colonia Marina (1936-38), a children's holiday camp at Cesenatico, illustrates the difference.

The Cesenatico Colonia is composed of a central five-story building with two smaller scale wings [Figures 78–80].[250] The main building, a long horizontal block seems to float above the site; it is raised on pilotis and composed of smooth white and black stone with long glass ribbon windows. Orthogonal relationships characterize the design as a whole and in its parts: everything seems to be either parallel or perpendicular to the seashore. The materials, masonry and glass, repeat this regular geometry with joint lines and window mullions falling in alignment. The composition is driven by the geography of the sea, as evident in the final elevation design, which emphasizes the horizontal line of the sea though the use of ribbon windows in contrast to an earlier scheme that had individual square windows. Both the Cesenatico Colonia and Borgo Panigale experiment with geometrical relationships between buildings and parts of buildings; the difference between the two is a matter of their extent and perceptability to the visitor. At Cesenatico the regularity in the design is overwhelming: the orthogonal theme is carried relentlessly into every detail without break or relief. At Borgo Panigale, the use of drafting board games is more playful and experimental. The order is perceivable on the level of the individual, but within an irregular larger framework. It is this lively play between rhythm and relief that is hard to find in Vaccaro's earlier projects. Here he tempers the geometrical games so they are legibile to the visitor without ever being engulfing or overwhelming.

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[250] Umberto Cao, *Giuseppe Vaccaro: Colonia marina a Cesenatico (1936-38)*, (Roma: CLEAR, 1994).

Vaccaro's team incorporated different types of traditions in the urban and architectural design of the public buildings. The commercial street has arcaded walkways, created by carving out the ground level beneath the building above [Figure 39]. It borrows directly from the arcade-lined streets of Bologna, which protect pedestrians from traffic and weather, a fitting re-use by Vaccaro, a native son. The church building similarly draws on precedents, both in terms of form and in its relationship to the site [Figure 40]. It is a low, circular building of poured concrete with a copper roof. Both the materials and form stand out in distinction to the rest of the neighborhood. It is located in the central space of the quarter, where on one side it is bounded by the arcaded shopping street, and on another by two school buildings. Thus the orientation and location of the church, combined with its nearly circular form, uses an urban typology that dates back to the Italian Renaissance and Alberti's treatise of 1485. As most clearly illustrated by *The Ideal City* painting, Renaissance planning required that the most important building type, the church, to be round and located in the central piazza of the city [Figure 81]. Around the piazza should be other important public buildings, including other churches, the townhall as well as the private houses of the most important citizens. By the 1950s this urban design was probably not so much a direct reference to Alberti's text or the painting, but was rather a part of an Italian planning lexicon. For example, under the Fascist regime this tradition was at times altered by replacing the church with the state. In the new town of Littoria (now Latina), the central piazza was home to the buildings of the regime, while the main church was relegated to a secondary piazza [Figure 35]. In Borgo Panigale, Vaccaro returns to the earlier tradition by constructing a circular church and placing it in the center of the main piazza. Yet in the

church materials and detailing Vaccaro departs from tradition by using poured concrete and innovative detailing such as the sculptural concrete columns and ceiling [Figure 82].

Pervasive throughout the design of Borgo Panigale, from the urban design to the domestic and public buildings, is a play between tradition and modernity. When the materials and details are traditional, the compositional strategies are contemporary, and vice versa. This tension between looking backwards and moving forwards is best exemplified in Borgo Panigale but it persists throughout the projects of Ina-Casa. What Borgo Panigale demonstrates, then, is one way in which an architect mediated between the need for continuity in his own design practices and the pressure to start over, to create something distinctively post-Fascist and at the same time, undeniably Italian. Vaccaro resolved these competing aims by mixing his own modernist design approach with traditional urban design principles and the vernacular dressing of Ina-Casa.

Appropriating rural Italian traditions was not new in the postwar period. As noted earlier, vernacular architecture had a constant and complicated presence in contemporary architectural debates and practices throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Italy.[251] In both liberal and Fascist Italy, architects mined rural building traditions for inspiration by writing books, holding exhibitions, and most importantly by selecting and interpreting Italian building traditions in their own designs. The various and numerous terms used to describe these many modes of architecture and the movements they inspired are revealing. They include: *architettura-minore, naturale, rurale, rustica, spontanea, paesana, popolare.* The same concepts were used in postwar Italy, but the

[251] Sabatino.

motivations for and results of this appropriation of the rural were distinctly different from those of the Fascist era.

The 1936 *Architettura Rurale Italiana* exhibition exemplifies some of the ways in which rural architecture had been selected and portrayed and how and why it was used by architects working during the Fascist regime.[252] Organized by Giuseppe Pagano and Guarniero Daniel as part of the Milan Triennale, this exhibition reveals which types of rural architecture were chosen, and which of their features were highlighted as well as overlooked. The Italian Rural Architecture exhibition was comprised of a series of square black and white photographs of Italian buildings as well as a few from Italy's colonies in northern Africa [Figures 83–84]. These photographs were arranged into large gridded panels and a few lines of explanatory text was overlaid onto many of the photographs, in most cases connecting two photographs together. The catalog follows the square format of the exhibition, with a single photograph on each page, and text bridging pairs of pages. The catalog is topically organized with subjects ranging from traditional building types like the *trulli* of Puglia, to building elements like external stairs, loggias, towers, fireplaces, and terraces. The photographs are primarily of single buildings with a small number of exceptions; a few photographs have two or three buildings in them and a handful are of village scenes in northern Africa. The focus of the photographs and accompanying captions tend to be single building elements, not site relationships and entire buildings, nor even relationships between elements. The first few sections, for example, showcase different types of roofs including thatch and the dry stacked stone

[252] Giuseppe Pagano and Guarniero Daniel, *Architettura rurale italiana*, Quaderni della Triennale(Milano: U. Hoepli, 1936).

technique of the *trulli*. In addition to documenting these various forms, the photographs also illustrate phases of development and evolution of these forms.

This exhibition was part of a larger argument for Italian Rationalism, in which the architects sought to demonstrate the inherent Italian or Mediterranean qualities of modern architecture by linking it to past examples. At the time, Rationalists were often accused of following Northern European trends and therefore of not being Italian enough to represent the Fascist state. In an attempt to prove the Italian character of Rationalist design, the photographs and accompanying text highlight shared characteristics of rural and modern architecture, like simplicity of form, the adherence to function, and the lack of ornament. In fact, the display suggests that Italian Rationalism could be viewed as a evolution of these Italian building traditions, rather than something new or worse yet, something foreign.[253]

The Italian Rural Architecture exhibition communicated ideas later expressed in the Ina-Casa manuals. Attention is given to the local climate, landscape, habits of life, and building traditions. A single approach to design is ruled out in the exhibition, this being impossible in a nation with such regional diversity. Architecture that is responsive to local conditions is deemed more appropriate. The exhibition even posits that the simple and functional vernacular forms were responsive to higher social needs: "a moral need for clarity and honesty."[254] Additionally, the decorative and unnecessary ornament of *architettura Borghese* is criticized in the exhibition and anonymity in design is instead celebrated. All of these attitudes can be found later in the Ina-Casa manuals.

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[253] Lindsay Harris, "The Photographic Vision of Architettura rurale italiana," in *College Art Association Conference*(New York: 2007). See also Michelangelo Sabatino, "Space of Criticism: Exhibitions and the Vernacular in Italian Modernism," *Journal of architectural education* 62, no. 3 (2009).
[254] "un bisogno morale di chiarezza e onesta" Pagano and Daniel, 76.

Despite these commonalities, however, a number of significant differences in the use of tradition developed between 1936 and the 1950s. Single buildings, pictured alone in the countryside are the focus of the *Architettura Rurale Italiana* exhibition: there are just a few instances of two or three buildings and fewer still of village scenes. Not only is there no consideration of planning traditions in the *Architettura Rurale Italiana* photographs, there is a clear preference for the singular building, or the object in the landscape as a direct predecessor to the signature buildings of Italian rationalism. Despite the glorification of anonymous architecture in both the text and photographs of the Triennale show, the way in which these buildings are placed on the site creates a distinction from the landscape, not anonymity within it. Furthermore, the buildings in the exhibition are dissected into parts, like stairs, roofs and terraces, by dividing the exhibit and catalog into thematic sections and providing text that further served to highlight single elements. These elements, once selected are abstracted rather than viewed holistically as part of an integrated building. By extracting parts of buildings from their context, it was implied that architects could likewise be selective in their appropriations. As Mia Fuller explains, "they implied that the modernity of the vernacular could only be understood and extracted by architects."[255] In the end, this selectiveness allowed for architects to point to similarities between rural architecture and their own modernist compositions as evidence of an Italian character without designing in a more holistically historicist vein. In other words, whereas traditional dress masked modernist design strategies at Borgo Panigale, the 1936 exhibition attempted to reveal the traditional inspiration underlying modernist designs.

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[255] Fuller, *Moderns abroad: Architecture, Cities, and Italian Imperialism*, 105.

In the 1950s, the search for the Italian roots of modernism at the center of the 1936 exhibition was no longer relevant. What did remain relevant from the 1936 exhibition and other experiments was the meaning ascribed to rural and agrarian Italian building traditions. These simple functional building styles were now associated with morality, humility, and honesty. However, the way of using rural traditions and the designs that resulted were nearly oppositional to those of the previous period. The Italian Rationalists' search for underlying formal similarities between modernism and rural architecture produced buildings that looked outwardly modern; only a discerning eye could spot formal references to the stair of a rural farmhouse, for example. In contrast, the, postwar designs like Borgo Panigale looked outwardly traditional due to their use of historic materials, construction methods, village scale, and more. But beneath the historical dressing, one could uncover formalist games, the repeating elements and geometries rooted in modernist practices. The Rationalists' argument that Italian traditions led towards modernism was upended by postwar designs such as Borgo Panigale where tradition resurfaced in a visible way, veiling the hand of the rationalist architect. The relationship between tradition and modernity in the design at Borgo Panigale was not, however representative of all Ina-Casa projects.

Villa Longo, Matera

From the beginning the Ina-Casa administration suggested that it was possible to design projects that were not as outwardly traditional as the Tiburtino or Borgo Panigale. The design manuals included examples of designs with flat roofs, unornamented planar surfaces, and a purity of form associated with modernist architecture. But it was not until the second *settennio* of Ina-Casa, which started in 1956, that this approach became

common. During the first phase the association between rationalism and Fascism was strong enough to lead architects away from modernist design strategies or to cloak modernist planning in traditional dress, as in Borgo Panigale. By the second seven-year phase of Ina-Casa, however, the anxieties about these political associations had eased and architects were more comfortable designing projects that were not so traditional in appearance. The design manuals' directive to take the local context into account was not, however, forgotten or ignored with this change. Architects simply found new, less direct ways to appropriate local traditions in their designs.

The Villa Longo neighborhood in Matera is one example of a project from the second *settennio* that appears outwardly modern and yet is influenced by the local environment. As previously noted, Villa Longo was one of a number of Ina-Casa projects built to re-house the *sassi* dwellers as part of the larger city plan developed by Luigi Piccinato in 1953-6 [Figure 46]. Designed by Domenico Virgili, the neighborhood has sixteen buildings, most of which are four-story blocks of housing [Figures 48–51]. In the center of the site are three community buildings including an existing villa and a new community center. The design reflects a departure from the obvious historical references of the first *settennio*. There is less variation in the planning and architecture, the buildings are more contemporary and less overtly historical and the overall experience is that of a more homogeneous project.

Like Borgo Panigale, the street plan of Villa Longo avoids perceivable order or organization. Instead the streets snake and turn across the site between zig-zagging buildings and patches of green [Figures 85–86]. The housing is composed of different types of stepping blocks, each of which is accompanied by its own narrow access road.

Most of the housing blocks stand four stories high with at least one section raised on pilotis, creating an underbelly that is used for entry access and parking. As at Borgo Panigale, there is a play between tradition and modernity in the design of Villa Longo. The buildings are concrete slab floors with masonry infill covered in a light yellow plaster. The floor lines are painted a soft grey making the structural frame visible on the exterior, a more contemporary detailing. The sloping roofs alternate between single pitched and hipped. The walls of the attic story are perforated masonry that reference traditional wall construction found in farmhouses and other rural buildings.

The most exceptional aspect of the design is the stepping floor planes created by the alternation between floors raised a half level from the ground and those raised a full level above [Figure 87]. The rooflines follow the floor planes creating a roofscape that undulates against the sky. Moreover, the stepping floor lines are visible on the façade, not only in the window arrangement but also in the line of the floor plane itself due to a change in paint color [Figure 88]. Standing in the neighborhood of Villa Longo, the experience is quite different than one would expect from looking at the plan, which seems somewhat regular and repetitive. The buildings read collectively, as an ever-moving series of rambling and loosely connected constructions. The project's dynamism is a result of the way a combination of elements works together: the crooked streets, combined with the undulating façades, and then topped off with the elevation that shifts in the floor and roof lines creates a restless, vacillating environment.

Although Virgili's design utilizes contemporary forms and materials, he nevertheless used history; in this case through an experiential reference to the local environment rather than a copying through materials, methods, or forms. The local

environment he appropriated as the experiential model for Villa Longo was none other than the *sassi* of Matera. As a result of being carved out of hillsides the experience of walking through these dwellings is characterized by elevation and direction changes. Every path through the rock-carved center winds back and forth and up and down at the same time. It is never possible to get from one point to another in the *sassi* in a straight line, either in terms of elevation or plan [Figure 89]. Instead one winds up and down and up again, back and forth through the rock-hewn city. While many Ina-Casa neighborhoods combined winding streets and varied façades, Virgili took this approach one step further in Villa Longo by adding in the constant vertical shifts in floors and rooflines. Thus the neighborhood design attempts to mimic the experience of the *sassi* in the movement of the streets and buildings. Mia Fuller has described Fascist farmhouses as "tradition as a means to end tradition," because they changed the very way of living that inspired their design.[256] Villa Longo could easily be accused of the same bait and switch: the experiential reference to the *sassi* is overwhelmed by the contemporary design. The modern veneer disguises the reference to the caves to such a degree that it is relegated to a subconscious level rather than a visible and easily recognizable referent like those of Borgo Panigale.

The design of Villa Longo straddled conflicting aims: to commemorate the peasant way of life but also to transform and modernize it for those very same people. The state enforced evacuations of the caves and forced relocation to new neighborhoods was tempered by an attempt at Villa Longo to celebrate the architectural heritage of the very environment residents had been forced to leave. Submerged beneath the modern

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[256] Fuller, "Tradition as a means to the end of tradition: Farmer's houses in Italy's Fascist-era new towns."

exterior of the neighborhood was a winking nod to the experience of urban life that the *sassi* residents had left behind. The design of Villa Longo reflects the conflicting role of the state in postwar Italy. Rural peasant life was forever changed through forced modernization and at the same time held up and celebrated as representative of the new Republic.

Conclusions

Taken together, what does the use of tradition in these projects tell us about the way in which Italy was being re-imagined after the Second World War? Traditions were invented and appropriated through architecture and urbanism—by using local construction methods and materials, and through formal means, by using urban design typologies, size, scale, and details. Experiential reference of an existing urbanism was at the heart of the Villa Longo design in Matera. A wholesale attempt to create a new "old village" by using a combination of all of these means characterized the Tiburtino. Manfredo Tafuri has argued that these designs reflected a sort of self-imposed penance on the part of the architects:

> Once these intellectuals had defined their positions, they became politically committed in the manner of Sartre; they chose to identify the destiny of their technique and language with that of classes that had suddenly come to the fore, and that were enriched by a "loser's" past that enabled them to emerge as the bearers of new "purities." It mattered little that this identification strongly resembled a cathartic bath, that the intellectuals' exploration of these traditions hid a masochistic need to identify themselves with the losers, that their search for roots in the peasant hearth assuaged the anxiety of disorientation experienced through contact with mass society.[257]

[257] Tafuri, 10-11.

While Tafuri's characterization of the choices and politics of postwar architects does ring true in light of their designs and writings, these neighborhoods also reflect larger cultural yearnings and tensions in the reconstruction project. The appropriations of the traditions of rural and small town geographies combined with the glorification of its lower class inhabitants reveals a utopian nostalgia for a lost past, as well as anxieties about the metropolis and modernity. Despite the emphasis on place instead of temporality, many of the neighborhoods produced under these guidelines seem old-fashioned and time-worn. As we saw in the Tiburtino, the architects themselves claimed to have been trying to create a new "old" neighborhood. The architects of the Tiburtino in particular, were not just mixing new and old, they were trying to recreate a lost past, a provincial village on the periphery of Rome. Thus they were denying both the present day reality and the place, the metropolis. They sought to return the working-class inhabitants to a time when their communities were still small, and naturally developed, rather than planned and resulting from industrialization and modernity; at the same time they sought to transport the residents back to the small village which so many had left behind, where no man would find himself lost in the maze of the metropolis or anonymous.

How can working-class neighborhoods actually define a national culture or otherwise bond a people together? Benedict Anderson argues in *Imagined Communities* that print-capitalism was critical to the development of national identities because it created communities that could share simultaneous experiences.[258] Anderson cites the experience of newspaper reading as an example: people spread out across a territory reading a daily paper in a common vernacular language feel part of a larger community.

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[258] Anderson.

Similarly, television and film in 1950s in Italy were beginning to create such bonds among the people. Expanding on Anderson's conceptualization of how national communities are united, I would argue that simultaneity or time is not the only realm of shared experience that helps define national identities. Experiences shared in space can be equally powerful. We might think, for example, of national memorials, for example Rome's Fosse Ardeatine or a tomb of an unknown soldier. People may go to these sites at very different times, but feel connected through the shared experience of place.

Ina-Casa, then, could have been an extraordinarily powerful tool for nation-building in postwar Italy. As we have already seen, there are Ina-Casa projects in every region and nearly every city in Italy. In the 1950s, thousands of Italians were moving into their new Ina-Casa homes every month. So, the program could have offered both forms of shared experience—temporal and spatial. Imagine if the neighborhoods looked alike, if there had been a single brand of architecture applied in all of these projects: Italians would have certainly felt the impact of a unified national vision. But with unity there necessarily comes an erasure of differences. Since unification, Italy had been struggling with the conflicting goals of presenting a coherent vision of the nation and respecting the many local and regional cultures. As Homi Bhabha explains this process, "the political unity of the nation consists in a continual displacement of its irredeemably plural modern space bounded by different, even hostile nations into a signifying space that is archaic and mythical."[259] Yet instead of downplaying differences, what we see in these neighborhoods is plurality and diversity. There is certainly a filtering and manipulation of culture happening, but what is being appropriated are often local and idiosyncratic

[259] Bhabha, 300.

traditions. The final vision represented in these projects is more different than it is unified. In the end, the nation pictured in Ina-Casa is a diverse and fragmented one, a nation weary of nationalism.

Chapter Five
Inside the Homes of Ina-Casa

The first of the three short films that comprise Vittorio De Sica's *Ieri, Oggi, Domani* of 1963 is set in postwar Naples. The story's protagonist, Adelina Sbaratti played by Sophia Loren, sells cigarettes on the black market in the Spanish quarter of the city center. When the film opens a city official is searching for Adelina because she failed to pay a fine for her illegal activity. Now increased to 50,000 lire, the official comes to take her possessions instead. But when he enters the small one-room apartment that Adelina shares with her husband and young son, he finds it completely emptied out. The dwelling is one of Naples infamous "bassi" apartments located at street level, subject to flooding, and with a door opening directly into the street. The only light comes through the door and from a small clerestory window and the walls are caked with crumbling plaster. After the official leaves threatening that Adelina will be arrested for failure to pay, the neighbors immediately begin lowering furnishings from balconies above into the street, and hauling the couple's possessions back into the home. When Adelina goes to an attorney for help, he sees that she is pregnant and explains that she cannot be arrested while pregnant or for six months following the birth of a child. As the film progresses we see the police return time and again to arrest Adelina only to find her once again pregnant or with a newborn. As the story progresses the tiny one room flat where Adelina lives with her husband fills with one baby after another. By the time she

eventually gives in and goes to jail, she is the mother of seven, all of which reside with her and her husband in what is essentially a one room apartment.[260]

The tale of Adelina was not as fantastic as it might seem. In fact it was based on the true story of Concetta Muccardi, a Neapolitan woman who had nineteen children in order to avoid prison. Muccardi continued selling black-market cigarettes until her death at age 78 in 2001. The other two short films that make up the *Ieri, Oggi, Domani* trilogy are set in upper and middle class worlds of Rome and Milan. Although they represent the present and future in De Sica's telling, the actual conditions for the working-class were not significantly better in the cities of either the center or north in the 1950s. In fact, another De Sica film, *Miracolo a Milano* (1951), depicts equally troubling living conditions in postwar Milan.[261]

Whether in the *bassi* of Naples, the shantytowns of Rome and Milan, or the *sassi* of Matera, the poor, the peasants, and the working-class throughout the country were living in conditions that varied from substandard to horrendous after the war. Makeshift dwellings surrounded the large industrial cities of the north, while southerners continued to live in desperate conditions. As noted earlier, in 1951 roughly three in five Italians were living with more than one person per room. In Puglia, Basilicata, and Calabria, density was greater than two people per room in 1951 and twenty-percent of southerners lived with six people per room.[262] Half of the families assigned Ina-Casa homes were like Adelina Sbaratti's; they were living in shacks, refugee camps, caves, basements, or with

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[260] Vittorio De Sica, *Ieri, Oggi, Domani* (Italy).
[261] Vittorio De Sica, "Miracolo a Milano," (Italy: 1951).
[262] Beretta Anguissola, *I 14 anni del piano Ina-Casa*, 7-8.

other families.[263] As a result, the homes built under the Ina-Casa plan have shaped the lives of millions of Italians ever since.

This chapter goes inside the postwar homes constructed under the Ina-Casa plan to consider how family life was transformed by the new domestic settings. Through an examination of six Ina-Casa floor plans in tandem with the Ina-Casa design manuals' guidelines for interiors, it is possible to learn how both the administration and different designers envisioned the postwar working-class home. Domestic designs can reflect notions of family, gender roles, class, and modernity through spatial relationships, the provision of amenities, the connection to nature, the arrangement of spaces, and the divisions between private and public spaces. Or as Robin Evans explains, "The nature of human relationships are described by the plan."[264] Comparing Ina-Casa interiors with earlier Fascist working-class accommodations demonstrates the differences between the two approaches and eras. Furthermore, a consideration of three model homes from the 1954 Triennale highlights the differences between publicly sponsored housing for different classes of workers. Finally a 1956 survey conducted by the Ina-Casa administration provides some insight into what the working-class families that moved into Ina-Casa projects thought of their new homes. The survey results and interviews with residents reveal where the architects' visions diverged from the desires of the residents and bring to the surface some of the tensions that came with the redefinition of home and family in the postwar era.

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[263] Ibid., 134.
[264] Robin Evans, "Figures, Doors and Passages," in *Translation from Drawing to Building and Other Essays* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997), 56.

The preservation and protection of the family was at the heart of the political rhetoric of the Christian Democrats and the Ina-Casa plan was a key component of their postwar strategy. By providing new homes, "civil homes" to the working-classes, postwar leaders believed they could transform the many Adelina Sbarattis into upstanding citizens and doting mothers. Thus the plan's aims reached far beyond simply creating jobs and shelters to the transformation of the family. The home, it was believed, had the power to shape the behavior of its inhabitants.[265] Furthermore, the home was thought to hold the key to happiness and opportunity for Italian families. One of the leading Ina-Casa architects Ludovico Quaroni explained the larger goals of "poor class housing":

> the Italian homes of tomorrow which we trust will be rich in those social values so long fought for in so many countries by sociologists and architects, by administrators, politicians and economists, as well as the users in a joint effort to enable each man to have a home, which would not only represent a shelter against atmospheric agents, but the very fulfillment of his moral engagement towards life.[266]

Architects like Quaroni believed in the power of the home environment to affect the behavior of its residents, not only for better but also for worse. A good home could encourage a family to lead an honest moral life. Alternatively, as in the case of the baths of Caracalla or the *sassi* of Matera, the home could be a physically and morally unhealthy environment promoting immoral or dangerous behavior. A substandard home was an added threat to the family at a time when external influences like the war and migration had already destroyed and divided millions of Italian families; by 1964 there were a

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[265] Penny Sparke, "A Home for Everybody?: Design, Ideology and the culture of the home in Italy, 1945-72," in *Italy in the Cold War : politics, culture and society 1948-1958*, ed. Christopher Wagstaff Christopher Duggan (Oxford: Washington, DC, 1995), 226.
[266] Ludovico Quaroni, *Poor Class Housing in Italy*, (Rome: Ministry of Public Works, 1959), 37.

million broken or separated families.[267] Thus there existed not only a positive vision of how good homes could build good citizens, but also a fear that the existing crisis was unraveling the Italian family and the fabric of Italian society. Both motivated postwar designers and political leaders. Moreover, political calculations certainly played a part. The working-class had a particular significance for the Christian Democratic party; by giving new homes to workers, they were able to build support amongst those Italians likely to otherwise support the Communist or Socialist parties. Just a small shift in support towards the left could have caused the Christian Democratic coalition to fall apart in the early postwar years. Providing jobs and housing proved to be one of their effective and long-lasting ways of garnering working-class support.

The way Italians lived was not, however, strictly an internal political issue in the postwar years. International awareness of the living standards of the working-class helped motivate the Christian Democratic-led government's attention to the needs of the people. For years design exhibitions had showcased domestic interiors from different nations side-by-side, creating a new field for international competition.[268] While such exhibitions had initially been geared towards upper class consumers and the potential of standardization and pre-fabrication, the increasing need for affordable well-designed housing for the working-class had provoked architects and designers to turn their focus towards working-class household design. This alternate form of international competition, referred to by David Scobey as a "cultural face-off" between nations, pitted

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[267] Lesley Caldwell, "The Family in the Fifties: A Notion in Conflict with a Reality," in *Italy in the Cold War : politics, culture and society 1948-1958*, ed. Christopher Duggan, Wagstaff Christopher (Oxford: Washington, DC, 1995), 155. On postwar migrations see Gabaccia, 153-173.
[268] Beatriz Colomina, "The Private Site of Public Memory," *The Journal of Architecture* 4, no. Winter (1999).

the living standards and styles in different countries against one another.[269] Domestic interiors, even those of the working-classes, were put on display and nations were judged according to how well their citizens lived. This contest over domestic environments would reach a high point in 1959 when American Vice President Richard Nixon and Soviet Premier Nikita Khruschev debated the quality of the two nations' domestic appliances and designs in the "kitchen debates." Beatriz Colomina describes the significance of the kitchen debates to the Cold War: "appliances had become weapons. America's identity and superiority rested on its kitchens."[270] Italy was no longer judged soley by its impressive public monuments and great works of art; the quality of life of all its citizens was now at issue. The promotion of Ina-Casa achievements through exhibitions like the Milan Triennale and documentary films like *045 Ricostruzione Edilizia* spoke to both international and domestic audiences by showcasing the improving living conditions for working-class Italians.[271]

Living Conditions in Italy before and after the Second World War

As *Ieri, Oggi, Domani* illustrates, the Second World War left Italians scrambling to find housing in shanty towns, barracks, caves, and ruins. Even those Italians with something more akin to a traditional home lacked many of the amenities which would become standard in the following decades. In 1951, just sixteen percent of Italian homes had both running water and indoor toilets (two standard features of Ina-Casa homes).

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[269] David Scobey, "What Shall We Do With Our Walls? The Philadelphia Exposition and the Meaning of Household Design," in *Fair Representations: World's Fairs and the Modern World.* , ed. Robert Rydell and Nancy Gwinn (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994), 92.
[270] Colomina: 353.
[271] See for example the many newsreels from the time which show politicians at groundbreaking and key ceremonies at Ina-Casa neighborhoods. These can be viewed online through the Istituto Luce website. www.luce.it.

Electricity was more common and found in eighty-one percent of homes, while a bath was rare, found in just ten percent of homes.[272]

In some areas of the south conditions were exceptionally bad. As previously noted, thousands of Matera residents lived in caves carved out of soft tufa rock with an average density of 4.36 people per room and fifty-five percent of the cave dwellings were deemed "absolutely uninhabitable" in 1938.[273] Figure 90 is a diagram of a Matera neighborhood documented in the 1950s as part of UNRRA-Casas work in the city. As the diagram shows, families typically inhabited a one-room cave, which they shared with their donkeys and chickens. Local leaders expressed concerns about incest due to the fact that not only were entire families sharing a single room, but children often shared beds with parents and with each other. A typical *sassi* home had no electricity, plumbing, or running water but sometimes had access to a well or cistern below. The area's residents usually shared a neighborhood oven. Compounding the housing problems was the poor air quality inside these homes, due to a lack of ventilation and to the porous nature of the tufa stone that created a damp, humid, and unhealthy environment.

While indoor plumbing and running water were rare in the 1950s, some working-class families did enjoy better quality housing, even if they too lacked certain amenities. The Mantovani family, for example, lived on the outskirts of Bologna near the Ina-Casa quarter of Borgo Panigale starting in the early 1940s.[274] The family had six members; a couple, their three daughters, and a grandmother. They shared a two-bedroom apartment with electricity but without running water or plumbing. They took water from a well

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[272] Istituto Centrale di Statistica, *Censimento 1951: Abitazioni*, vol. VI (Roma: 1957), 28-29.
[273] Fonseca, 89.
[274] Interviews with Derice and Deanna Mantovani and Rosanna Ferando, June 2007, Bologna.

nearby until around 1945, when they had running water for the first time. The Mantovani family had a stove that they used to heat water and iron blocks that they placed under the beds in the winter for heat. The family shared a communal toilet with other building residents.

It is easy to forget that in the 1950s the provision of electricity, running water, and indoor plumbing were still luxuries for working-class families in Western Europe. As Luigi Beretta Anguissola explains, "One must not forget that with Ina-Casa, tens of thousands of families literally discovered the civility of the bathroom in the house."[275] These amenities enabled a level of privacy, comfort, and security unknown to most working-class families at the time. It was in this postwar context, when millions of Italians were living in severely overcrowded and deleterious conditions, that the Ina-Casa plan was created to provide something better.

Ina-Casa Design Guidelines and Built Projects

The Ina-Casa administration communicated their vision for postwar domesticity through the design manuals produced by the Projects Office. The first manual, the competition brief, was largely dedicated to interior design concerns. From minimum areas for each type of unit, to natural lighting, ventilation, the connection to the outdoors and more, the first manual attended to all of those issues that would be key in shaping the character and quality of the inside of Ina-Casa homes. The manual begins with lists of requirements and suggestions on minimum unit sizes, natural light, ventilation, etc. The second half of the manual is comprised of a series of eighty-one exemplary floor plan

[275] "non si dimentichi che l'Ina-Casa ha fatto 'scoprire' alla lettera, a decine di migliaia di famiglie la civilta' del bagno in casa." Beretta Anguissola, *I 14 anni del piano Ina-Casa*, 58.

drawings intended to show designers how all concerns could be addressed in various floor plan arrangements.

Ina-Casa designs had to account for economic efficiency, but also consider the psychological needs of their inhabitants. Designers were instructed to avoid "indefinite repetition and monotony" in types of housing as well as those designs that are "not distinct except for a number." They continued, "Man does not love the arrangement of a chessboard, but rather those environments that are cozy and varied at the same time."[276] Achieving such lofty and sometimes vague aims depended on careful attention to a number of practical matters including the efficient arrangement of spaces, room sizes, sunlight, and fresh air. The exemplary designs almost always went beyond these minimum area standards, suggesting that if architects took the schematic diagrams as starting points they would inevitably design spaces that exceeded the minimum requirements. Another key specification in the first manual suggested that designers limit the number of units clustered around a stair to two. But this too was not always followed in practice; the Tiburtino towers, for example, have three units per floor clustered around a single stair. The suggestion to minimize or eliminate the foyer or entry hall was similarly loose and designs often incorporated a small entry hall.

Natural light and fresh air were the subject of much attention in the design manuals as they were deemed critical to the creation of a psychologically healthy environment. Each dwelling would ideally have two opposing exposures to allow for cross-ventilation, but in cases where this could not be achieved, perpendicular exposures could suffice. Furthermore, each living space needed a minimum of one window and

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[276] *1. Suggerimenti, norme, e schemi per la elaborazione e presentazione dei progetti: Bandi dei Concorsi.*, 10-11.

each unit had at least one balcony or loggia. Access to the outdoors was necessary not only for functional reasons such as providing a space to hang laundry, but also to provide the family with a connection to fresh air and sunlight.[277] The density limitation of 500 people per hectare was intended to help ensure that every home would have the necessary access to natural light and ventilation.

Function and psychology were also united in discussions regarding hygiene, cleanliness, and storage space in the home. As the first manual suggested, "Provide storage for all those things that don't find homes in the cupboards and otherwise rest in motion throughout the house provoking a disorder that can not be eliminated."[278] Such disorder, it was feared, could prevent the home from fulfilling its role as a psychological haven for the family. Built in cupboards were the preferred solution and designers were instructed that they be considered a necessity rather than an added luxury.

This concern for tidiness extended into the realm of personal hygiene. Each home was to have a bathroom with a bathtub and a kitchen with running water. Not everyone knew what to do with these new fixtures. In an interview, Agostino Benito and Corretto Grucchi, two men who grew up in the Ina-Casa quarter Serra Venerdì, recounted that initially many people from the *sassi* were perplexed by these new amenities. One peasant, not knowing the purpose of the bathtub, filled it with grain.[279] Indeed neither the homes nor the amenities provided by Ina-Casa were necessarily always desired by the new residents, rather they were believed to be necessary by the politicians and designers of the administration.

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[277] Ibid., 8-10.
[278] Ibid., 58.
[279] Interview with Agostino Tucco Benito and Coretto Grucchi, Serra Venerdì, Matera, June 2007.

Another way in which designers sought to regulate the daily habits and spatial practices of residents was through the arrangement of the rooms of the house. How spaces were designed and were accessed from one to the other illustrated a concern for controlling how family members could interact and where. Bedrooms, for example, were never to house more than two adults, nor should bedrooms be directly accessible from each other, but rather only from a common hall. The overall layout of the home was to be divided into two zones: day and night, with the kitchen, dining and living rooms comprising the day zone, and the bedrooms and bathroom in the night zone. While some suggestions in the manuals were not always followed precisely in the diagrammatic plans, the separation of day and night functions was one instruction that was always carried out in plan, illustrating its importance.

Application of these guidelines in actual practice, however, was not so straightforward. Concerned that when children reached a certain age they needed to be separated by gender, the manuals' authors instructed that boys be permitted to sleep in the living space. Indeed many of the floor plan drawings show a single bed in place of a sofa in the living room. Most Italians were already living more than one to a room and sleeping in the living room. Although the manuals imagine a nuclear family of parents, grandparents, and children, the typical two-bedroom unit was not adequate for allowing the necessary separation of adults from children, and of boys from girls—at least three bedrooms would have been required. Thus the authors recognized that a distinct separation of day and night zones might not always be feasible in practice because someone may need to sleep in the living room, but this actually followed existing practice. Underlying these seemingly innocuous discussions of bathrooms, plumbing, and

spaces is a clear concern for sexual relations and cleanliness.[280] The administration hoped to use interior zoning and the provision of certain amenities to shape the behavior and morals of the working-class through domestic design.

The kitchen could have been yet another location for the transformation of the working-class family. Internationally the kitchen was a focus of efforts to remake the domestic environment, rationalizing women's work as if it were a factory for food production. The Frankfurt kitchen, for example, designed in 1926 for a housing project in Germany was an early and influential study model for European designers. This design resulted from the careful study of how women moved and worked in the kitchen with the goal of finding a single near perfect arrangement that resulted in the most efficient use of space and labor, in much the same way that Henry Ford had nearly perfected the assembly line. French housing program administrators and designers worked towards similar goals in the postwar era, searching for a single kitchen solution that could become a standard in all housing projects.[281] But while Germany had its Frankfurt kitchen and French officials their goal of a standard type, the administrators and designers of Ina-Casa took a more cautious approach to remaking the family kitchen.

Under Ina-Casa, it was understood that different regions of the nation had different cooking and eating habits and that such differences should be respected. Italy's diverse culinary traditions and practices were accepted and valued rather than cited as yet another bad habit that needed to be reshaped. The design guidelines left open, for example, whether the family would eat in the kitchen, in the living room, or in a separate

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[280] *1. Suggerimenti, norme, e schemi per la elaborazione e presentazione dei progetti: Bandi dei Concorsi.*, 52-57.
[281] On kitchen design in postwar French housing projects see Rudolph.

dining room. In particular, three types of kitchen and living arrangements were permitted in the design manuals; the separate kitchen, the alcove kitchen, and the combined kitchen, living and dining room.[282] The permission given to architects to consider and even follow local customs in regards to the design of the kitchen illustrates a tension between the overarching goals of the program and existing ways of life. On one hand, there was a desire to standardize working-class family life, by standardizing everything from hygiene practices to acceptable sleeping arrangements. On the other hand, it was clear that some differences between the many types of Italians could and should be preserved.

The Plans of Housing Units

An examination of six plans of Ina-Casa units illustrates some of the ways in which architects responded to the design guidelines, as well as how they incorporated local traditions [Figures 91–96]. Three regions are each represented by two plan examples: the north (Borgo Panigale), the center (the Tiburtino), and the south (Villa Longo and Ina-Casa Olivetti in Pozzuoli). Of the two plans, one is for a two-bedroom labeled "A," and the others are for three bedrooms labeled "B." As a group, the plans represent typical designs as well as a few idiosyncratic ones, such as the Tiburtino tower, which show how architects pushed the guidelines to their limits.

The six plans share a few important characteristics. In addition to bedrooms, they all have one bathroom, a kitchen, living room, and dining area. Each home was provided with electricity, running water, indoor plumbing as well as bathroom and kitchen fixtures. Almost all of the designs have a clear separation between day and night functions; the bedrooms and bathrooms are divided from the living room with dining area, and kitchen

[282] *1. Suggerimenti, norme, e schemi per la elaborazione e presentazione dei progetti: Bandi dei Concorsi.*, 13.

areas, usually by a door leading to a separate hall that serves the bedrooms and bathrooms. In all of the plans, the importance of lighting and ventilation is evident by the fact that every room has at least one window. Furthermore, every home has at least one balcony or terrace and many have two; one for service off the kitchen and one for leisure off of the living room or master bedroom. The kitchens are all located in separate rooms with a door to close them off. Every unit has a distinct entry area—in no case would a visitor enter directly into the family's living space. Two units per floor share an access stair from the outside, except in the case of the three-prong tower at the Tiburtino, where three units share a stair.

Inside the homes of Ina-Casa, the most distinguishing trait is the way in which spaces were defined, arranged, and separated. Homes were almost always divided into two zones: one for daytime functions that included the entryway, living room, dining area, and kitchen, and one for nighttime functions that included the bedrooms and bathrooms. Among the six plans there is only one exception to this rule: the two-bedroom unit in Pozzuoli at Ina-Casa Olivetti. In this case, the bedrooms are situated diagonally across from one another. The site at Pozzuoli is located on a hill above the Bay of Naples and has sweeping views of the water below. The plan suggests that the unusual arrangement in this case may have been to allow both the living room and master bedroom to take advantage of the view towards the sea. In every other case, the distinction between day and night zones is clear. There is usually a separate hall, with a door to close it off that leads to the night zone. The importance of this division is made clear when looking at the plan of Tiburtino B or Villa Longo B. In Tiburtino B, the nighttime hall serves only the single purpose of separating the two zones. The living

room is being used as a circulation space: one must go through it to get to any space in the house. The bedrooms and bathroom could have easily opened into the living room. Instead a hall is carved out as a buffer zone so that there is no direct relationship between day and night zones. Villa Longo B also has a separate hall to the bedrooms. It is adjacent to the entry hall; the two could easily have been combined. Instead they are divided down the middle by a wall with a doorway that allows access while clearly defining the boundary line between the two zones.

That all of the architects went to such lengths to separate day and night zones, even where it wasted space or created awkward design relationships illustrates the importance of the underlying belief. While neither the design manual authors nor the architects themselves ever articulate it overtly, the dedication to creating a separation between these two zones demonstrates a larger concern about the sexual relations between family members. The one-room homes of the past, like Adelina Sbartti's, were often disparaged as promiscuous and enabling incest. To discourage sexual relations among family members other than than husband and wife, a separation of zones was necessary. The requirement that no more than two adults sleep in a single room, and that no two bedrooms be directly adjoined necessitated a hallway to separate the bedrooms. Moreover, the first design manual explicitly addresses the question of gender separation among children in a two-bedroom home. It instructs architects to provide extra space in the living room because in families with children of both sexes, the boys will eventually have to sleep in the living room. What is clear from the plan designs is that the architects took the principle of separation seriously, sometimes going to great lengths to ensure a division between zones.

Connected to the issue of zone separation is the design of circulation. In almost all cases, circulation does not go from room to room: path and place are distinct from one another. The only exception is the living rooms in Tiburtino B and Borgo Panigale B. In these two plans, one must go through the living room to get to other spaces. In the other twenty-seven rooms of these six plans, however, the rooms do not have circulatory functions. While the separation of path and place in the plans of Ina-Casa may seem obvious, they must be understood as both intentional and unique. To compare, consider Le Corbusier's design for Villa Savoye thirty years earlier. One of the most defining characteristics of the Villa Savoye plan was the union of path and place, the way in which the circulation and rooms were seamlessly joined together. The same is true of Mies Van der Rohe's iconic design for the Barcelona pavilion. While these two designs preceded Ina-Casa by decades, they helped to canonize the link between the open plan, which joined path and place, and modernism. The free plan, as Le Corbusier called it, has been understood as a defining trait of modern design ever since. The rejection of the open plan in the designs of Ina-Casa suggests that modern living was defined differently in postwar Italy.

The design of the entries to these Ina-Casa homes demonstrates yet another case where separation is chosen over the free plan. The Ina-Casa design guidelines repeatedly caution architects against dedicating unnecessary space to a foyer or entryway. Yet all six plans have a somewhat separate entry space. In most cases, the entry is a small enclosed room with a number of doors leading into other spaces (see BP-B, Tib-B, Tib-A, VL-B). In two of the six cases, Borgo Panigale A and Ina-Casa Olivetti A, the entry space is simply an area screened from adjoining spaces. Yet even these two plans show a

concern for not just spatial separation, but also for visual privacy. The screens prevent a visitor to the home from being able to see clearly and directly into the private spaces of the home. In Borgo Panigale A, for example, the entry door is on axis with the interior hall, which could enable visitors to see directly down the hall and into one of the bedrooms. The bedroom, however, has a closing door, as does the hall. But if both of these doors were left open, it would be possible to see into the bedroom from the entrance. As if to take a triple precaution against this possibility, there is a small moveable screen directly in front of the entry door. This screen also helps to block the view into the adjoining living room. This concern for preventing outsiders from viewing or entering directly into the living spaces of the home illustrates a belief that the family needed privacy from the outside world.

The predilection for familial privacy evident in the design of the entry indicates one of the boundaries drawn between space and activities that are public and communal versus private and familial. The designers of these projects defined what types of chores and responsibilities were matters for the family, and those that could be shared in the public realm. The provision of nursery schools and senior centers in many neighborhoods, for example, show that the responsibility for caring for small children and elderly could be a shared one. The absence of communal kitchens, which were a feature in other contemporary European designs, illustrates that food preparation and consumption was a private family affair. The only domestic chore, which was semi-public in nature was hanging laundry. Some designs featured communal clotheslines on the roofs, while others provided each family with a service terrace. Yet as we shall see, residents preferred the more private alternative to the shared roof space. Through the

neighborhood and domestic design, the architects zoned private and public spaces in the neighborhood in much the same way that they zoned day and night spaces.

In general, the designs of Ina-Casa tended towards privileging the privacy of the family over the connectedness of the community. The focus on the family reflects the political agenda of the Christian Democratic government at the time, which placed the family above both the community and the individual. The architecture reinforced this; the fact that each stair led to only two units per floor, for example, resulted in an absence of large communal semi-public hallways where neighbors might meet and talk. Such communal meeting spaces were kept away from the home in designated buildings such as the church, school, or market. Further, it was not imagined that the Ina-Casa family would be hosting friends or visitors at home. There was never a spare bedroom and rarely was there anything close to a formal living room. When asked about hosting visitors in the home, the Mantovani sisters and a longtime resident of Borgo Panigale, Luigi Zaccarelli, responded that it was simply not done in those years.[283] If one wanted to meet a friend or neighbor they did so outside the home, perhaps in a courtyard or at the local bar.

Looking at the kitchens in these six plans we can gain an understanding of how family members were imagined to relate to one another and more specifically how the woman's role in the family was defined. In every case the kitchen is a separate room with a closing door and the dining table is in the living room. These kitchens are not the traditional gathering place for the family, there is no hearth or place for the family to linger over a meal for hours. Rather these kitchens are small and efficient, with just the

[283] Interviews with Derice and Deanna Mantovani and Rosanna Ferando, June 2007, Bologna.

necessary space for food storage and preparation. In this way they do share something with the previously discussed Frankfurt kitchens: they are primarily the site of women's labor, like a laboratory. What makes this more interesting is the fact that architects did not have to design such kitchens. The design manuals let them choose between three different spatial configurations for the living room, dining area, and kitchen. These alternatives were intended to allow for the incorporation of different regional traditions. Yet in reality, architects tended towards a single type—kitchens that were distinct rooms. This preference for efficient and distinct kitchens tells us that the traditional women's work of food preparation was no longer a family affair in the eyes of these designers.

The 1954 Milan Triennale

Nearly a decade after the end of the Second World War, the design and construction of affordable housing remained a priority for architects, engineers, and politicians in Italy. The tenth Milan Triennale held in 1954 gave architects the opportunity to showcase their work and test out new ideas. The event included exhibitions of model homes, materials and furnishings, and six interiors for different government sponsored housing programs. The designers sought to create "real not abstract homes,"[284] according to the exhibition catalog, and to address the very acute problem of designing homes and interiors that could be realized economically. The model homes were constructed according to plans that had been designed as part of various national housing programs. Designers then outfitted them with finish materials, furnishings, and textiles.

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[284] "Ha scelto, cioè, degli alloggi non progettati astrattamente come case 'ideali', ma realizzati, o in corso di realizzazione nel quadro dell'edilizia economica…" *XT: 10. Triennale di Milano*, (Milano: Triennale di Milano, 1954).

The designs for the model interiors of the 1954 Triennale show how class norms were being created, reflected, and disseminated during the first *settennio* of Ina-Casa. Their variety indicated how Italians were supposed to live differently according to such class norms.[285] Some differences were obvious, such as the size of the homes and the style of furnishings, which varied according to class and occupation. Others, including the ways in which class was understood and tied to spatial layout, were more subtly communicated. The most important examples are three government-sponsored projects, designed for three different classes of workers. The UNRRA-CASA home was designed for peasant farmers in Matera, the Ina-Casa home was for the working-class in Milan, and the INCIS home was for a clerical class of government workers and civil servants.

Casa Rurale, UNRRA-CASA House in Matera

The most curious of the model home interiors was certainly the *casa rurale* designed by Luigi Piccinato as part of the Borgo Venusio project in Matera [Figures 97–101]. As previously noted, the Borgo Venusio project was one of a number of new towns constructed for the residents of Matera's *sassi*. The interior furniture and finishings of the *casa rurale* were designed by Francesco Gnecchi Ruscone and Giovanna Pericoli. The design was for a single family home with two bedrooms and a barn built around a courtyard. The whole complex was 132 square meters, with the house comprising just 60 square meters (646 square feet) and the barn an additional 24 square meters.[286] The home

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[285] I have not found any evidence that the interior furnishings and finished were ever provided to new residents. Ina-casa homes did not come with furniture or textiles such as curtains or rugs rather residents brought their own furniture and belongings with them to their new homes.

[286] The *casa rurale* plan is the only one in the catalog without furniture included. Thus it is difficult to assess exactly how the designers intended the spaces to be occupied. The photographs illustrate a great deal, but there are not photographs of all spaces. The bathroom, for example, is left out. See *XT: 10. Triennale di Milano*, 50-52.

was divided into night and day sections. On one side were two bedrooms and a bathroom; on the other side were spaces for the living, dining, and food preparation. The dining and living space were combined in a single room and separated from the tiny kitchen by a wall. The night side of the home was separated from the day side by a small hallway.

The *casa rurale* was small. The rooms were based on the absolute minimum dimensions necessary to meet functional requirements. There was no true living room; no place dedicated to leisure time and activities. In the main room the only furniture provided was a table with four chairs and a buffet for dish storage. There is neither a couch nor a single bed, common furnishings in living spaces at the time. The size and nature of the home's spaces afford little luxury; there is no space to relax and certainly no room to entertain guests. In fact, although the catalog describes the common space as a combined living and dining room, for all practical purposes the living space has been eliminated as unnecessary. The lack of an entryway reinforces the particularly functional nature of the design; there is no way of separating guests from the only communal space. In fact, two exterior doors open directly into the living-dining room. The folksy and rustic furnishings and finishes further reinforce the utilitarian nature of the design. The furniture was made from unfinished wood, the flooring throughout is brick paving, the ceilings are exposed wood beams and joists, and the textiles are woven. The exterior also further reflects this rustic aesthetic. Stepped stucco walls with rectangular openings and rough wood doors enclosed the home, courtyard, and barn. Murals in the courtyard by the artist Fabio Mauri were a reference to local mural traditions. The austerity of the

design combined with the traditional touches demonstrated an attempt to both embrace contemporary realities and romanticize peasant life.

The *casa rurale* had a distinctive and nearly seamless relationship between the interiors and the outdoors. There were two exterior doors from the living room, one leading out the front and the other at the side, leading to the courtyard and barn. This was the only home with a space dedicated to a courtyard, where farming and household tasks could be performed outdoors, and to a barn for housing animals. In fact, over half of the *casa rurale*'s footprint was dedicated to courtyard and barn space. This connection to the outdoors highlights a larger question specific to Matera, but also arising elsewhere particularly in the south and islands: were these peasants to remain farmers or would they transition into other types of work? At Borgo Venusio, Piccinato did not anticipate or imagine that these Italians would quickly give up their cows, chickens, and hoes for jobs in industry both at home and in the factories of northern Italy and Europe. Yet that is often exactly what happened in the postwar transformation of Italy.

Ina-Casa-ICPM House

The Ina-Casa-ICPM (Istituto per le Case Popolari di Milano, from now on referred to as the Ina-Casa home) dwelling was a two-bedroom unit and part of a larger housing block in Milan, designed by Irenio Diotallevi [Figures 102–105]. The interior furnishings and finished were designed by Vittorio Gregotti, Lodovico Meneghetti, and Giotto Stoppino. The Ina-Casa unit occupied 93 square meters (1,000 square feet) with additional balcony space of four square meters.[287] Two balconies indicate it would have been on an upper level floor, rather than at ground level. The entry was through a

[287] Ibid.

stairway that opened into a corridor, which divided the apartment into two sides, with the bedrooms and stair on one side and rooms for living, dining, cooking, and bathing on the other. While there was not the strict separation of night and day functions that we saw in the *casa rurale*, the plan still reflected a clear desire for it. The single bath was tucked behind the kitchen, accessible only from the corridor. A small wing wall protruding into the corridor space further separated the bath. While both bedrooms open directly onto the corridor, the kitchen-dining room had two interior doorways, one to the corridor and the other to the living room, making this the only one with through access. There was a covered service balcony accessible from the kitchen and an uncovered balcony accessible through the master bedroom.

The most immediately noticeable difference between the Ina-Casa home and the *casa rurale* is the furniture and finishes. Overall the décor of the Ina-Casa home was modern and minimalist in contrast to the utilitarian and traditional décor of the *casa rurale*. In the Ina-Casa home, the furniture had clean lines and was designed for prefabrication. The kitchen chairs, for example, were bent plywood pieces bolted together. The textiles were simple geometric and abstract patterns, rather than the tradition inspired textiles of the *casa rurale*. The kitchen had cabinetry of plywood with a backsplash of white tile. The living room was lit by a fixture of four large white globes. The connection to nature in the Ina-Casa home was different from its rural counterpart; while the *casa rurale* was built on ground level and had multiple access points leading directly outdoors to the barn and courtyard, the Ina-Casa home was raised above the ground and accessed by a stair. The connection to the outdoors was limited to windows and the two balconies.

The two homes also differ in the layout of the spaces. Though both homes have two bedrooms and a single bath, the interior of the Ina-Casa home was fifty percent larger than its rural counterpart. This difference is apparent not only in the size of the spaces but also in the separation of spaces. The Ina-Casa home, for example, had a small entry space where the stair meets the main corridor of the home, creating a separation between the public corridor, the semi-private entryway, and the private spaces inside. A visitor would not have entered directly into the family's living space as they would in the *casa rurale*; instead the entry space provided a place to pause, while screening and protecting the private rooms from view.

The larger interior rooms provided something in the Ina-Casa home that was not possible in the tiny *casa rurale*: space for leisure. The fact that the dining table is in the kitchen opened up the living room for relaxation, becoming a space for the family to come together. There were comfortable chairs, bookshelves, framed artwork on the wall, a plant, a desk, and a sofa. On top of the cabinets is a tea set suggesting the room is a place for visits, perhaps even for entertaining guests from outside the family. Together the differences in décor, connection to nature, and spatial arrangements illustrate how these two classes of workers were imagined to live differently. The *casa rurale* residents were believed to need a physical connection to the outdoors, but not an interior space dedicated to leisure. The Ina-Casa workers in Milan, in contrast, needed the opposite: living in homes raised above the ground, a living room, separate from the functions of cooking and dining would promote sociabilitiy and relaxation.

The relationship between the community and family in these two homes was also distinct. This was due, in part, to the different architectural form of the buildings: a

single family home in Matera and a unit in a large housing block in Milan. As a consequence, there was a greater need for privacy in the more densely settled Ina-Casa housing block. This privacy was achieved through the arrangement of the plan. The *casa rurale*, in contrast, had little separation either inside the home or between inside and out. Finally, the differences in furnishings and finishes suggests that while the southern peasants were still firmly rooted in rustic traditions, the Milanese workers were to embrace modernity in their domestic environments. A consideration of the third home clarifies how architects and designers imagined the third group, clerical class workers, to live.

INCIS House

Constructed for government workers under the INCIS plan (Istituto Nazionale per le Case degli Impiegati dello Stato), INCIS unit A was a two-bedroom apartment of ninety square meters (970 square feet) [Figures 106–109].[288] The first thing that stands out in the INCIS unit A is the entryway. Rather than entering the home directly from a shared interior stair or corridor, as in the Ina-Casa home, the INCIS building has a stair leading to an exterior terrace on each floor. The front door of the individual apartment is on this terrace and thus the exterior-interior relationship in some ways mimics a more traditional single family house where one enters directly into the home from the outdoors. This arrangement gives this middle class home a public face in the urban context; it allows city dwellers to identify the physical presence of this particular family with their front door. Yet, unlike the *casa rurale* entry, which was also directly from the exterior, there is no functional connection to exterior work spaces or barns.

[288] The area measurement included a covered service terrace off the kitchen, but excluding a small balcony. Ibid.

Once inside the INCIS home, a hall led on the left to the living room and straight ahead to another smaller hall leading to separate kitchen and dining rooms. The configuration of the entry created a greater degree of separation between the public exterior and the private spaces inside. To move from the stairway to the kitchen, for example, one had to walk through three spaces (exterior terrace, large hall, small hall) and three doors. In the Ina-Casa home, in contrast, there was only the single space of the corridor and the one door separating the stair and entry from the kitchen. Through the separation of spaces, the INCIS home design limited and controlled contact between the family and the world outside. This separation of public and private spaces differs greatly from the *casa rurale*, where one entered directly into the dining room, and continued into the kitchen.

Underlying these differences was the idea that class levels corresponded to differing expectations of privacy and spatial separation. The fact that kitchen space was hidden from view in the INCIS home suggests that work should be hidden from view in the clerical class home, but could be displayed openly in the peasant farmer house. The clothesline was treated similarly. It was partially hidden on a screened balcony in the INCIS home, but visible on the service terrace of the Ina-Casa home. It may seem like a minor detail, but whether laundry is hung in the public eye or carefully hidden away is still an important marker of class in Italy today. What is interesting in regard to accommodations for laundry in these three case studies, is that because these were new homes, there was an equal opportunity to create a simple screening system in all three units. Yet instead of giving all types of homes semi-private spaces for clotheslines, the designers reinforced existing class divisions and expectations. So while the peasant

farmers of the *casa rurale* had little privacy, the family envisioned for the INCIS home required work-oriented spaces like the kitchen and service balcony that were hidden from the public eye.

The difference in where the family was intended to eat—whether in the kitchen or in a dining room—also expressed class distinctions. In the *casa rurale* there was no designated space for dining in the plan, but the photos show that immediately inside the front door there was a dining table and next to it a buffet. In the INCIS home of the clerk, in contrast, one had to go through three doors to reach the dining room, which was separate from both the kitchen and living room. Between these two extremes was the Ina-Casa home of the worker, where the dining table was located in the kitchen.

As we have already begun to see, the visibility of the kitchen was an indicator of the degree to which the daily rituals of family life were to be kept private or exposed. The location of the kitchen also tells us something of the role of the woman, who was usually responsible for food preparation. In the INCIS home, food preparation was hidden from public view and separated from the daily ritual of eating. This screening of kitchen work was also a class marker: even if the white-collar family could not afford kitchen help, it could at least hide the wife's work from view. The Ina-Casa home, in contrast, preserves a typical arrangement by locating the dining table in the kitchen. The Ina-Casa design manuals left the question of where to dine open to architects, with several potential options; a combination of dining and living with a separate kitchen, three separate spaces, or three combined spaces. The Triennale exhibition designers, however, placed the kitchen of the working-class home of Ina-Casa squarely between the peasant farmhouse and the more bourgeois INCIS home.

The furnishings and finishes of the INCIS unit were the most sophisticated and modern of the three interiors. The geometry of everything, from the kitchen cabinet pulls to the dining room chairs, was simple almost to the point of being severe. There was no hint of the traditional textiles or rough-hewn wood of the *casa rurale*. Like the Ina-Casa interior, the furniture of the INCIS unit appears to be industrially produced. As we saw in the rural and working-class interiors, the inclusion or omission of an entry hall and the lack of a guest bedroom expresses certain boundaries between private and public space and spatial differentiations that distinguish one class from another. The INCIS interior continues the trend: there is the greatest degree of separation between functions and between private and public spaces. The three examples reflect a desire to preserve and display class and regional differences rather than to promote an Italy where all citizens would live equally in similar dwellings. In France, in contrast, designers sought to develop a single standard housing unit for all French citizens, which displays an underlying goal of promoting equality among the classes rather than preserving the status quo.[289] The Triennale designs demonstrate that in Italy a higher degree of spatial separation was associated with upper class living, while spaces that combined circulation and multiple functions were associated with the rural peasantry and the past. Modernity was defined in opposition to where Italians had come from: rather than adopting an international and elite definition, Italian architects redefined modernity to fit the context.

Reception

Architectural histories often fail to go beyond the debates and discussions of designers and politicians and ask how a society, and especially the new inhabitants,

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[289] See Rudolph.

understood design projects. Richard Bosworth, for example, has criticized cultural histories on the grounds that they tend to document what those in power said and did, rather than what those actions and words meant to the people.[290] While there are drawings, journal articles, and archival records to tell us what clients and architects believed, intended, and did, reception by the users of a new building is often more difficult to assess due to the lack of documents.

In the case of Ina-Casa, however, a survey of residents conducted in 1956 tells us some of what residents thought about their new homes.[291] The survey was tailored to provide feedback to designers as to which plan layouts, architectural features, and unit types were preferred with the goal of assessing the homes of the first *settenio* in order to improve the design guidelines for the second *settennio*.[292] This endgoal defined the parameters of the questions and as a result limits much of what we can assess from the survey. In addition to asking about the physical characteristics of the buildings, the survey gathered information on the demographic characteristics of the families. Overall the information collected was more quantitative than qualititative. The administration seemed most interested in statistical data, which they formulated into charts and graphs. Despite the shortcomings of this approach, the responses are telling on certain subjects, such as how Italians in different regions of the nation responded differently to their new homes. For matters such as the kitchen preferences of families by region and class the survey acts as a check against the assumptions of designers.

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[290] R. J. B. Bosworth, *The Italian Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives in the Interpretations of Mussolini and Fascism*, (New York: Arnold, 1998), 27.
[291] Alberti.
[292] This was not the only study that used Ina-Casa neighborhoods, a study of health conditions especially tuberculosis in working-class populations was also conducted in Ina-Casa quarters. Salvatore Alberti, *Condizioni di abitazione e stati morbosi*, (Roma: Gestione INA-CASA Ente gestione servizio sociale, 1958).

The 1956 survey of 1,361 families was conducted by the Social Service administration (Ente Gestione Servizio Sociale). Its workers visited homes and were responsible for filling out the questionnaires based on residents' responses. The surveys were primarily conducted in Ina-Casa neighborhoods on the periphery of large cities, as opposed to the many small projects scattered around the country, because there were usually social centers in these neighborhoods from which social service workers could conduct the survey. Thus, the sample of families is more closely representative of Ina-Casa families and projects in metropolitan areas rather than rural areas. The survey publication, however, carefully points out that this weakness did not result in significantly different results in terms of typical family or project characteristics.

The survey inquired about the family itself, in terms of the number of members, gender, the birthplace of the head of household, and work status. One tactic used to ensure comparability of certain data was the instruction that social service workers interview all the families in a vertical stack of a single building. If they interviewed a family on the ground floor, they must also interview all families living in the same unit on floors above. This technique was developed to ensure that assessments were not influenced by different plans or orientations of apartments and helped assess preferences with regard to floor level and size.

The application and selection process for Ina-Casa housing determined, sometimes inadvertently, the makeup and characteristics of the typical Ina-Casa family. The plan was open to two kinds of working-class families: clerical-class families (*famiglie impiegatizie)* and working-class families (*famiglie operaie).* Factory workers, employees of the state or other institutions, and manual laborers like construction

workers were some of the typical professions. The workers of Ina-Casa were generally men, though homes were also assigned to widows and single mothers. The biggest difference between Ina-Casa families and the average Italian family was size: the typical Ina-Casa family had 5.2 members in 1956, while the typical Italian family had just 4.02 members.[293] The larger size of the Ina-Casa family was due to the manner in which housing was assigned, which gave extra points to applicants based on the size of the family. As a result, there were more children in Ina-Casa families as compared to the average Italian family. Families were, however, discouraged from taking in either laterally related family members or outsiders, such as boarders. While the exact measures taken to encourage a limited family composition are unclear, the survey results demonstrated that over eighty percent of Ina-Casa families included only members in a direct ascending or descending line.[294] Of those family members over fifteen years of age, seventy-four percent of men worked, while just sixteen percent of women did, suggesting the traditional pattern with men working outside the home was prevalent in Ina-Casa homes.[295]

The most important and determining factor in ranking applicants was the state of their current living situation. This factor had a profound effect on which families were ultimately selected. The law mandated that Ina-Casa housing assignment be based first on need (earlier versions of the plan had suggested a lottery system for assignment). Those families completely without housing, living in "improper" conditions, refugee camps, or public dormitories were given preference, and eighty percent of Ina-Casa

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[293] Alberti, *Caratteristiche e preferenze di un gruppo di famiglie assegnatarie di alloggi INA-CASA*, 21.
[294] Ibid., 22-23.
[295] Ibid.

families interviewed met this criterion in the first *settennio*.[296] Although extra points were given to families from the region where the homes were located, as opposed to "immigrant" families, the greater preference given to the families living in the worst conditions resulted in a large number of "immigrant" families being assigned homes in the new communities in the north and center of Italy. Italians from the South and Islands, disproportionately benefited for this and another reason. Since the Ina-Casa legislation mandated that no less than one-third of Ina-Casa construction be built in the South and Islands (Campania-Puglia-Basilicata-Calabria, and Sicily-Sardegna). Few northerners moved to the south, so the housing constructed in the south and islands primarily housed natives of those regions. Consequently, between forty and forty-six percent of all Ina-Casa families had a head of household who was born in the South or Islands giving these families overrepresentation in Ina-Casa as a whole. Interestingly, however, of the 1361 families surveyed the proportion of families from the South and Islands was closer to the national proportion: just twenty-four percent of families surveyed had a head of household that was born in the South or Islands.[297]

The survey author, Salvatore Alberti, did not see the larger proportion of southern families receiving housing as a problem, but rather as an opportunity. As he explained, "The possession of a well-outfitted home represents one of the most effective instruments for facilitating and accelerating the process of assimilation to the local population for the immigrant family."[298] Overall, thirty-seven percent of Ina-Casa families were assigned homes in the same city where the head of household was born; thirty-two percent were

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[296] Ibid., 3, 41.
[297] Ibid., 10.
[298] Ibid., 12."Il posesso di un alloggio decoroso rappresenta uno degli strumenti piu' efficaci per agevolare ed accelerare il processo di assimilazazione alla popolazione locale delle famiglie immigrate."

assigned homes in the same region but another city; and thirty-one percent were assigned homes in regions different from those where the head of household was born.[299] But these statistics varied greatly by region. In Calabria-Sicilia-Sardegna, just ten percent of families assigned homes had a head of household born outside the region. In contrast, fifty-four percent of the head of households in families assigned homes in Piemonte-Valle d'Aosta-Lombardia were born outside the region. The trend of southerners relocating to neighborhoods in the north evident in Ina-Casa families mirrored the migration trend in the country as a whole during the 1950s.[300]

Ina-Casa homes were unfurnished but did include bathroom and kitchen fixtures—stoves, sinks, bathtubs, toilets, and bidets, but not refrigerators. The average Ina-Casa home was five rooms, including a living room, kitchen, and three bedrooms. Since the average family had 5.2 members, the density of Ina-Casa homes was just over one person per room. When asked whether they liked the size of their homes or would have preferred larger or smaller homes, fifty-nine percent of residents were generally satisfied with the size of their homes, while thirty-nine percent wanted larger homes and two percent preferred smaller ones. From the survey data we can infer that the ideal person-to-room ratio was roughly one person per room.[301] Although working-class families were slightly larger than their clerical-class counterparts, it was the latter who were more likely to want larger homes.

Initially half of Ina-Casa homes were to be rentals and the other half purchased by the new residents. Over time, however, residents renting Ina-Casa homes applied to

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[299] Ibid., 11.
[300] On Italian migration and immigration after World War II, see See Gabaccia, 153-173.
[301] Alberti, *Caratteristiche e preferenze di un gruppo di famiglie assegnatarie di alloggi INA-CASA*, 18.

purchase those homes in significant numbers, with the result that each year a larger percentage were owned rather than rented. By 1960, sixty percent of Ina-Casa homes were purchased by their inhabitants.[302] More clerical-class workers bought their homes (75%) than did working-class residents (52%). The average cost to buy an Ina-Casa home was 1100 lira per month, while rent was roughly half that, 540 lira per month.[303]

Ina-Casa administrators and architects approached the design of the homes with the assumption that smaller buildings, those with less than twenty units, were better than large blocks and the survey indicates that at least in the number of floors, they were correct. Residents of buildings with seven or more floors generally did not want to live above the fifth floor. Just thirteen percent preferred to live on the seventh floor or higher, while roughly seventy percent of residents of seven-story plus buildings wanted to live on the first, second, third, or fourth floors.[304] These statistics may be explained by the fact that Ina-Casa projects built in the first *settennio* did not typically have elevators, so residents had to use stairs to access their units. Overall residents preferred the second floor, followed by the third, and the first floor. There were some units that were spread across two floors with private interior stairs, but less than half of the residents of such homes liked them: most preferred a single level in order to avoid stairs.[305] The most common reasons that residents of all types of buildings cited for wanting to live on a particular floor were the better light, air, cleanliness, and independence (53%). The second most common reason was to avoid stairs (28%) followed by concerns about humidity and temperature (12%). While the Ina-Casa guidelines envisioned giving

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[302] Ibid., 14.
[303] Ibid., 19.
[304] Ibid., 55.
[305] On preferred floor levels see Ibid., 50-59.

residents a connection to nature, the survey indicates that from the residents' perspective this connection need not be a physical connection on the ground. Residents did want access to fresh air and sunlight, but that did not mean they wanted immediate access to a garden or other outdoor space on the ground. The floors preferred by residents did not vary greatly by region, with the exception that fewer residents in the South and Islands wanted to live on the first floor. This tendency of southerners to not want to live near the ground could be related to the reputation of dwellings such as the *bassi* of Naples.

Of the four kitchen types asked about in the survey (kitchen-living room, niche kitchen open to living room, kitchenette separate from the living room, and kitchen-dining separate from living room), over seventy percent of respondents had a kitchen of the third type, a kitchenette separate from the living room, and this was the type preferred by fifty-three percent of respondents.[306] The fourth type, a kitchen-dining room separate from the living space, was the second most desired (32%) though just nine percent of residents surveyed actually had this type of kitchen. The kitchen-living room combination, type one, was preferred by just nine percent of respondents, while six percent preferred type two, the niche kitchen open to the living room. Types one and two shared a sense of openness or connectivity between the living room and kitchen in contrast to types three and four, where these spaces were separate. The fact that these open plan types were significantly less preferred (85% vs. 15%) is notable, given that during this period competing theories of design promoted the open plan over the separation of functions into single-use spaces. Ina-Casa residents clearly wanted separate spaces for different functions and the Triennale designs indicate one explanation as to

[306] On kitchen preferences see Ibid., 60-67.

why. In the three model homes of the Triennale, the separation of spaces was connected to class differences: spatial separation increased as class level increased. The professional class home had separate living, dining and kitchen spaces, while a single multi-functional space was sufficient for the southern peasant farmers.

The desirability of relationships created in the Ina-Casa neighborhoods between the family and community, in regards to communal chores, and between public and private spaces, were revealed by the survey. Although many Ina-Casa buildings included roof terraces for shared clotheslines, this was preferred by less than two percent of respondents. Seventy-nine percent families wanted private spaces of their own in which to wash and hang laundry, either in a specially designated space within the home or on an attached terrace or balcony. Just five percent or respondents preferred shared basement spaces for hanging laundry. The general provision of basements, however, was desired by most residents (85%). When asked to choose between four types of stairs (external covered, external partially protected, internal partially protected, internal covered) seventy-percent of respondents chose the most private and enclosed type, the "normal interior stair," again demonstrating a preference for more private as opposed to more public spaces.[307]

As previously discussed, the neighborhoods and buildings of Ina-Casa were characterized by irregular angles expressed in the plans, exterior shells, and even in the interiors. Some homes like those in the Tiburtino towers mixed ninety-degree angles with irregular angles in their plans. The use of obtuse and acute angles allowed architects to create the picturesque perspectival views that the Ina-Casa guidelines specified.

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[307] Ibid., 69.

Residents, however, did not like this aspect when it entered into their homes: ninety-percent preferred right angles to obtuse and/or acute angles.[308] When the alternative of more original designs versus conventional ones was posed in a question about obtuse and acute angles in plan, residents chose conventional layouts.

The 1956 survey did not address the exterior aesthetics of Ina-Casa. We do not know, for example, whether residents would have preferred more modernist exteriors or if they liked the more traditional dressing typical of early Ina-Casa projects. The only question that addressed something related was that of preferred floor. Since residents chose the second, third and first floors, as the order of preference, we can infer that Ina-Casa guidelines were correct in limiting building heights in most cases to six stories. However, this limitation marks a key difference between designs of the first and second *settennio*. The administrators and architects of Ina-Casa did not seriously consider the survey results as they revised the guidelines for the second *settennio*, according to Renato Bonelli.[309] Consequently, the second *settennio* designs are marked by their more modernist designs, often large scale buildings raised on pilotis, with exteriors of exposed concrete rather than plaster. The voices of the residents of Ina-Casa homes were briefly heard but then ignored and largely forgotten.

Conclusions

Though the 1956 survey was limited in scope, it does provide a sketch of how families responded to their new homes and to new ideas about design. Residents shared many of the administration and designers' concerns about light and ventilation. Most importantly, but not surprisingly, residents shared a desire for change. They did not hope

[308] Ibid., 71.
[309] Di Biagi and Nicoloso, "La Grande Ricostruzione."

to maintain their traditional living arrangements if that meant, for example, having one combined living-dining-kitchen space. Rather the families of Ina-Casa aspired to homes that had modern amenities and spaces divided by function.

The residents' desire for spatial separation and the implied class association, illustrated by the model homes of the Triennale, suggests one reason why the modernist free plan never fully caught on in Italy. The unification of path and place, promoted by modernist designs, was the very type of spatial arrangement that Italians were trying to escape. Italians aspired to homes with separate circulation and separate spaces for the living room, kitchen and dining room. Thus while the historiography of domestic design has celebrated the free plan as a defining trait of modernism, in Italy a modern way of life was associated with just the opposite, with bounded and separate spaces.

Conclusion
The Legacy of Ina-Casa

What statistics, charts, and graphs cannot express is captured in the lives of Pier Paolo Pasolini's characters: their living conditions on the periphery of Rome immediately after the war and their dreams of something better. As Pasolini describes:

> Some found living quarters in a cellar for two thousand lire a month, some built shacks under the old arches or in some bombed-out building, using the same rubble.
>
> So the Puzzilli family went to live in the shack between Pietralata and Montesacro, on the bank of the Aniene: a fellow-villager left it to them, a man who had made money on the black market and had drunk it all away. From then on they stayed there: at first Torquato made ends meet somehow, then they got him a city job, and he became a street-cleaner.
>
> At that point he began to fill out all sorts of application forms, at City Hall, at the Registrar's Office, at the Vatican, appealing to every saint in heaven, to have a house once the war was over: months had gone by, years, but their house was still that shanty, in the little settlement where in the summertime the heat nearly set the place on fire, and in the winter the rain and the mud threatened to shift the houses into the river.[310]

Pasolini drew on his observations and experiences in Rome's postwar periphery and most of the families that moved into new Ina-Casa homes were like Tommaso Puzzilli's family, living in shantytowns, caves, or refugee camps.

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[310] Pasolini, 168.

In the context of the dire realities of postwar life, Ina-Casa homes embodied not just better living conditions but the promise of a better life. In the novel, the acquisition of a new Ina-Casa home is the event that triggers Tomasso's attempt to transform himself from a life of petty-thievery, into a working-class man. When he is released from jail he sees his family's new home for the first time:

> Tommaso had stopped to look at his building, one of the two or three painted a dark pink: it stood near the end of the street, against the fields, all nice and clean and new. Then, with a lump in his throat, moved almost to tears, Tommaso went inside, frowning slightly to conceal what he was feeling. Ever since he could remember, he had lived in a hovel of rotten wood, roofed with corrugated iron and tarred paper, in the midst of garbage, mud, turds: and now at last, he lived in a building, no less, deluxe, with the walls all nicely plastered, and the steps with railings neatly finished, to perfection.[311]

After seeing his new house, but before even going inside, he goes to the local priest to ask for advice on proposing marriage to his old girlfriend. He fantasizes about dressing respectably and blending in with his new neighbors, whom he calls "students," "good boys," and "daddy's boys." He wishes that he had their upbringing. It is the newly built home with its glass panes, solid walls, and proper railings, which allows Tommaso to dream of such change. Tommaso is never able to turn his life around. Nevertheless, a real home, "with the walls all neatly plastered" is the agent of change that allowed Tommaso and so many Italians like him to imagine that he could live a different sort of life.

The provision of a carefully designed home with adequate space and amenities enabled other postwar transformations of Italy. As Paolo Scrivano has argued, "citizenship was symbolically redefined in terms of domesticity in a way that signaled a

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[311] Ibid., 175.

shift in social life from public to private."[312] A civil domestic environment was viewed as necessary for each Italian to be fully participating citizens in the new nation. Thus in a sense the provision of homes to the most needy citizens enabled a redefinition of who formed the imagined community of the nation. No longer was it a class of elites who alone represented Italy. As exhibitions such as the 1954 Milan Triennale demonstrated, the living conditions of the working-class, of "the man in the street" were now a national concern.

The improvements in housing made in Italy during the 1950s also paved the way for greater changes. The economic boom, which started in 1956, lifted the standard of living for all Italians and enabled a new focus on the home as a showcase of taste and wealth. The Adelina Sbarattis did not just become citizens, they became consumers. With these changes, the concept and purpose of the home was also changed, as Penny Sparke describes, "from a notion of the ideal home that was based on practical exigencies to one which espoused ideas of status symbolism and stylishness."[313] For the most part Ina-Casa preceded this change but the plan helped to set the stage for the development of the home as showcase of taste and wealth for even the likes of Adelina Sbaratti and Tomasso Puzzilli.

Despite the measurable and tangible positive effects of the Ina-Casa home, the plan was heavily criticized by architects and critics. The low-tech approach to construction combined with the traditional details and forms advocated by the administration led critics to view the plan as a nostalgic and romantic turn away from the

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[312] Paolo Scrivano, "Signs of Americanization in Italian Domestic Life: Italy's Postwar Conversion to Consumerism," *The Journal of Contemporary History* 40, no. 2 (2005): 323.
[313] Sparke, 232.

promise of the machine age. Both Manfredo Tafuri and Leonardo Benevolo saw Ina-Casa as regressive, anti-industrial and anti-urban.[314] Even some of the architects who enthusiastically took up the neorealist and organic approach later looked back with regret. Looking back on his experience designing an Ina-Casa neighborhood in Rome, Ludovico Quaroni lamented "In Italy, when one doesn't intellectually split hairs, the term 'tradition' is a close relative of reaction; of the opposition to the forces of life and progress."[315]

While critics may have derided the appropriations of traditions in the designs of Ina-Casa, the examples of Ina-Casa nevertheless left their mark on architects. Today the Ina-Casa approach to design can be understood not simply as nostalgic but instead as at the forefront of postmodernism, which questioned the dogma of modernism and the elitism of the avant-garde. Architects practicing in a postmodernist vein argued instead that popular traditions could provide the raw material for fruitful and powerful explorations. Ina-Casa provided one precedent for how architecture could re-appropriate and embrace popular, picturesque, and even peasant forms.

The connection between postwar Italy and American postmodernism is more than incidental. Denise Scott Brown, one of the leaders of the postmodern movement in the United States worked for Giuseppe Vaccaro on the design of an Ina-Casa quarter in Rome in the 1950s. As she recalled:

> The Ina-Casa housing was a project Robert and I could immediately identify with. Out of South Africa of the early 1950s and England of the mid 1950s, we were idealistic about the housing mission of architecture and demanded a high degree

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[314] Sergio Stenti, "INA Ponticelli e Olivetti Pozzuoli: Due paradigmi dell'INA-Casa primo settennio," in *Citta' Architettura Edilizia Pubblica: Napoli e il Piano INA-Casa*, ed. Ugo Carughi (Napoli: CLEAN Edizioni, 2006), 141.
[315] Quaroni, "Il Paese dei barocchi," 20.

> of functional and structural probity in architectural design. Most architects in practice could not meet our youthful demands for moral correctness. Here was a project that almost could.[316]

Scott Brown was speaking of the Ponte Mammolo quarter on the North side of Rome. Her second husband, Robert Venturi, also spent time in Italy in the 1950s and his famous critique of modernism *Complexity and Contradiction* grew out of those experiences. Scott Brown and Venturi remain close friends with the Vaccaro family.

More research is needed to flesh out how Vaccaro's work in particular influenced the work of Venturi Scott Brown (VSB), but a quick look at a few buildings illustrates that connections indeed exist. Perhaps the most interesting example is revealed through a close look at VSB's Guild House in Philadelphia in comparison with Vaccaro's five-story block at Borgo Panigale and post office in Naples [Figure 110, 111 and 112]. The comparison reveals that centralized balconies on the front façade of the Guild House bear some resemblance to the five-story towers of Vaccaro's Borgo Panigale. Both compositions are organized around the centralized voids of the balconies and the thin line of the wall separating them. In both cases punched window openings surround the central balconies. Vaccaro breaks the symmetry of the façade by adding windows on only on side. Venturi, in contrast, exaggerates the tension in the façade by adding a semicircular window above the balconies, which pushes uncomfortably close to the roofline. Similarly the single column at the entry of the Guild Hall can be traced back to Vaccaro's post office in Naples, which Venturi first saw in the 1950s.

The most interesting connection, however, is found on the roof of the two buildings. Whereas Vaccaro crowned the five-story block with the clothesline as a

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[316] Denise Scott Brown, "Lavorando per Giuseppe Vaccaro," *Edilizia Popolare,* no. 243 (1996): 6.

symbolic celebration of everyday realities, Venturi Scott Brown crowned the Guild Hall with a prominent TV antenna, celebrating the realities of daily life in America. Both designs take an element of everyday life and display it proudly. It is difficult, however, to read the Guild House's TV antenna in the same way as the clothesline—as an earnest celebration of the ordinary and everyday. Vaccaro had illustrated what Venturi and Scott Brown would later explain in American terms, "Main street was almost alright."

The traditional aesthetic of Ina-Casa was the first flashpoint for criticism; the second was the rejection of standardization. By encouraging designers to adopt traditional methods and materials, the Ina-Casa administration was directly contradicting a shared belief in progress as tied to industrialization. Le Corbusier, for example, had argued for a linear development:

> The prime consequences of the industrial evolution in "building" show themselves in this first stage; the replacing of natural materials by artificial ones, of heterogeneous and doubtful materials by homogeneous and artificial ones (tried and proven in the laboratory) and by products of fixed composition. Natural materials, which are infinitely variable in composition, must be replaced by fixed ones.[317]

Ina-Casa's preference for traditional low-tech construction methods, even if it was justified by the goal of creating jobs, broke with what many perceived to be a progressive evolution towards more efficient and economical means of building. Whereas CIAM "sought to replace the outmoded methods of craftsmen with industrial technology,"[318] Ina-Casa denied technological advances in favor of creating more work for the craftsman or the unskilled laborer.

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[317] Corbusier, *Towards a new architecture*, 232.
[318] Pedret, 22.

Today, however, with more than sixty years of distance, the criticism of Ina-Casa on the basis of technology bears the hallmark of its time. Faith in the efficiency of the machine and industrialization is now complicated by a new set of concerns tied to energy consumption, climate change, and labor practices. The significance of the Ina-Casa approach lies not simply in the fact that the plan inspired questioning of the modernist faith in the machine, but also what the administration advocated in its place. The preference for local building materials, local methods of construction, for labor intensive practices rather than more efficient or economical ones, might today be judged by different standards as a valuable precedent for sustainable building practices. Ina-Casa is akin to a kind of slow architecture in the spirit of the slow food movement. In this framing, the modernist planner's obsession with economics, industrialization, and efficiency can be historicized alongside unabashed enthusiasm for the first Betty Crocker cake mix as relics of an era past. As designers begin to evaluate the environmental effects of the design and construction process, Ina-Casa provides one example of how designers combined contemporary theories of design with locally available materials, laborers and methods.

Figures

Figure 1. Opening scene of *045 Ricostruzione Edilizia* showing the ruins of the Baths of Caracalla.

Figure 2. An Italian family entering their new Ina-Casa home from *045 Ricostruzione Edilizia*.

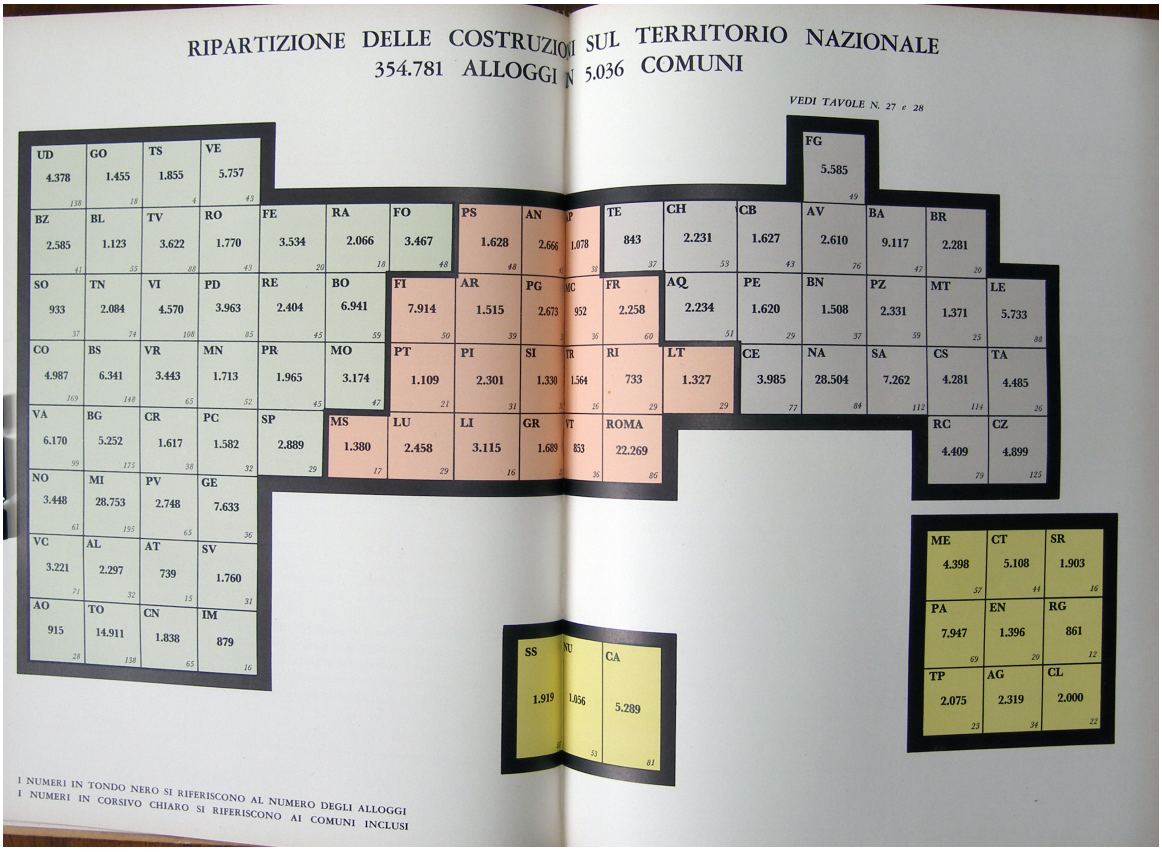


Figure 3. The capillary distribution of Ina-Casa construction throughout the nation of 1963, from Luigi Beretta Anguissola, *I 14 anni del piano Ina-Casa.*

Figure 4. Electoral campaign ad portraying the Christian Democrats as puppets of President Truman.

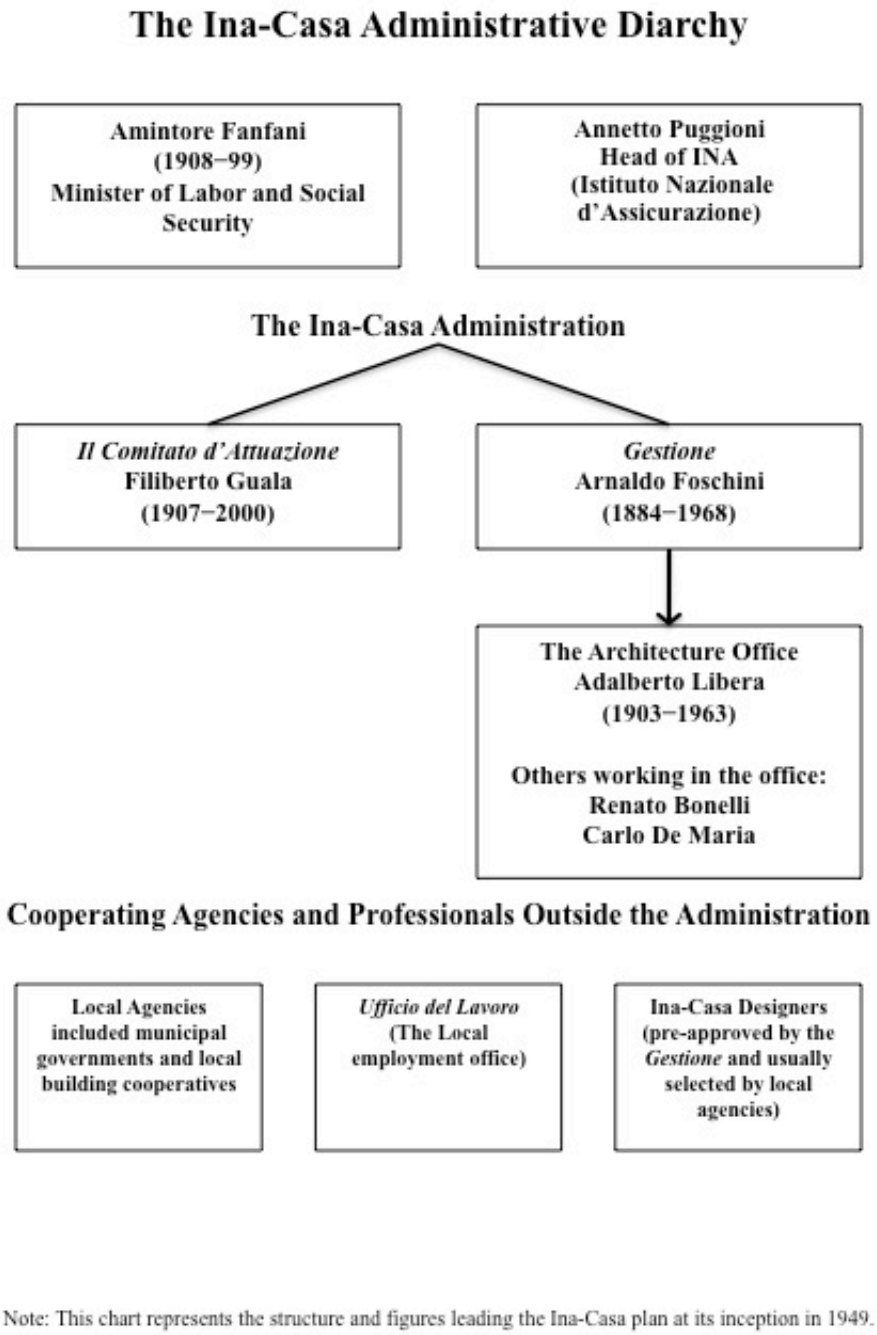


Figure 5. Diagram of the Organization of the Ina-Casa administration.

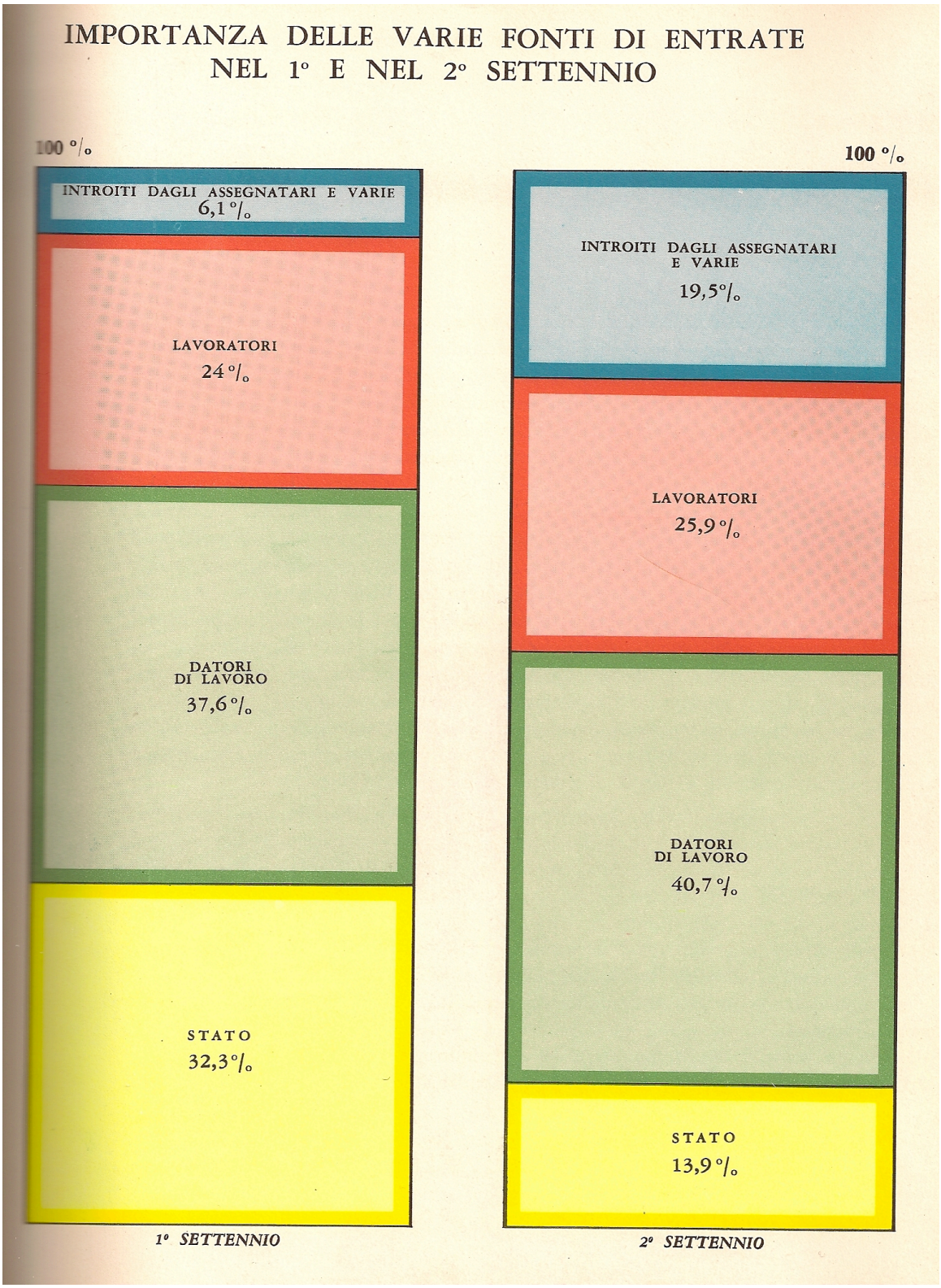


Figure 6. Funding of the Ina-Casa plan broken down by source, from Luigi Beretta Anguissola, *I 14 anni del piano Ina-Casa*.

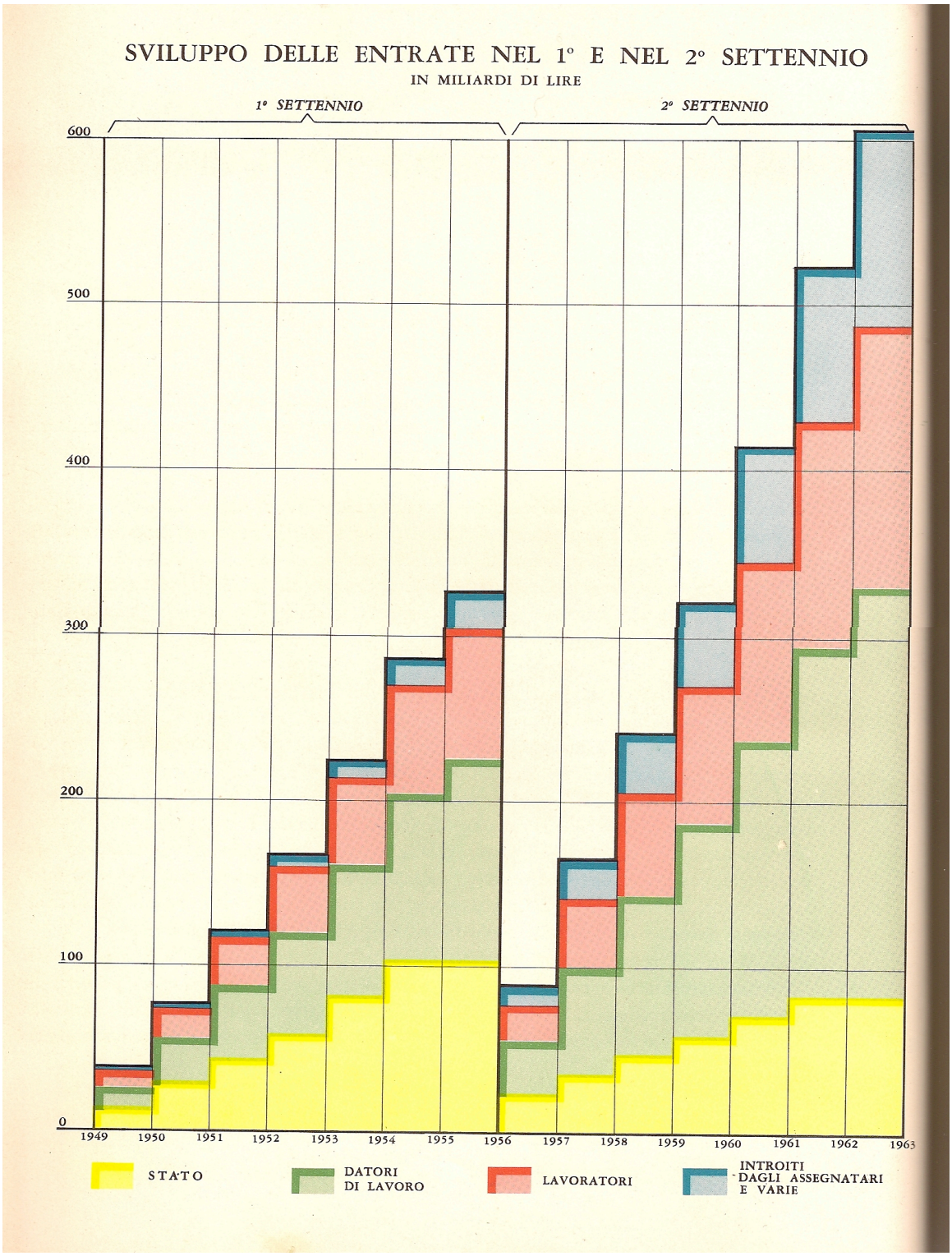


Figure 7. Chart illustrating the development of funding for the Ina-Casa plan from the various sources over time. From Luigi Beretta Anguissola, *I 14 anni del piano Ina-Casa*.

MINISTERO DEL LAVORO E DELLA PREVIDENZA SOCIALE

PIANO INCREMENTO OCCUPAZIONE OPERAIA

CASE PER LAVORATORI

Bando per la prenotazione degli alloggi da assegnarsi "CON PROMESSA DI VENDITA„ costruiti per conto della Gestione I.N.A. - CASA nel COMUNE di BOLOGNA a cura del

COMUNE DI BOLOGNA

e riservati ai dipendenti del medesimo.

Tutti coloro che prestino la loro opera negli Uffici e Servizi del COMUNE di BOLOGNA e che abbiano versato almeno una mensilità dei contributi dovuti alla Gestione I.N.A. - CASA ai sensi della legge 28 febbraio 1949, n. 43, possono richiedere l'assegnazione dei seguenti alloggi "con promessa di vendita„ purchè non siano proprietari di altro alloggio nei Comuni di **Anzola Emilia, Casalecchio di Reno, Castelmaggiore, Castenaso, Granarolo Emilia, Ioiano, Marzabotto, Monghidoro, Monterenzio, Monzuno, Ozzano Emilia, Pianoro, S. Iazzaro di Savena, Sasso Marconi, Zola Predosa, Bologna**; e dimostrino che nessuno dei componenti il nucleo familiare sia proprietario di un alloggio in detti Comuni.

LOCALITA'	N. Cost.	TIPI DI ALLOGGIO N. DEI VANI (1) 2	3½	5	6	7
BOLOGNA - Via Pasubio	2137			16	8	

Per tali alloggi il lavoratore dovrà corrispondere per 25 anni una rata mensile costante, che decorrerà dal 1. del mese successivo alla comunicazione di accoglimento della domanda di prenotazione e verrà determinata nella misura provvisoria di L. 1.100, a vano, riferita al costo massimo di L. 394.000 a vano (e riducibile proporzionalmente, nel caso di costo minore, all'atto della fissazione della rata definitiva).

Le domande di assegnazione dovranno essere redatte su appositi moduli, predisposti dalla Gestione I.N.A. - CASA, che gli interessati potranno ritirare presso il Comune; tali domande, accuratamente compilate in ogni loro voce secondo le modalità risultanti dai moduli stessi, dovranno essere presentate al Comune, unitamente allo stato di famiglia di data non anteriore a tre mesi, ritirando la ricevuta datata e seguendo le modalità che dal Comune stesso saranno fissate.

Il termine utile per la presentazione delle domande è di 15 giorni (estremi inclusi) iniziandosi non prima di 20 giorni dalla data di affissione del bando. Pertanto, la presentazione delle domande decorre dal giorno **21 Giugno 1951** al giorno **5 luglio 1951** compreso.

Le domande eventualmente presentate in occasione di bandi precedenti dovranno essere rinnovate.

Non verranno prese in considerazione:

a) le domande che perverranno dopo il termine stabilito per la presentazione, ovvero che non siano corredate dallo stato di famiglia del richiedente;

b) le domande che non conterranno tutte le dichiarazioni prescritte.

I lavoratori che, dalla graduatoria stabilita dalla Commissione Provinciale, risulteranno quali possibili assegnatari degli alloggi, saranno tenuti a presentare, su richiesta della Commissione stessa, **i documenti prescritti (2) a dimostrazione della veridicità delle dichiarazioni contenute nelle domande.**

Le domande che contengano dichiarazioni non veritiere non saranno prese in considerazione, ai fini della graduatoria, salvo l'applicazione delle sanzioni previste dalla Legge, qualora il fatto costituisca reato perseguibile penalmente.

La graduatoria, formata sulla base delle classi e dei punteggi stabiliti dal Regolamento, sarà pubblicata nel Foglio Annunzi Legali della Provincia. Entro 15 giorni dalla pubblicazione gli interessati potranno proporre opposizione alla Commissione provinciale, la quale provvederà in merito nel termine di un mese.

Le domande di opposizione dovranno essere corredate dai medesimi documenti richiesti per la graduatoria.

Le opposizioni si intenderanno respinte qualora la Commissione non deciderà nel termine di un mese.

In difetto di opposizione, la graduatoria diventerà definitiva e di ciò sarà data notizia nel Foglio Annunzi Legali. Anche le decisioni sulle opposizioni saranno pubblicate nello stesso modo.

BOLOGNA, li 31 Maggio 1951

Visto per la pubblicazione
IL DIRETTORE
dell'Ufficio Regionale del Lavoro e della massima occupazione
Avv. GIOVANNI RISOLDI

NOTE

Figure 8. An announcement of an Ina-Casa neighborhood to be constructed in Bologna, from the Archivio Storico Communale, Bologna.

Tav. 23 — Famiglie assegnatarie di alloggi nei complessi INACASA
(ripartizione dei componenti per provenienza e categoria professionale)

	NORD	CENTRO	SUD	ISOLE	ITALIA
Percentuale immigrati sul complesso dei componenti le famiglie assegnatarie:					
regionali	20,40	16,85	15,00	18,07	18,10
extraregionali	34,28	31,59	11,88	5,99	24,79
Percentuale ex baraccati o provenienti da campi di raccolta	58,67	47,85	50,26	45,16	50,48
Percentuale popolazione attiva sulla popolazione totale	45,71	36,65	23,49	23,10	32,74
Percentuale impiegati e funzionari sulla popolazione attiva	18,96	29,42	35,99	38,36	27,61
Percentuale operai e manovali sulla popolazione attiva	77,04	63,52	54,09	57,61	66,03

N.B. - Dati ricavati da un'indagine campionaria eseguita nel 1958.

Figure 9. Demographic analysis of Ina-Casa families from Luigi Beretta Anguissola, *I 14 anni del piano Ina-Casa*.

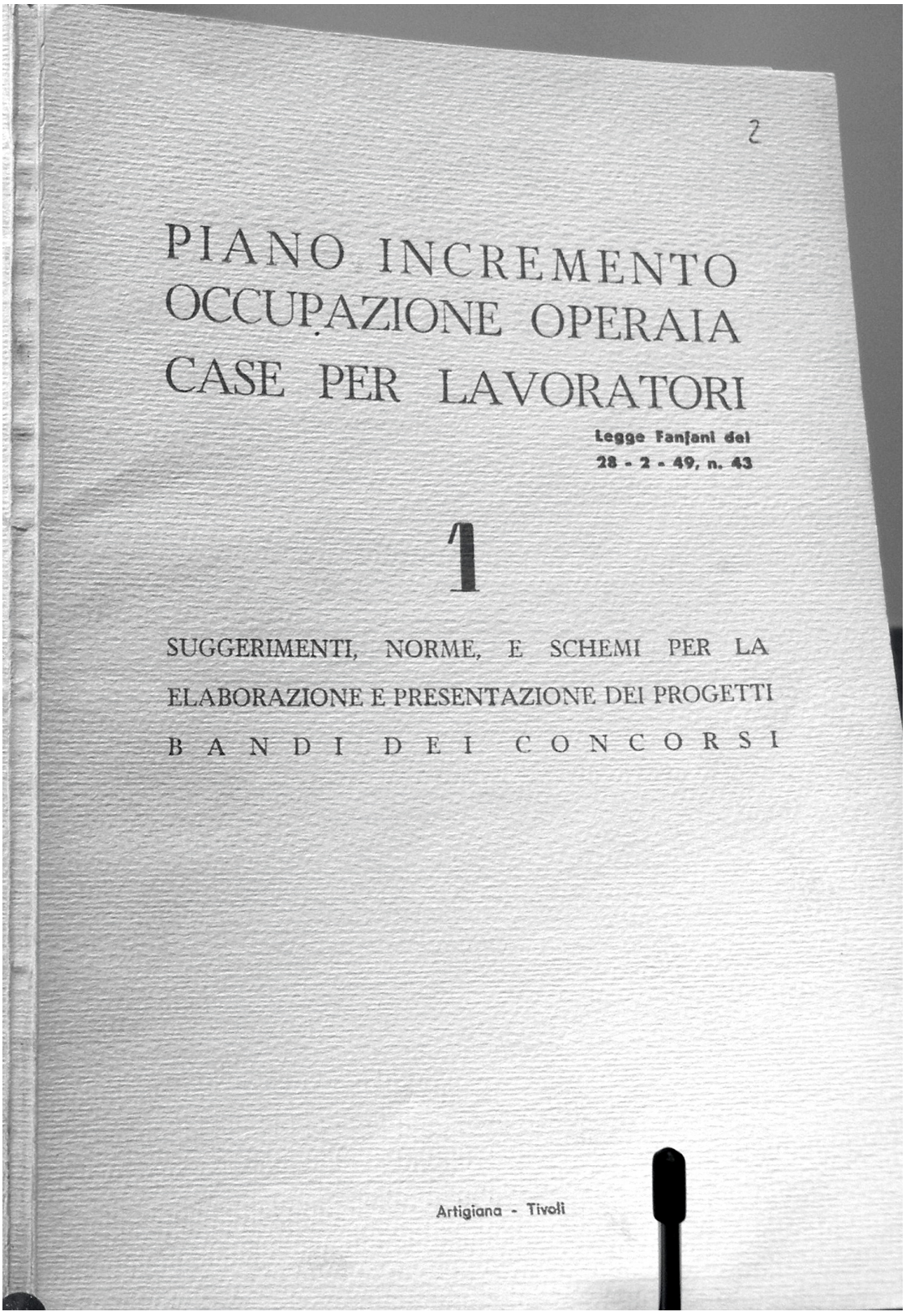


Figure 10. The first Ina-Casa design manual, the competition brief.

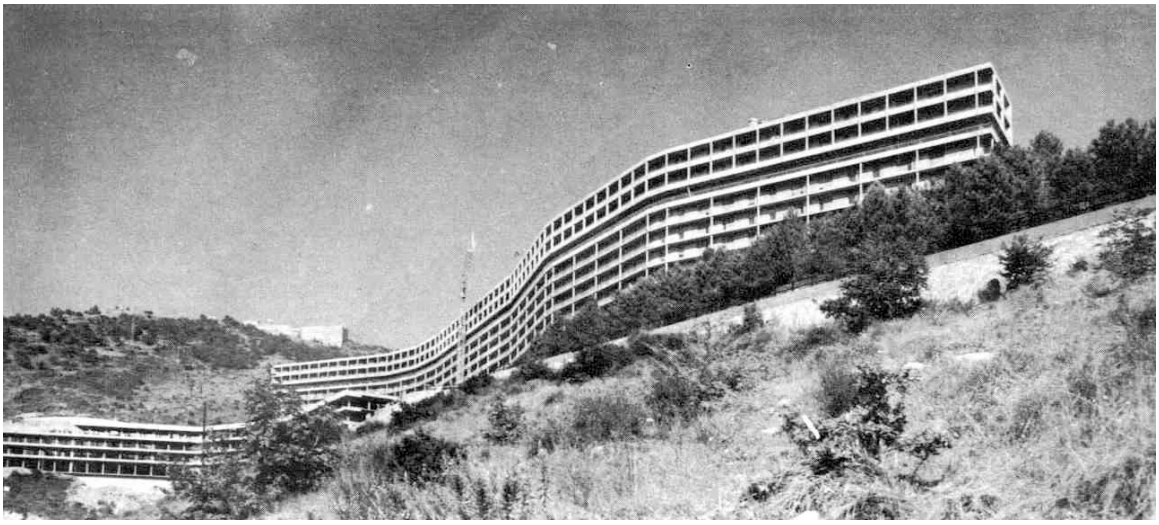


Figure 11. *Il Biscione*, an Ina-Casa neighborhood in Genoa from the second *settennio* from Luigi Beretta Anguissola, *I 14 anni del piano Ina-Casa*.

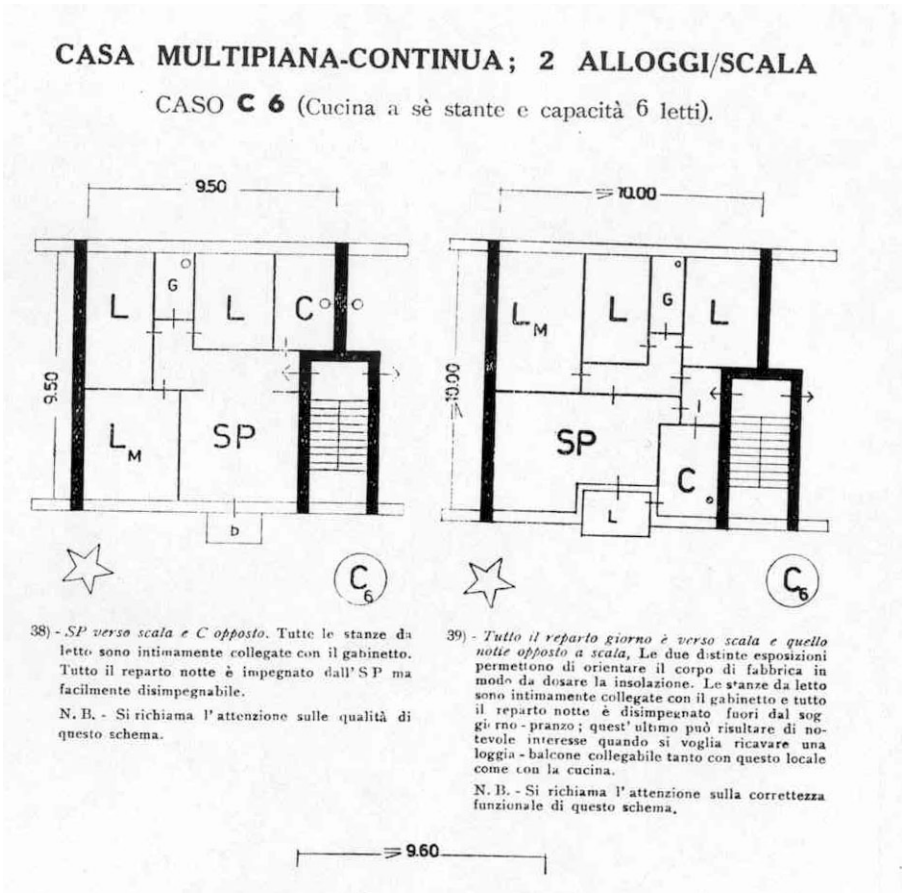


Figure 12. A typical plan diagram from the competition brief.

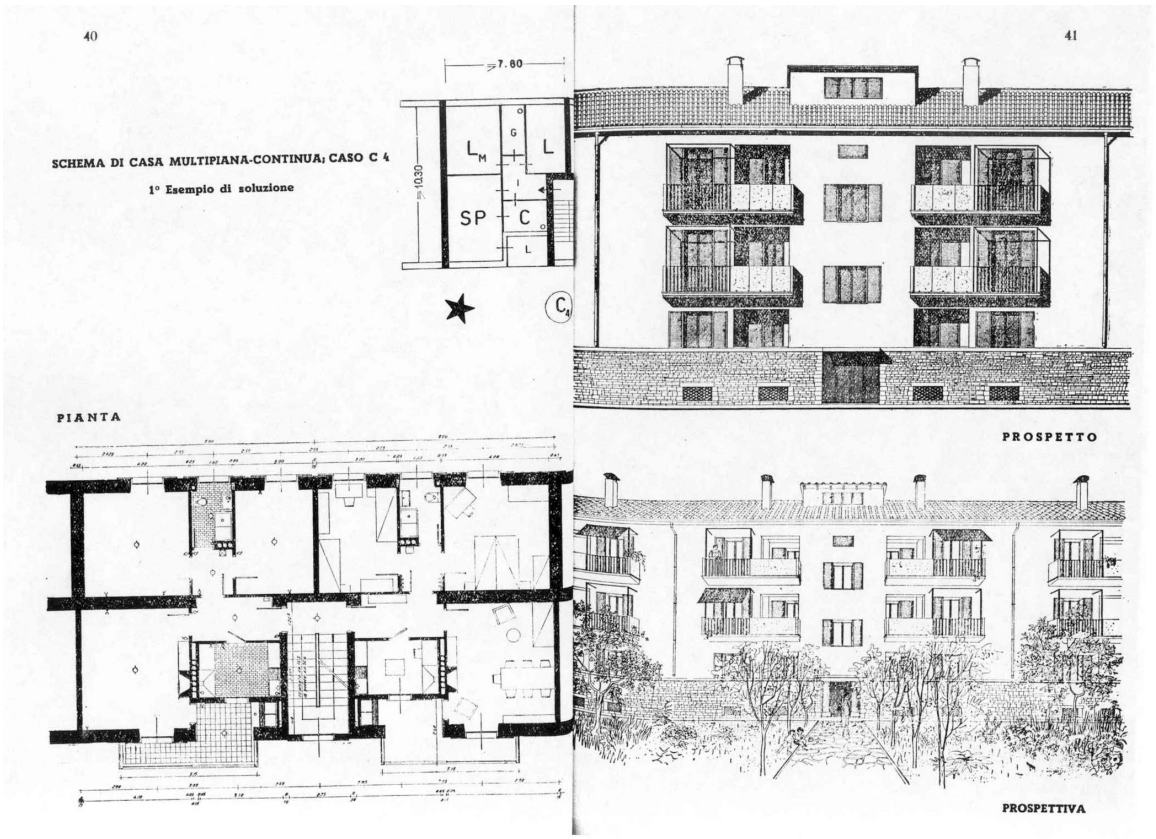


Figure 13. First elaborated scheme from competition brief.

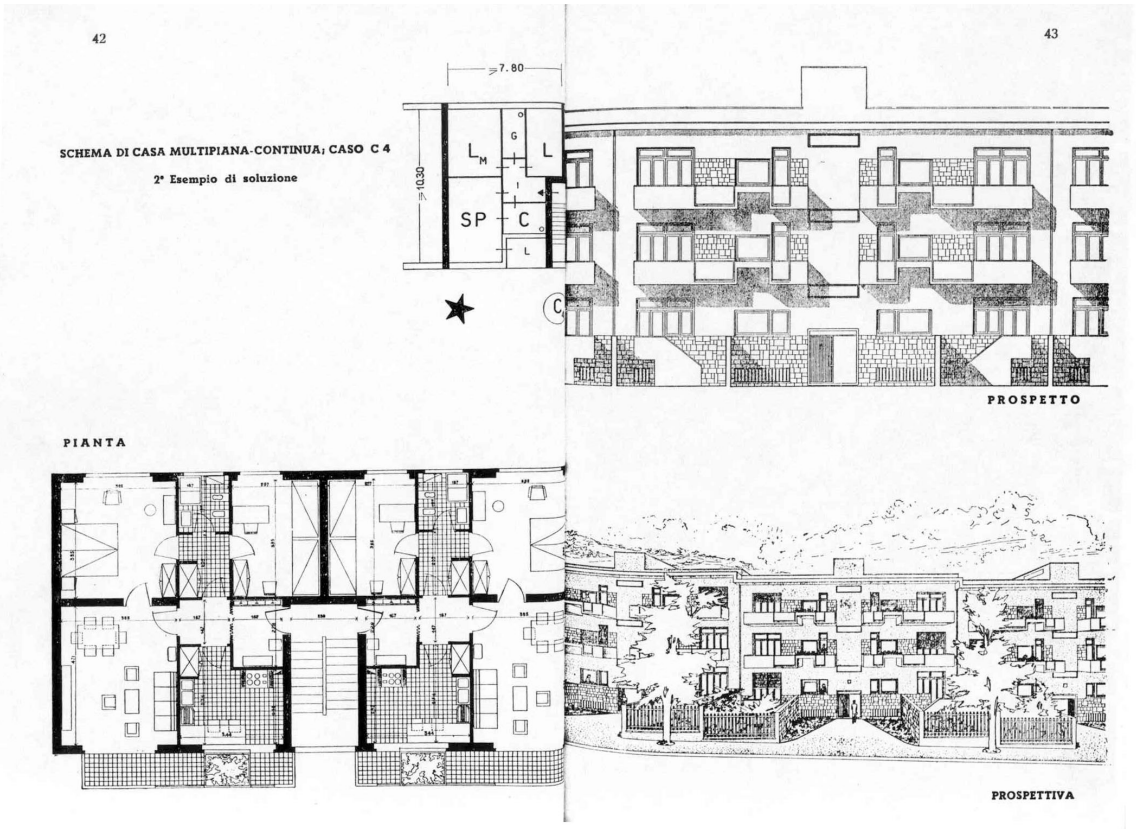


Figure 14. The second elaborated scheme from the competition brief.

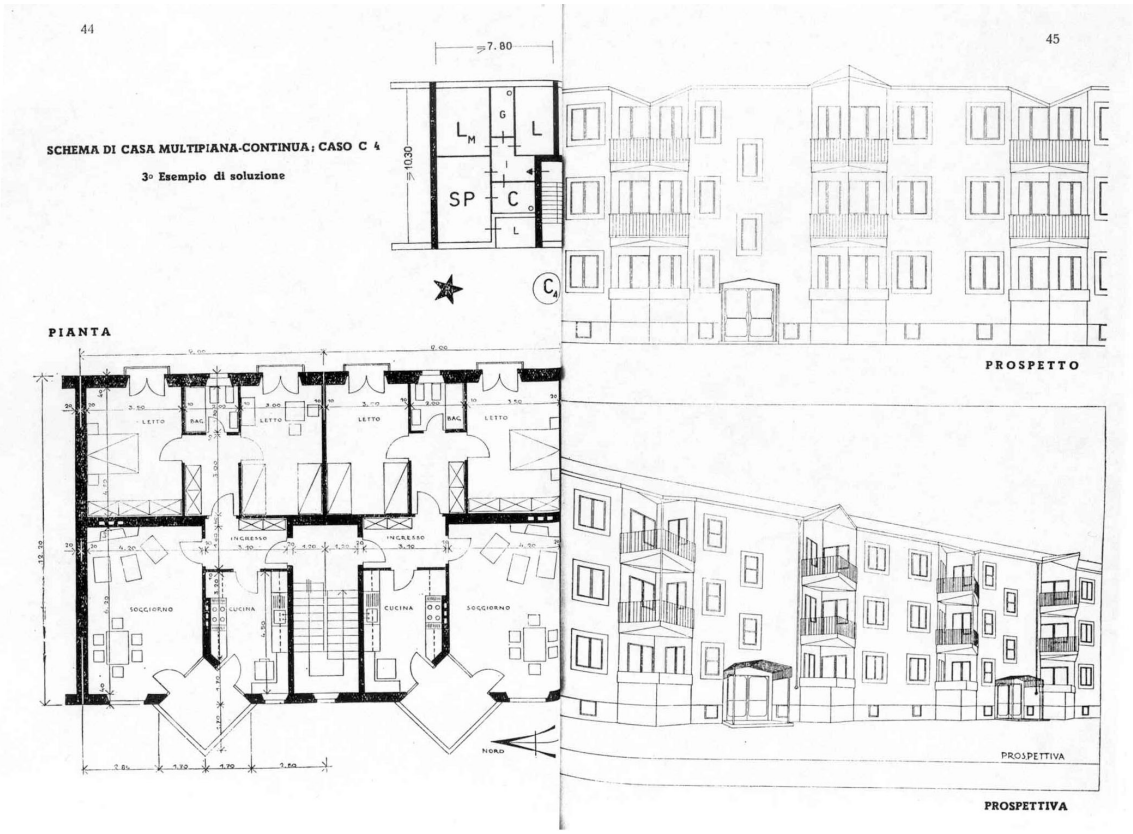
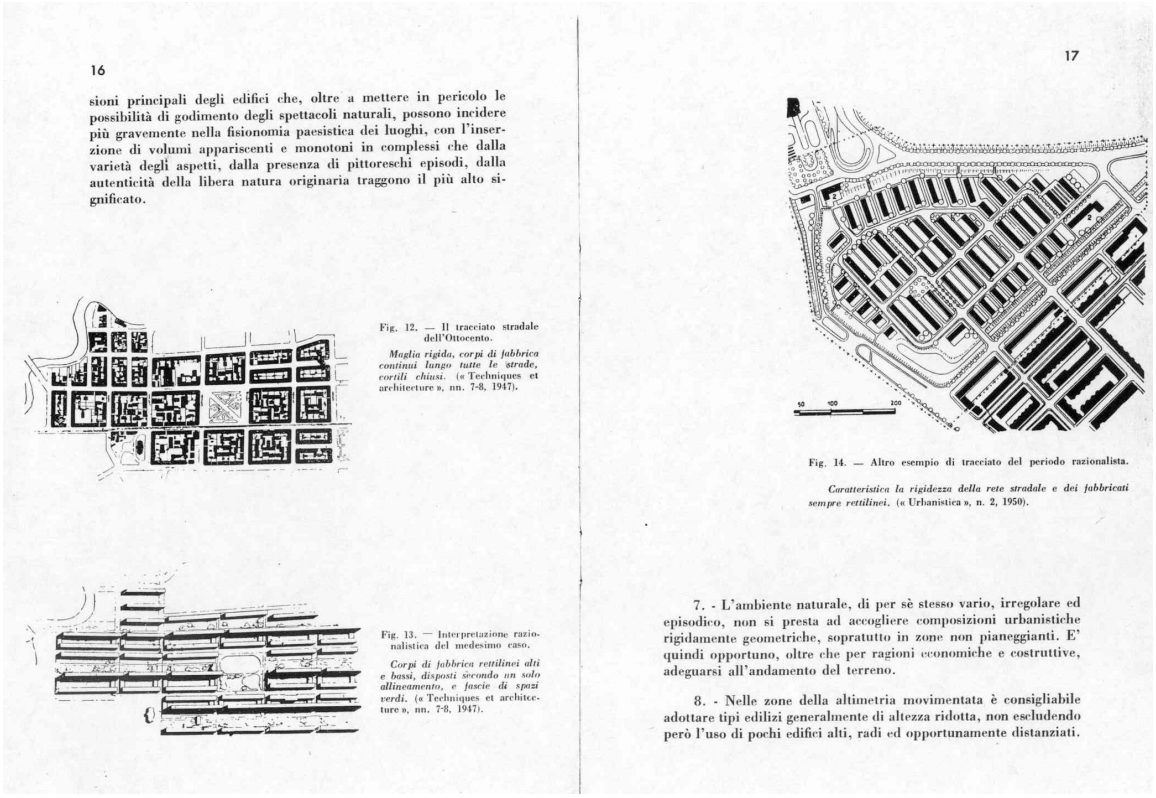


Figure 15. Third elaborated scheme from the competition brief.



16

sioni principali degli edifici che, oltre a mettere in pericolo le possibilità di godimento degli spettacoli naturali, possono incidere più gravemente nella fisionomia paesistica dei luoghi, con l'inserzione di volumi appariscenti e monotoni in complessi che dalla varietà degli aspetti, dalla presenza di pittoreschi episodi, dalla autenticità della libera natura originaria traggono il più alto significato.

Fig. 12. — Il tracciato stradale dell'Ottocento.

Maglia rigida, corpi di fabbrica continui lungo tutte le strade, cortili chiusi. (« Techniques et architecture », nn. 7-8, 1947).

Fig. 13. — Interpretazione razionalistica del medesimo caso.

Corpi di fabbrica rettilinei alti e bassi, disposti secondo un solo allineamento, e fascie di spazi verdi. (« Techniques et architecture », nn. 7-8, 1947).

17

Fig. 14. — Altro esempio di tracciato del periodo razionalista.

Caratteristica la rigidezza della rete stradale e dei fabbricati sempre rettilinei. (« Urbanistica », n. 2, 1950).

7. - L'ambiente naturale, di per sè stesso vario, irregolare ed episodico, non si presta ad accogliere composizioni urbanistiche rigidamente geometriche, sopratutto in zone non pianeggianti. E' quindi opportuno, oltre che per ragioni economiche e costruttive, adeguarsi all'andamento del terreno.

8. - Nelle zone della altimetria movimentata è consigliabile adottare tipi edilizi generalmente di altezza ridotta, non escludendo però l'uso di pochi edifici alti, radi ed opportunamente distanziati.

Figure 16. Three negative examples of urbanism from the urban design manual.

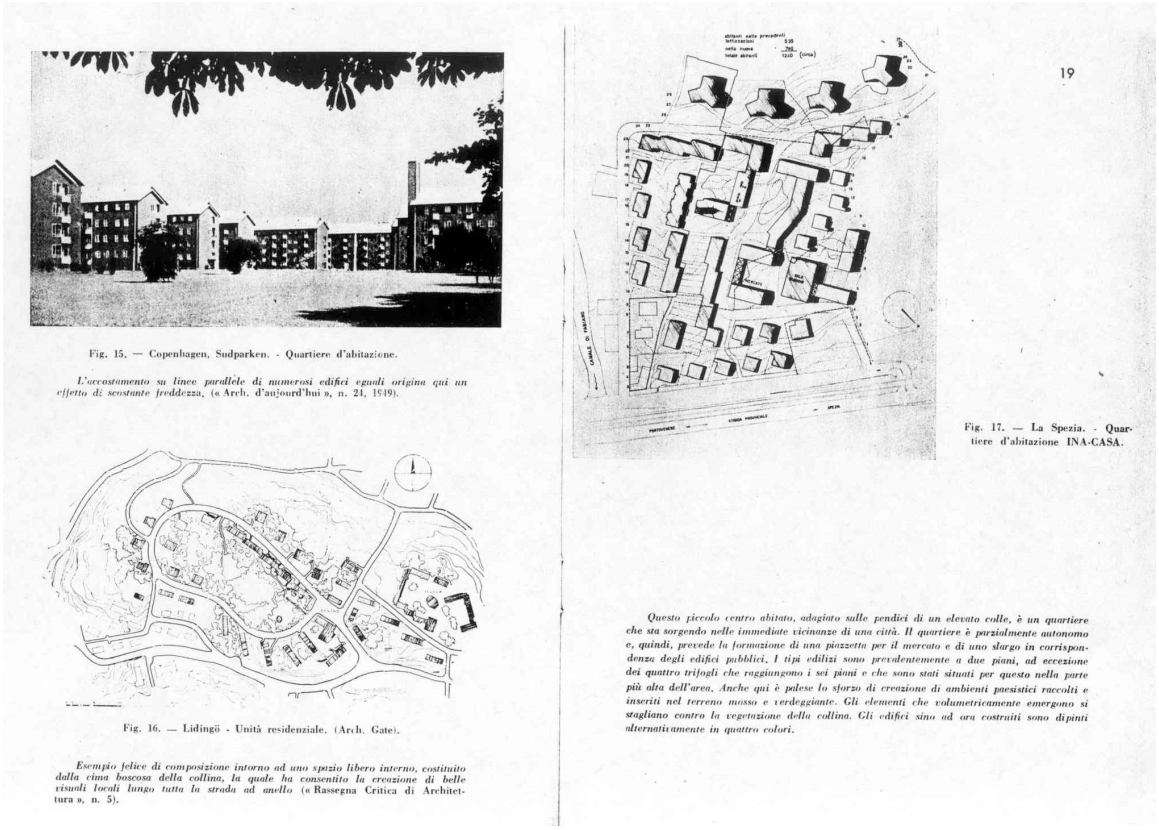


Fig. 15. — Copenhagen, Sudparken. - Quartiere d'abitazione.

L'accostamento su linee parallele di numerosi edifici eguali origina qui un effetto di scostante freddezza. (« Arch. d'aujourd'hui », n. 24, 1949).

Fig. 16. — Lidingö - Unità residenziale. (Arch. Gate).

Esempio felice di composizione intorno ad uno spazio libero interno, costituito dalla cima boscosa della collina, la quale ha consentito la creazione di belle visuali lacali lungo tutta la strada ad anello (« Rassegna Critica di Architettura », n. 5).

19

Fig. 17. — La Spezia. - Quartiere d'abitazione INA-CASA.

Questo piccolo centro abitato, adagiato sulle pendici di un elevato colle, è un quartiere che sta sorgendo nelle immediate vicinanze di una città. Il quartiere è parzialmente autonomo e, quindi, prevede la formazione di una piazzetta per il mercato e di uno slargo in corrispondenza degli edifici pubblici. I tipi edilizi sono prevalentemente a due piani, ad eccezione dei quattro trifogli che raggiungono i sei piani e che sono stati situati per questo nella parte più alta dell'area. Anche qui è palese lo sforzo di creazione di ambienti paesistici raccolti e inseriti nel terreno mosso e verdeggiante. Gli elementi che volumetricamente emergono si stagliano contro la vegetazione della collina. Gli edifici sino ad ora costruiti sono dipinti alternativamente in quattro colori.

Figure 17. Examples of good urban design from the urban design manual including an Ina-Casa quarter from La Spezia, and Lidingö, and a neighborhood in Stockholm.

Figure 18. An Ina-Casa project in Abruzzo from the urban design manual.

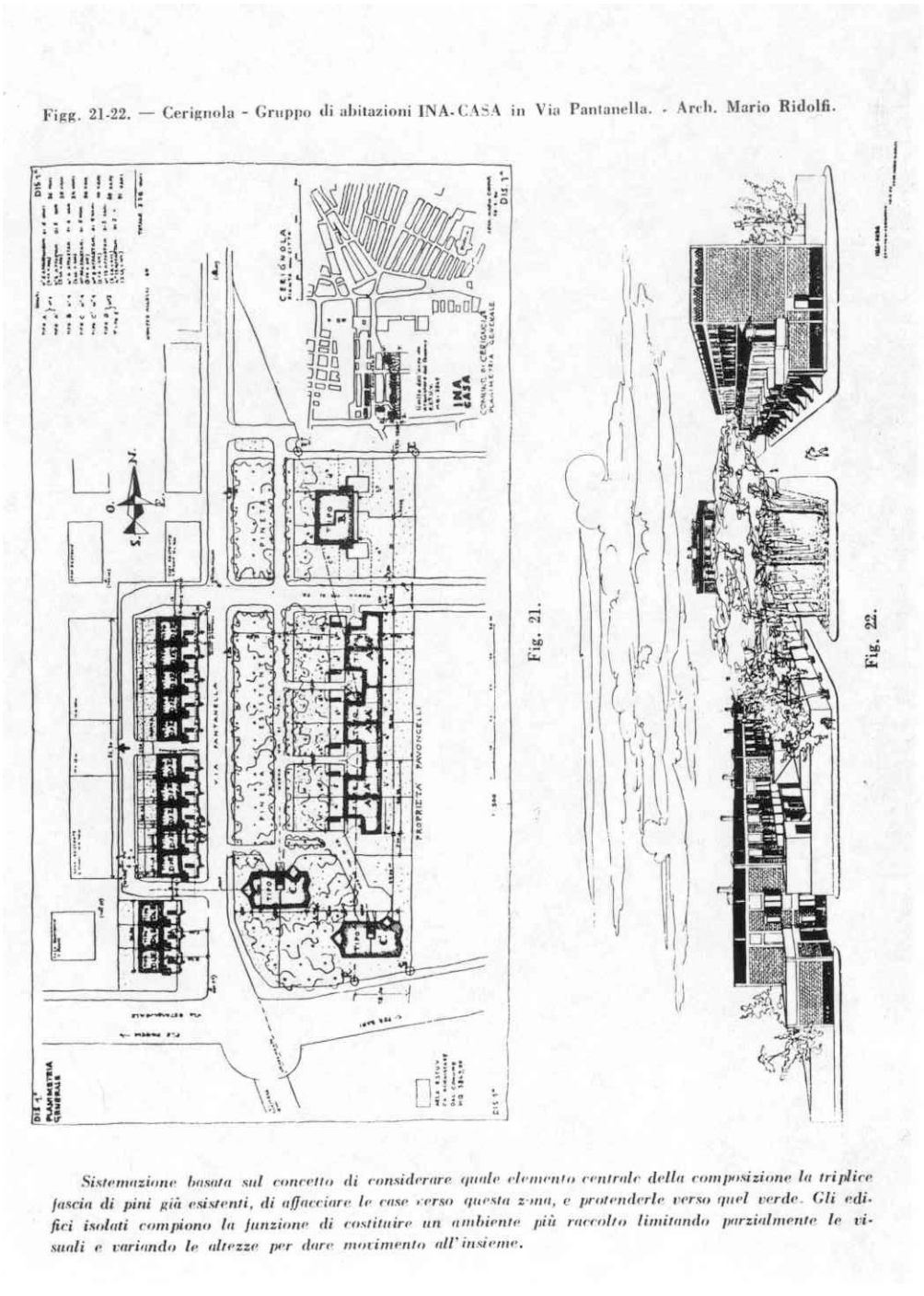


Figure 19. Mario Ridolfi's project in Cerignola from the urban design manual.

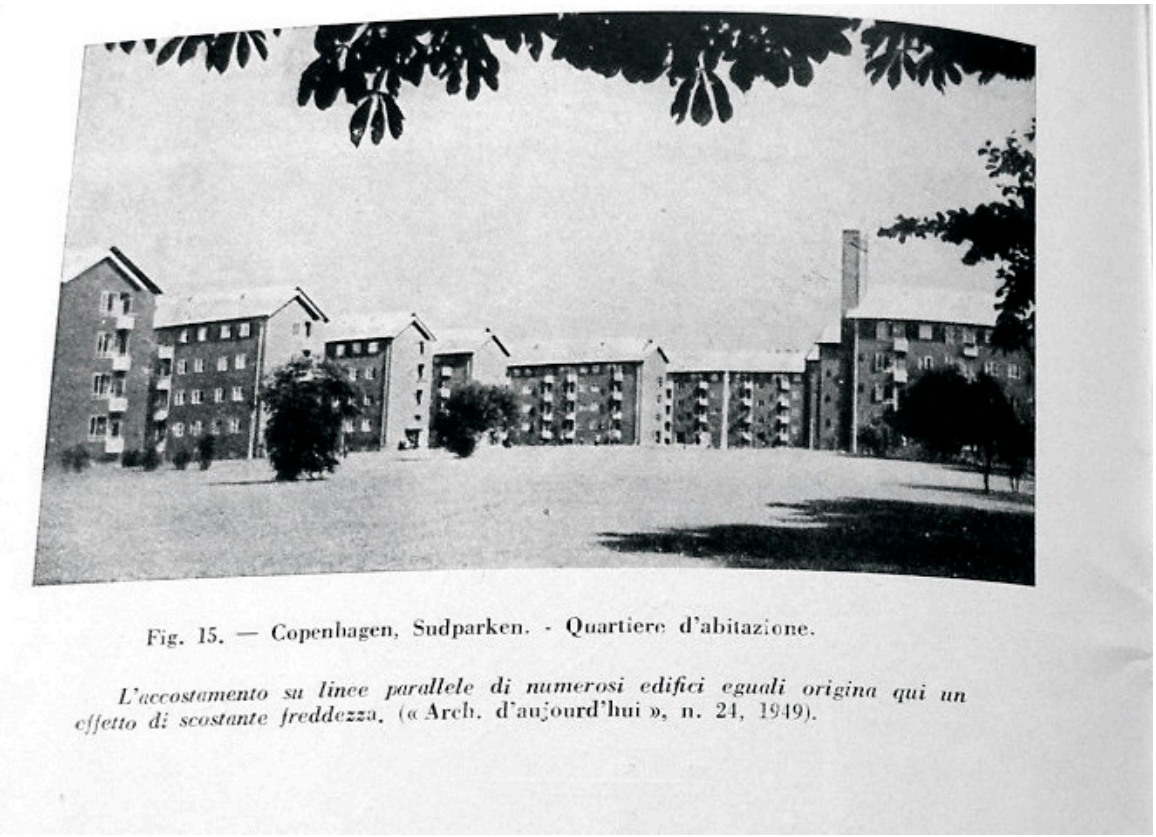


Fig. 15. — Copenhagen, Sudparken. - Quartiere d'abitazione.

L'accostamento su linee parallele di numerosi edifici eguali origina qui un effetto di scostante freddezza. (« Arch. d'aujourd'hui », n. 24, 1949).

Figure 20. A project in Sudparken, Copenhagen as illustrated in the urban design manual.

Fig. 19. — Copenhagen. Utterslev Mose - Quartiere d'artisti.
Arch. Viggo Mollër-Jensen.

Le tre schiere di casette si allineano secondo due assi obliqui fra loro, e con una disposizione che ricorda modi razionalistici. Ma la composizione, specialmente nella parte che si spiega intorno allo specchio d'acqua è in realtà animata e viva. («Arch. d'aujourd'hui», n. 24, 1949).

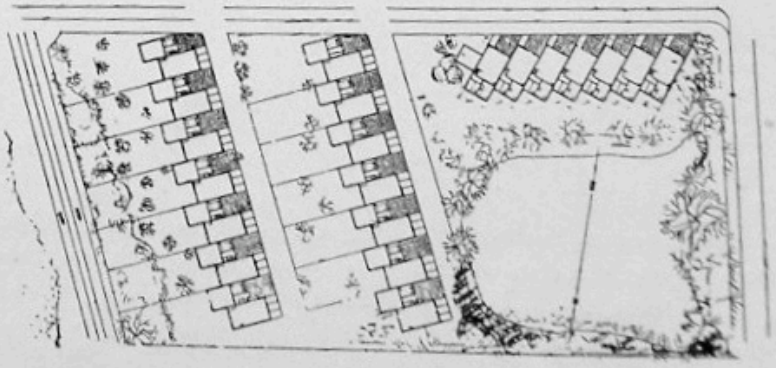


Figure 21. An artists' quarter in Copenhagen as illustrated in the urban design manual.

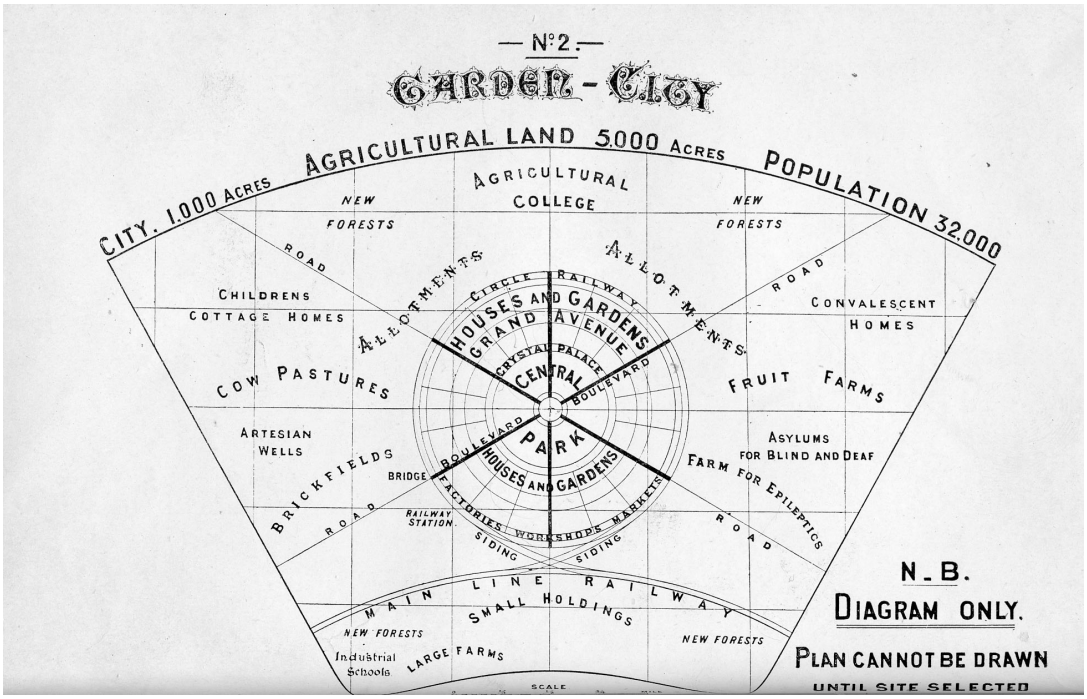


Figure 22. Ebenezer Howard's diagram of the garden city from *Garden cities of tomorrow*. London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1902.

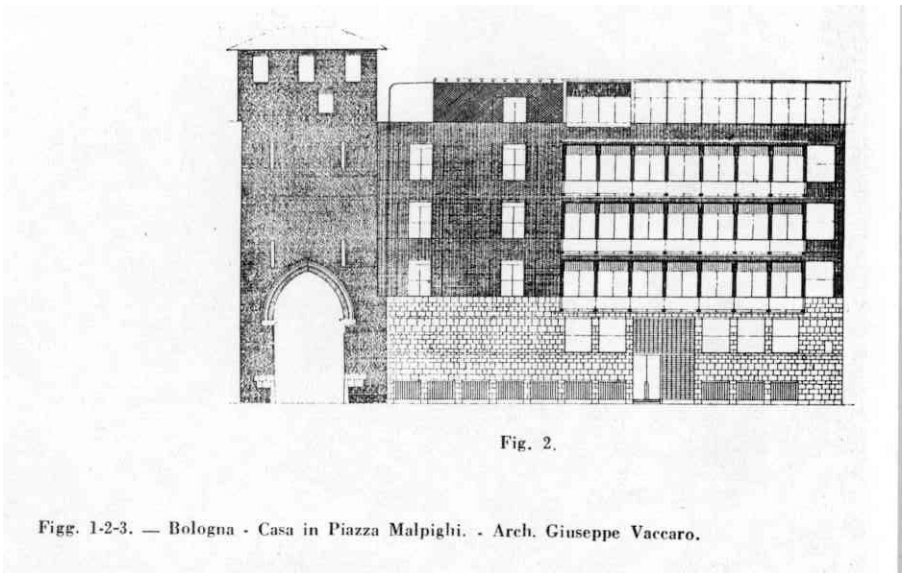


Fig. 2.

Figg. 1-2-3. — Bologna - Casa in Piazza Malpighi. - Arch. Giuseppe Vaccaro.

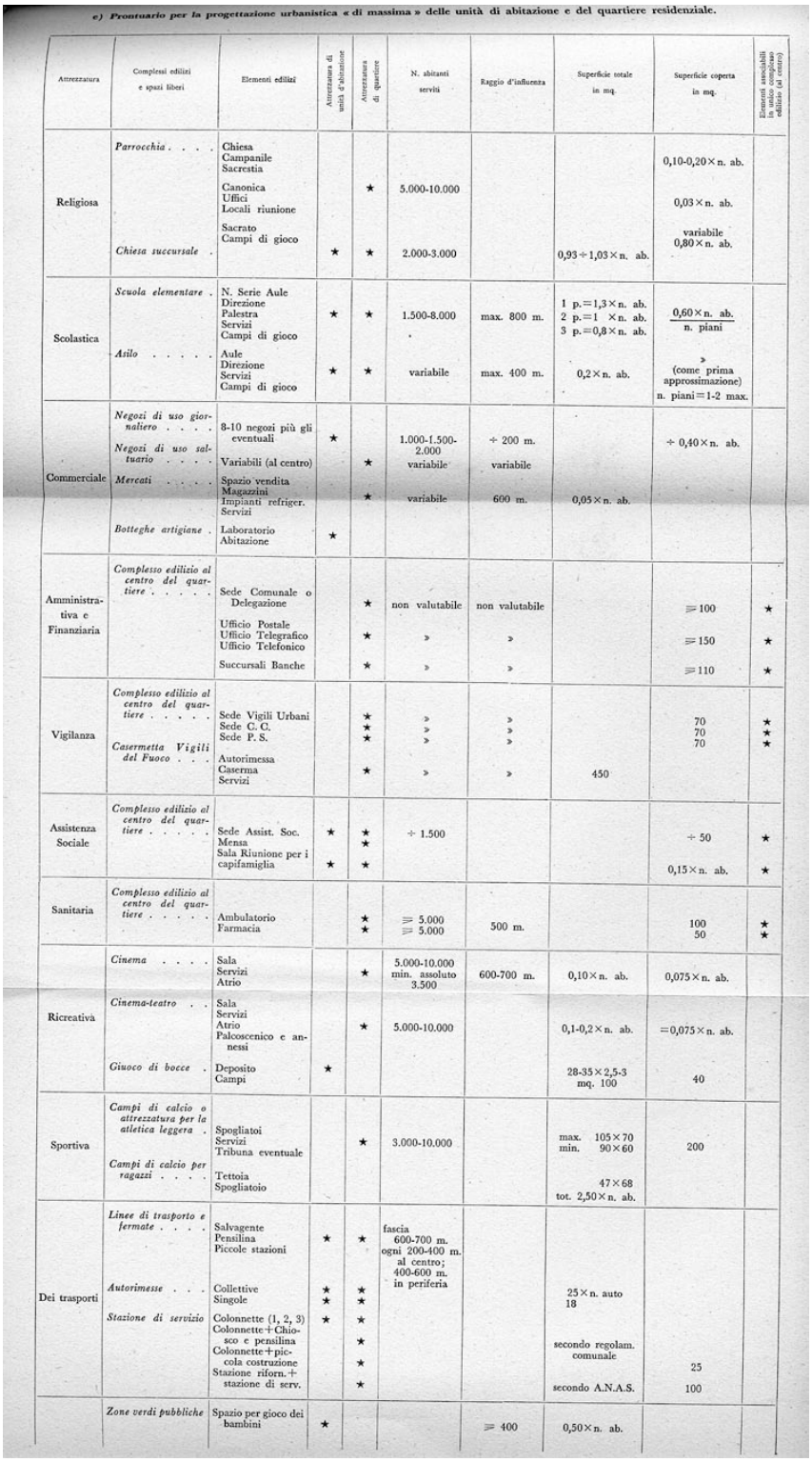
Figure 23. Vaccaro's contextual project in Bologna, from the urban design manual.

Fig. 18. — Stoccolma - Unità di Gröndal. Arch. S. Bakström e L. Reinius.

Figure 24. An example of a star-shaped tower from Gröndal, from the urban design manual.

Figure 25. An Ina-Casa tile from the Tiburtino neighborhood.

Figure 26. Opening scene from *Le Mani sulla Città.*



c) Prontuario per la progettazione urbanistica « di massima » delle unità di abitazione e del quartiere residenziale.

Attrezzatura	Complessi edilizi e spazi liberi	Elementi edilizi	Attrezzatura di unità d'abitazione	Attrezzatura di quartiere	N. abitanti serviti	Raggio d'influenza	Superficie totale in mq.	Superficie coperta in mq.	Elementi associabili in unico complesso edilizio (al centro)
Religiosa	*Parrocchia*	Chiesa Campanile Sacrestia						0,10-0,20 × n. ab.	
		Canonica Uffici Locali riunione		★	5.000-10.000			0,03 × n. ab.	
		Sacrato Campi di gioco						variabile	
	Chiesa succursale		★	★	2.000-3.000		0,93 ÷ 1,03 × n. ab.	0,80 × n. ab.	
Scolastica	*Scuola elementare*	N. Serie Aule Direzione Palestra Servizi Campi di gioco	★	★	1.500-8.000	max. 800 m.	1 p. = 1,3 × n. ab. 2 p. = 1 × n. ab. 3 p. = 0,8 × n. ab.	$\frac{0,60 \times \text{n. ab.}}{\text{n. piani}}$	
	Asilo	Aule Direzione Servizi Campi di gioco	★	★	variabile	max. 400 m.	0,2 × n. ab.	» (come prima approssimazione) n. piani = 1-2 max.	
Commerciale	*Negozi di uso giornaliero*	8-10 negozi più gli eventuali	★		1.000-1.500-2.000	÷ 200 m.		÷ 0,40 × n. ab.	
	Negozi di uso saltuario	Variabili (al centro)		★	variabile	variabile			
	Mercati	Spazio vendita Magazzini Impianti refriger. Servizi		★	variabile	600 m.	0,05 × n. ab.		
	Botteghe artigiane	Laboratorio Abitazione	★						
Amministrativa e Finanziaria	*Complesso edilizio al centro del quartiere*	Sede Comunale o Delegazione		★	non valutabile	non valutabile		≥ 100	★
		Ufficio Postale Ufficio Telegrafico Ufficio Telefonico		★	»	»		≥ 150	★
		Succursali Banche		★	»	»		≥ 110	★
Vigilanza	*Complesso edilizio al centro del quartiere*	Sede Vigili Urbani		★	»	»		70	★
		Sede C. C.		★	»	»		70	★
		Sede P. S.		★	»	»		70	★
	Casermetta Vigili del Fuoco	Autorimessa Caserma Servizi		★	»	»	450		
Assistenza Sociale	*Complesso edilizio al centro del quartiere*	Sede Assist. Soc.	★	★	÷ 1.500			÷ 50	★
		Mensa		★					
		Sala Riunione per i capifamiglia	★	★				0,15 × n. ab.	★
Sanitaria	*Complesso edilizio al centro del quartiere*	Ambulatorio		★	≥ 5.000	500 m.		100	★
		Farmacia		★	≥ 5.000			50	★
	Cinema	Sala Servizi Atrio		★	5.000-10.000 min. assoluto 3.500	600-700 m.	0,10 × n. ab.	0,075 × n. ab.	
Ricreativa	*Cinema-teatro*	Sala Servizi Atrio Palcoscenico e annessi		★	5.000-10.000		0,1-0,2 × n. ab.	= 0,075 × n. ab.	
	Giuoco di bocce	Deposito Campi	★				28-35 × 2,5-3 mq. 100	40	
Sportiva	*Campi di calcio o attrezzatura per la atletica leggera*	Spogliatoi Servizi Tribuna eventuale		★	3.000-10.000		max. 105 × 70 min. 90 × 60	200	
	Campi di calcio per ragazzi	Tettoia Spogliatoio					47 × 68 tot. 2,50 × n. ab.		
Dei trasporti	*Linee di trasporto e fermate*	Salvagente Pensilina Piccole stazioni	★	★	fascia 600-700 m. ogni 200-400 m. al centro; 400-600 m. in periferia				
	Autorimesse	Collettive	★	★			25 × n. auto 18		
		Singole	★	★					
	Stazione di servizio	Colonnette (1, 2, 3)	★	★					
		Colonnette + Chiosco e pensilina		★			secondo regolam. comunale		
		Colonnette + piccola costruzione		★				25	
		Stazione riforn. + stazione di serv.		★			secondo A.N.A.S.	100	
	Zone verdi pubbliche	Spazio per gioco dei bambini	★			≥ 400	0,50 × n. ab.		

Figure 27. Libera's chart detailing the various building types, which could be included in Ina-Casa neighborhoods, from *Esperienze urbanistiche in Italia*.

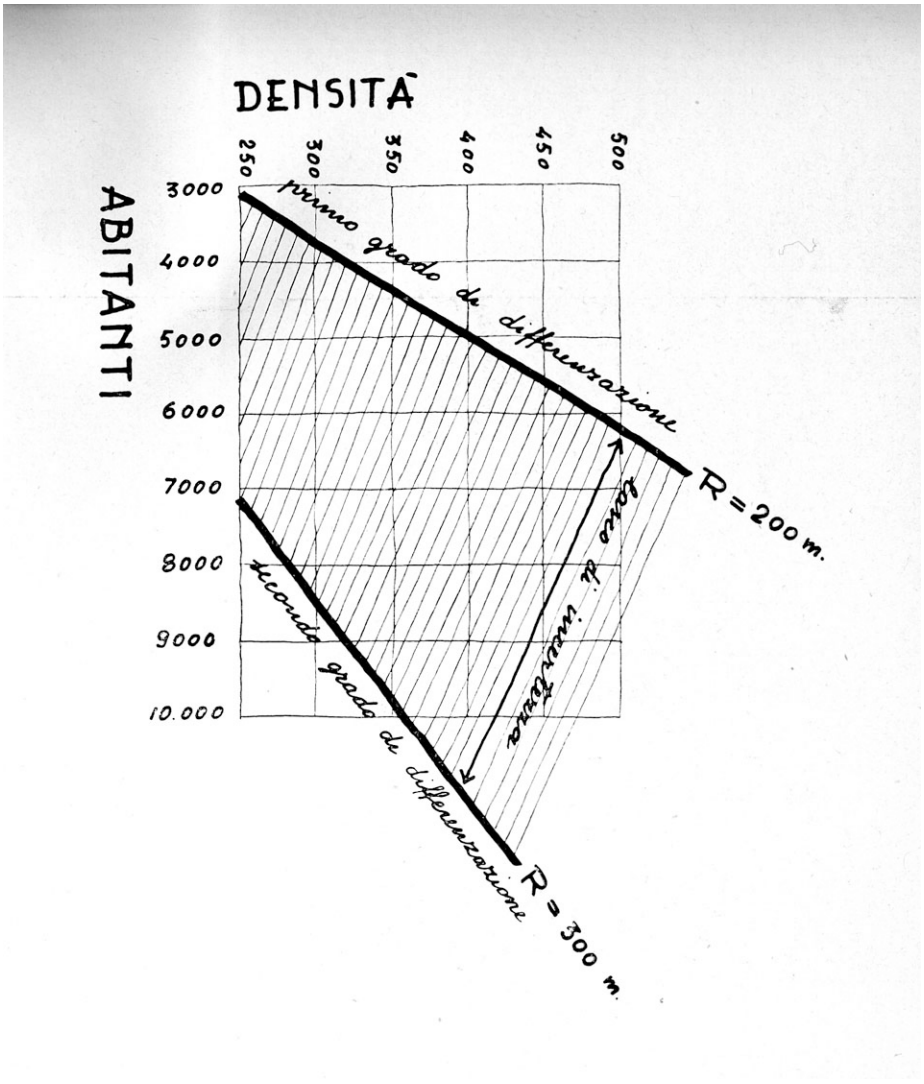


Figure 28. Libera's chart from "La scala residenziale" on density and quarter size, from *Esperienze urbanistiche in Italia*.

Figure 29. Rome in 1870, from Italo Insolera, *Roma Moderna: Un secolo di storia urbanistica*, *1870–1970*.

Figure 30. Rome in 1930. (From Italo Insolera, *Roma Moderna: Un secolo di storia urbanistica*, *1870–1970*).

Figure 31. Rome in 1960. (From Italo Insolera, *Roma Moderna: Un secolo di storia urbanistica*, *1870–1970*).

Figure 32. Map of Rome with the Tiburtino neighborhood located.

Figure 33. Tiburtino neighborhood shortly after construction.

Figure 34. Plan of the Tiburtino neighborhood.

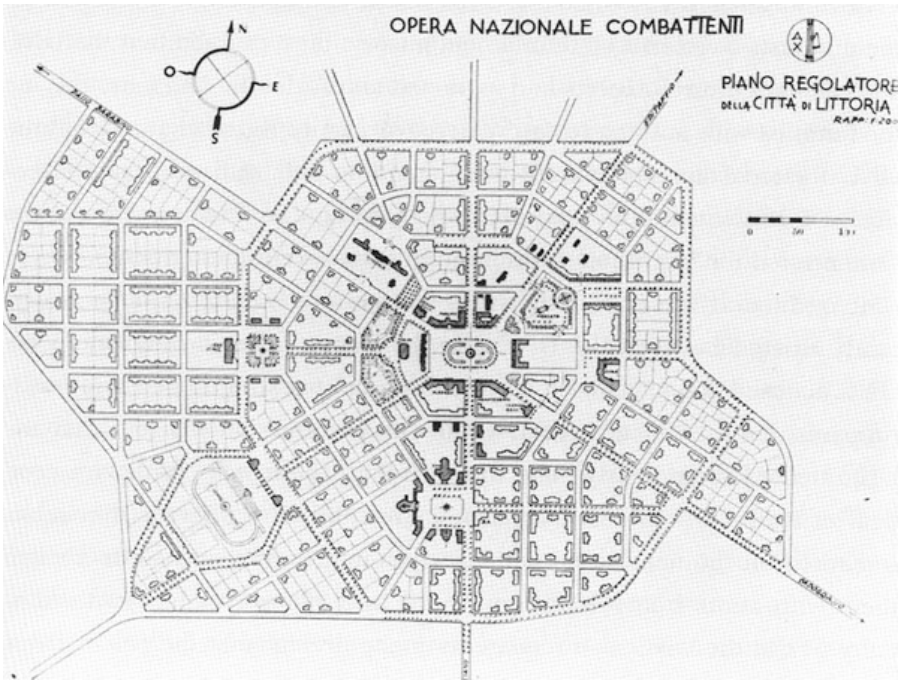


Figure 35. Plan of Latina (formerly Littoria), a Fascist new town, from Diane Ghirardo, *Building New Communities: New Deal America and Fascist Italy*.

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Figure 36. Map of Bologna by Piero Bottoni showing the historic center and the hills to the south.

Figure 37. Map of Bologna with railway line and Borgo Panigale.

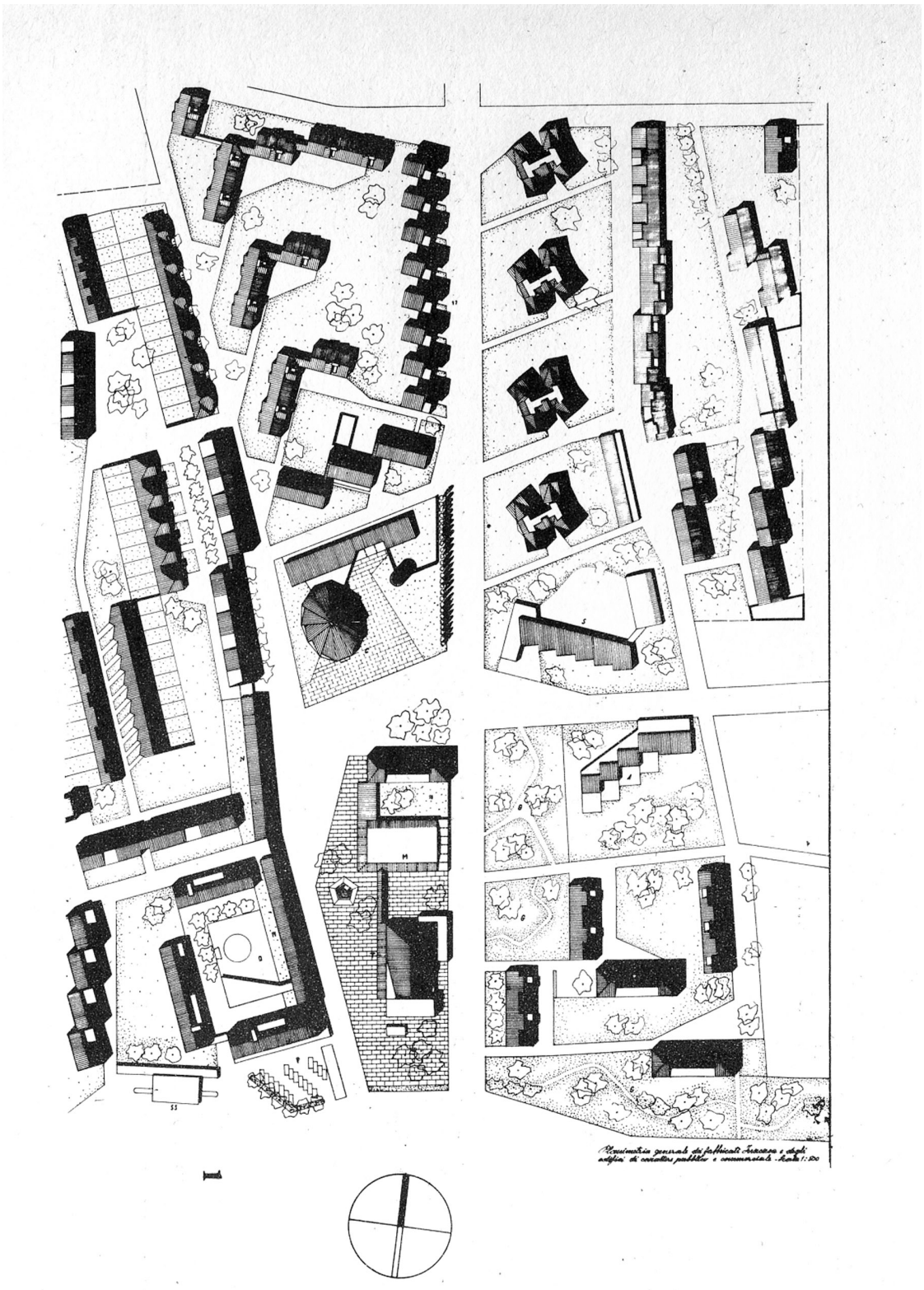

Figure 38. Site plan of Borgo Panigale as initially designed including three buildings, which were never constructed.

Figure 39. Arcaded shopping street, Via Normandia, Borgo Panigale, Bologna.

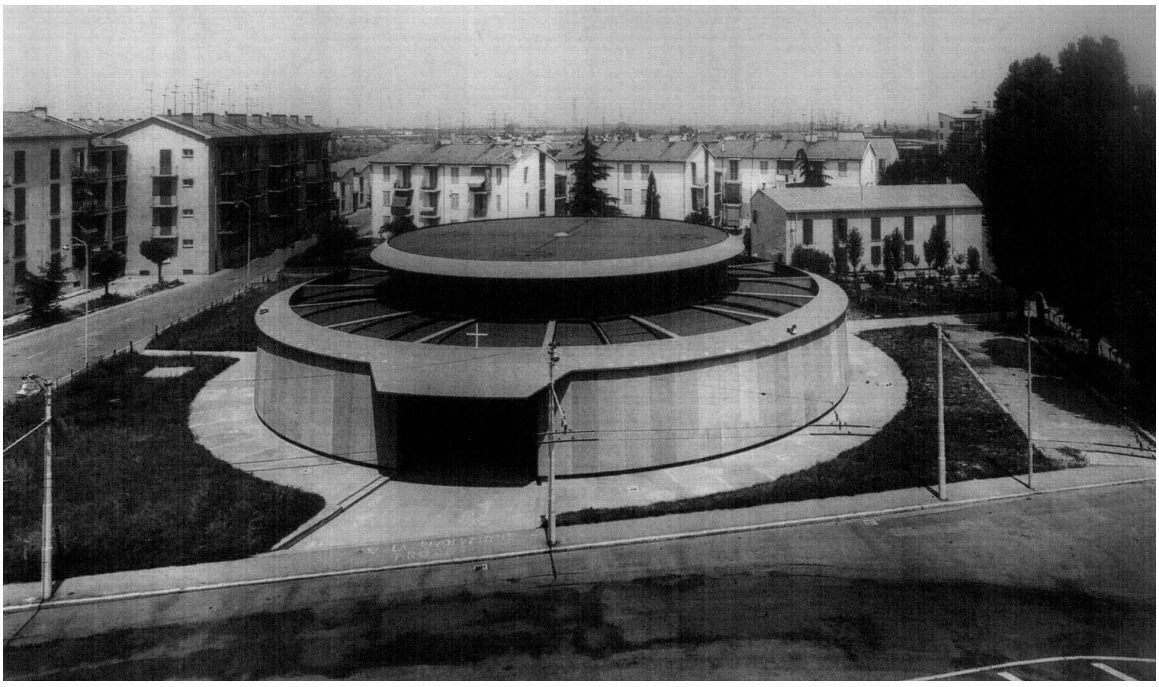

Figure 40. Chiesa del Cuore Immacolato di Maria. Borgo Panigale, Bologna, before the adjoining parish facilities were constructed.

Figure 41. Two-story townhouses, Borgo Panigale.

Figure 42. Five-story blocks of housing, Borgo Panigale, Bologna.

Figure 43. Block of flats, Borgo Panigale.

Figure 44. Blocks of flats at Borgo Panigale.

Figure 45. The *sassi* of Matera, Basilicata today. Though outwardly these building look like typical masonry construction, inside they are caves carved into the hillside.

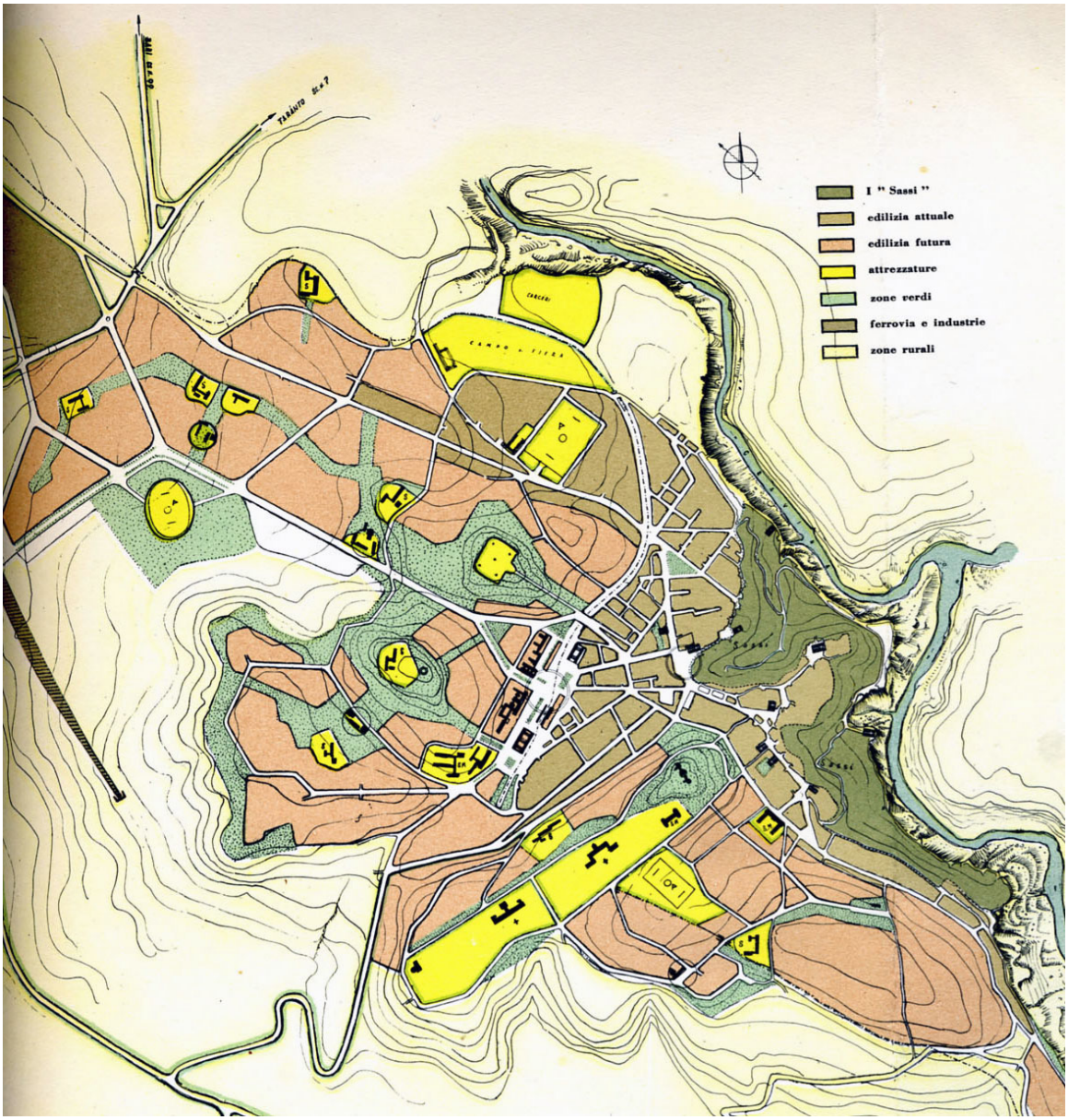

Figure 46. Luigi Piccinato's postwar plan for Matera, from *Urbanistica*, volume 24, issue 15-16.

Figure 47. Villa Longo location in Matera.

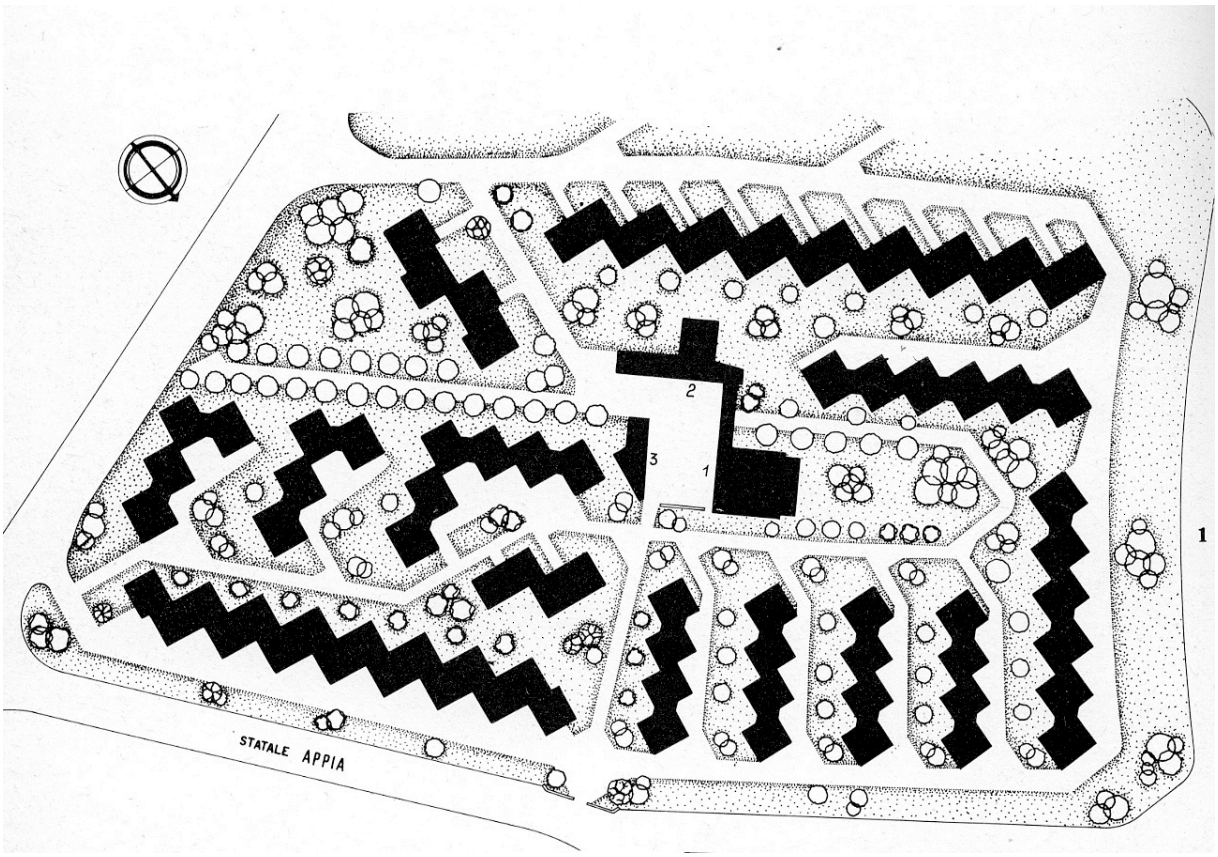

Figure 48. Site plan of Villa Longo, Matera from Luigi Beretta Anguissola, *I 14 anni del piano Ina-Casa*.

Figure 49. Aerial photograph of Villa Longo, Matera, in the 1960s from Luigi Beretta Anguissola, *I 14 anni del piano Ina-Casa*.

Figure 50. The one pre-existing building at Villa Longo, Matera.

Figure 51. The Community Center at Villa Longo, Matera.

Figure 52. *Trulli* of Alberobello, Puglia.

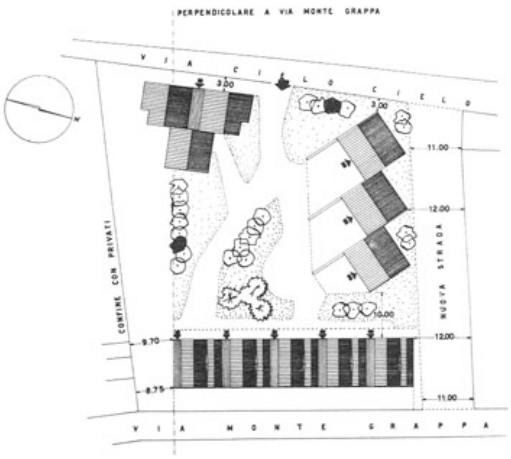

Figure 53. Plan of an Ina-Casa project in Alberobello from Luigi Beretta Anguissola, *I 14 anni del piano Ina-Casa*.

Figure 54. Three-story block of flats, Ina-Casa Alberobello.

Figure 55. Ina-Casa, Alberobello. These row houses were originally single-story buildings but have had second stories added on.

Figure 56. Two-story townhouses, Ina-Casa, Alberobello.

Figure 57. Roof detail from the two-story townhouses, Ina-Casa, Alberobello.

Figure 58. Via dei Crispolti, Tiburtino, Rome.

Figure 59. Block on Via dei Crispolti, designed by Ludovico Quaroni, Tiburtino, Rome.

Figure 60. Tower designed by Mario Ridolfi, Tiburtino, Rome.

Figure 61. A section of Quaroni and Fiorentino's housing block, Tiburtino, Rome.

Figure 62. A section of Quaroni and Fiorentino's housing block, Tiburtino, Rome.

Figure 63. Typical roof detail, Tiburtino, Rome.

Figure 64. Via dei Crispolti, Tiburtino, Rome.

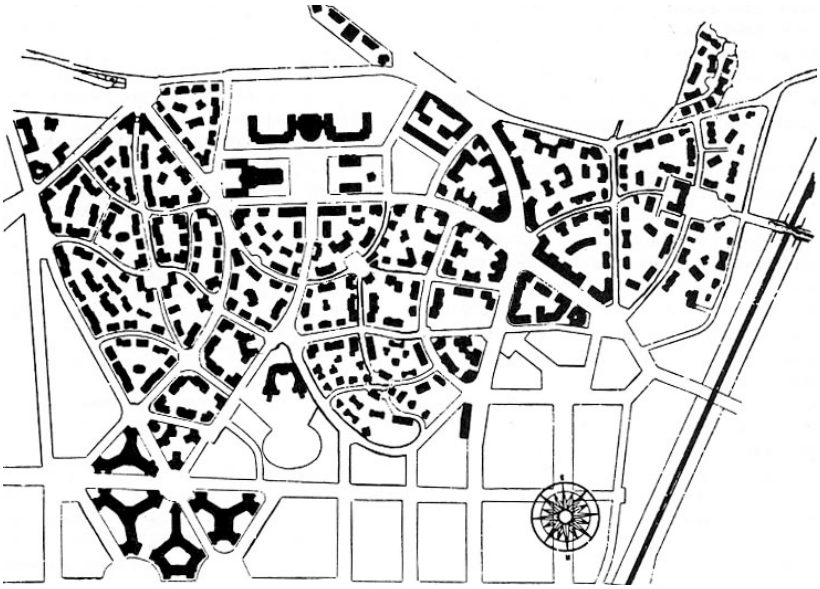

Figure 65. Plan of Garbatella, Rome, from Italo Insolera, *Roma moderna: un secolo di storia urbanistica, 1870-1970*.

Figure 66. Aerial photograph of the first nucleus of the Garbatella, Rome, from Italo Insolera, *Roma moderna: un secolo di storia urbanistica, 1870-1970*.