

The modern urban planning, from Athens Charter onwards, has as its main function the improvement of living conditions of the inhabitants. The organization of the territory and cities are the space where this occurs. The choices of politics - that is, the art of government of the polis, but in the broadest sense of the state - guide the transformations of both the territory and of the city. After ca. 35 years of policies based on so-called economic liberalization, which began with the advent of Thatcher in Gb, the results were to have a growing economic and spatial disparities. Economic liberalization which increasingly is becoming finance, finance that is ruling the urban transformations as Tocci recalls in 2009, that already in 1985 Pier Luigi Crosta anticipated in the text "The social production of the plan" (*La produzione sociale del piano*). These have manifested themselves in two main types of consequences for the territory and the city.

The first concerns the social and identity aspects of the historic settlements. The dynamics of gentrification - a term created by the sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964 regarding London: It indicates the set of urbanistic and social-cultural changes of an urban area, traditionally popular or inhabited by the working class, resulting from the purchase and/or lease of real estate by wealthier population ("gentry" originally referred to the English minor nobility then to the bourgeoisie) - have grown and have become common practice in the transformation of the most prestigious parts of the city. This process creates many Disneyland where the real soul of the place disappears and only the facade remains. Paradoxically, they become "not-places" similar to those described by Marc Augé in "Disneyland and other not-places" (*Disneyland e altri non luoghi*). Venice is its best-known example, but Moscow, Rome and other cities are following the same road. The consequence is to have less and less original residents and more luxurious second homes for foreigners or for high income groups. And perhaps it is not even necessary to mention the European Landscape Convention (2000) to highlight how this destroys the landscape: for Italy, the "Country of the 100 bell towers" this is a very serious damage.

The second consequence of the political / economic choices, said before, consists in the low urban quality of the outskirts of cities. Peripheries that grow not only for the reasons mentioned above but also for the choices that born at national and/or European level. An emblematic example is Urban Agenda, proposed by the EU, which urges the polarization on major urban centers but damages the rest of the territory, and also it aims to trigger, precisely, the gentrification mechanisms mentioned. Instead, to aim to a more equitable structure of the territories the correct title should be Territorial Agenda.

In addition there are externalities that must be considered when proposing territorial and urban policies. That is, the growth of the centres after a threshold creates diseconomies in the services and transport sector, also various types of pollution grow.

Finally, if it is true that the city can become more productive who has benefits from this? The distribution of wealth in the city, but not only, more and more is showing a growing gap between the few who earn much and the many who earn little.

The social and political revolts of these years, in the towns and territories, are to testify all that, ie how these policies are wrong. And the urban planning, the land use planning, are social sciences as is the economy, which have confirms of the correctness of the choices only through a mode: the verification whether the targets have been achieved or not. Objectives that are to be measured in terms of (social) effectiveness and to which (technical) efficiency must be service.

The finance always more and more globalized and uncontrolled has resulted in very heavy social and spatial outcomes. This is the opposite of that required by the economist of Harvard (Boston) D. Rodrik (2011), namely "a smart globalization", and whose sins are highlighted by the researchers as Piketti (2014) as well as by critics as the anthropologist geographer David Harvey, of which see the book (2012) "Capitalism against the right to the city. Neoliberalism, Urbanization, Resistances" (*Il capitalismo contro il diritto alla città. Neoliberalismo, urbanizzazione, resistenze*), umpteenth reflection on the unjust current social and urban dynamics. Risk that already in "The Virtual City. Urban transformations and new information technologies" (*La Città virtuale. Trasformazioni*

urbane e nuove tecnologie dell'informazione) Aragona (1993) feared talking about the situation in the Netherlands, the USA, Japan and Italy.

Finally the overall vision of the territory and city proposed since years has been shared by colleagues and Planners: I started to promote the Organized Session entitled "Planning and integrated designing for the territory and the eco-city¹" in 2011 at the Annual Scientific Conference of the Italian Association of Regional Science. The basic elements of it have been among the cornerstones of the Opening report of the President INU - National Institute of Urban Planning - Silvia Viviani, at the XXIX INU Congress of Cagliari 2016 dedicated to a Country Project (*Progetto di Paese*). The focus is to the city, as a place of formation of citizens, ie of cum-cives who share the same idea of civility (civitas), and the purpose of those involved in urban planning is the well-being of these. The overall framework in which we act is that of limited resources in all human activities, live, produce, move, leisure – the elements of the Athens Charter – and the need to be consistent with such evidence.

We need to build two paths, one refers to the medium and long period, the other is for the short. They must be consistent with each other, and then integrated both for the issues that the times.

After such a long period, the results are disruptive, the policy choices - actually the financialisation of everything - have created more and more economic and social inequality pushing the loss of meaning and identity of places. Neglect all this leads towards situations of which the Brexit is clear example, a signal: the outern territories and peripheral areas of the city are in revolt against policies that enrich few and impoverished more and more inhabitants.

The need of multi-scalarity in the choices, and of responsibilities, it is now evident. Urbanists and planners have to provide answers, articulated, operational and scenarios as not to leave the protest to populism against these social and space transformations ..

The paper, through a series of examples, highlights this situation and the present inconsistencies. The outcomes of the above choices are evaluated thanks to an approach that is quantitative and qualitative, interdisciplinary and multi-scalar. That allows us to propose hypotheses to confront these problems, and propose different policies and the action tools.

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¹ Ideas promoted by Doxiadis in the '50s creating the thought line of Eckisticks and McHarg with "Design with Nature" in 1969.