1. Bagnoli, from a land of working people and illusions to a desert of closed factories

The smokestacks that embodied the dreams of those who hoped for an industrial future for Naples now resemble columns of the remains of an ancient temple. The enormous blast furnaces that once lit up the sky have been dismantled and sold to remote countries that will transform them into iron rods and sheet-iron.

The plants of the Ilva factory in Bagnoli catalysed a massive concentration of human resources and capital; they moulded the territory, upset the tourist potential of the area, and profoundly affected its lifestyles, consumption models and cultural foundation; they were the symbol of the illusion of industrial development in the Mezzogiorno, and represented the high hopes of Italian industrial policies in the years of the industrialisation.

Nevertheless, the factory did not realise the hopes of the people who made efforts to bring the Ilva plants in Naples, together with the advantages that steelworks had brought about historically. The entire Neapolitan economic system has been positively affected by the plants and the infrastructure related to Ilva, as well as other small satellite companies that might enjoy profitable growth. But the forced external generator of development has not been able to give rise to an independent source of value that might have made the socio-economic system indifferent to the cyclical events of the factory.

The factory does not exist anymore, the furnaces have been switched off, the horn does not punctuate the days of the people from Bagnoli, while working people do not enliven the streets of the neighbourhood. However, the vast land where the plants used to be still looks like an open wound in the soil, both a memento of the failure of the promise of industrialisation, and a symbol of hope for a different development, a renovated identity.

At the beginning of the last century, the Genoese company Ilva decided to establish a great integrated production plant in the area of Bagnoli and Coroglio, to benefit from employment regulations for Naples, low-cost land and proximity to the coast.

The traditional weakness of the industrial sector in Campania was related to the endemic absence of the factors fundamental for the growth of an industrial system, such as infrastructure development, intelligent fiscal policy, modernisation of the banking structure and credit specialisation, modernisation of the internal market, strong demand for industrial products deriving from an agricultural sector in stages of capitalistic transformation, the importation of advanced technologies, development subjective factors, etc.

Despite all these handicaps, a moderate trend favouring manufacturing contributed to the illusionary ambition of the achievement of an industrial development that could bring Naples to the heights of other great European cities during the nineteenth century; but this dream was shattered after Italian unification by the abolition of protectionist barriers in the Mezzogiorno region that had favoured a delicate balance during the Bourbon reign.
The debate between the advocates of industrial development for Naples, like F.S. Nitti, and its opponents, who favoured other forms of development such as tourism (Nicola Amore), trade (Arlotta) and agriculture, started at the end of the eighteenth century, when the economic situation of the city was dismal due to the crisis that had affected first the building industry and then other key economic sectors. Francesco Saverio Nitti was a keen advocate of industrialisation promoted through public initiative, and standard-bearer for Giolitti's realisation of Italian industrialisation goals, overcoming the pre-industrial ideology of frugality, and the inclusion of urban proletariat in the structure of a liberal state. When the debate moved from Naples' Chamber of Commerce, intellectual circles and town hall, to the Parliament, Nitti received considerable approval, so much so that the establishment of the Ilva factory in Bagno can be credited to the success of his ideologies.

Bagno, on the Western side of Naples, at the feet of Posillipo Hill, represents the outpost for the Campi Flegrei (Phlegraean Fields); for a long time Bagno has been synonymous with industry, together with San Giovanni a Teduccio, at the other end of the city, which ever since the Bourbon age, had been an industrial site.

Bagno has always been affected by bradyseism and the influence of the swampy region of Agnano. Until the mid-nineteenth century the area was occupied only by farmhouses, some of which are still in use today. The first actual development was started for tourist purposes. A number of spas were built in the area (which survived the industrial advance until the 1950's); these inspired English architect Lamont Young so much so that he designed an ambitious and utopian ultra-modern development for tourist and housing use.

The choice of the location of the plant was a debated issue between those who promoted Bagno and those who believed the area was too delocalised. In any case, different urban purposes had been planned for the Bagno area. Those who supported the choice of Bagno supposed that occupying a non-urbanised area would have decongested the metropolitan area; those who opposed this idea feared the risks of a new and hectic urbanisation, as well as a considerable increase of population, with all consequences affecting economic and social sustainability.

Bagno's attractive features were historical and economic factors such as the considerable availability of workers and the fiscal benefits of the 1904 law, rather than geographical and economic aspects such as its potential market and the presence of other small steel companies, the business climate, the structure of local communities, the availability of raw materials and

4 F. S. Nitti was among the first Italian intellectuals to denounce the delay of Italian development as only partly justified by history, as it had been seriously affected by the unbalance between natural resources and population. But this did not mean that the economic destiny of the nation was ineluctable; to Nitti it was possible to have definite shifts in the development process through the development of a more advanced technological paradigm and the introduction of organised development plans.

5 In 1901, the Regia Commissione registered 20,681 employed workers out of a population of 562,000 people; between 1881 and 1911 the population was affected by a considerable reduction of jobs and, due to a significant reduction in consumption, a slight increase in population was recorded, though life conditions were generally extremely poor.

6 The small group of intellectuals (which included F.S. Nitti, Luigi Miraglia, Udalrigo Masoni, Ferdinando Vetere, Oreste Bordiga etc.) used to meet in the Istituto di incoraggiamento of Naples; there they defined the path for change and renovation along the guidelines of more efficient central and local political action. Nitti maintained that “(...) We need to determine such economic and financial conditions that will drive Northerners to invest in Neapolitan industries; our middle class will then follow the road that has been traced, but the first impulse will necessarily come from outside”. A. De Benedetti, Il tempo dell'industria, in A. Vitale, Napoli. Un destino industriale, Naples 1992.

7 Bagno area covers about 10,478,100 square metres, the second largest Neapolitan district, including Agnano, Coroglio Lake and the island of Nisida.

8 The Campi Flegrei have been targeted for years by urban development plans for the city: Giambarda's Progetto per il Risanamento, which was never carried out, The Scotsman Laymont Young's imaginative and charming designs, and Marchese Giusso's more realistic and feasible proposals, were all founded on the assumption that enchanting Bagno's destiny could be nothing but residential and tourist. As a matter of fact, Giusso's plans had vetoed any industrial development, as he was more concerned with the preservation of the natural environment. Giusso had designed a new kind of village, made of low houses and separated by the rest of the city by Posillipo Hill, which was to be used as a residential holiday area.
infrastructure, or the slow evolution of crafts towards more evolved and complex forms of production.

Since the very beginning the industrial plants built on the beach of Coroglio have jeopardised the potential success of the steelworks enterprise because they were far from traditional market outlets, had no local market, which on the basis of the “local mills for local market” school, might have favoured the birth of a healthy and dynamic entrepreneurial system.

Nevertheless, manufacturing characterised both the industrial and urban development of the neighbourhood. The steelworks giant, along with the industrial area between Bagnoli and Fuorigrotta, had attracted more small industrial settlements which slowed down the construction of housing developments until the 1960’s.9

Industries located around the Campi Flegrei affected demographic increases in the area10 and jeopardised the development of a tidy environment, in harmony with Agnano’s reclaimed marshes and the striking beauty of the bay. In a few years, a chaotic and confused jumble of buildings were built, with a view featuring design and structural anarchies, with no proportion whatsoever; the neighbourhood, as Giusso had planned it,11 would have been a harmonious net of small villas decorating the landscape.

The new residential area, which had been developed thanks to a town development plan of 1918 along the roads to Coroglio, Naples and Pozzuoli, had the features of architecture designed for tourist use. Moreover, the styles of such buildings were extremely simple, due to the background of the people who lived there, mainly working-class12.

The anarchy of the building environment, the transience of the relationship between permanent and holiday residences, the confused mismatch of different buildings and the close proximity of industrial plants, have determined such an urban decay that cannot be credited only to the steelworks industry. All this also caused the loss or the impoverishment of local natural resources, such as the sea, the beach and the landscape, which today are the target of projects for the renovation and the promotion of the area.

2. The environmental reclamation and the town planning scheme

After almost one century of industrial activity, firms were dismantled, abandoned or sold. What remained was a desert of steel, empty iron and concrete cathedrals, abandoned warehouses and ruined plants. The closure of these plants has definitively cancelled any industrial or manufacturing expectations on one hand, but it has given a new chance to the traditional orientation of the area on the other hand. This is actually the target of new mechanisms of development and economic revival, which aim at promoting local environmental, cultural and industrial resources.

Urban planning instruments (such as Law no. 388 of December 2000,13 and the executive town planning scheme,14 which effectively defines the orientation of law no. 388) precisely

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9 This area attracted a few industries, such as Novopan or Motta Sud. The area followed the 1919 urban renewal and enlargement city plan which was approved only in 1918 and was carried out with significant cuts as compared to the original plan, close to the Ilva factory, between the Direttissima road, opened in 1925, via Bagnoli, via Miano, Agnano and the Northern border of the Lazio area. V. Cardone, *Bagnoli nei Campi Flegrei. La periferia anomala di Napoli*, Naples 1989, pag. 167.

10 The population increase between 1921 and 1931 was some 23.6%. Even the Fuorigrotta district attracted flows of workers and others employed at Ilva, and this district witnessed a considerable demographic increase. V. Cardone, cit., p. 172 and *Bollettini dell’Ufficio statistico del Comune di Napoli*, in particular *Annuario statistico del comune di Napoli*, year 1951, vol XVI.

11 Marchese Giusso, Mayor of Naples at the beginning of the century, had been the designer of an urban plan that included the donation of Bagnoli district to the municipality of Naples as he himself owned that strip of land.

12 V. Cardone, cit., p. 171.

13 The 2001 financial law was an answer to the demands originating from the Campania Region, the City of Naples and the people of Bagnoli; the act tackles the issues of Bagnoli’s clean-up, reclamation and environmental restoration, which are necessary for the construction of new developments with an investment of 50 billion liras (ca. 25,000,000 Euros) for each 2001-2003 financial year. Between June and October 2004 the process for the assignment of renovation work to potential companies has started.
describe the territorial arrangement of the area through the quantitative reduction of activity and the functional definition of the reconversion plan. Indeed, after long and difficult conflicts a form of social consensus has been achieved, which has allowed the issuing of significant regulatory instruments that City of Naples needs to manage the urban transformation of ex-industrial Bagnoli district. The environmental features of the bay, hidden and neglected with the original erection of the plant, and small industry, testimony to the industrial past of the district and of the entire city, can represent a prefect scenario for new development. These should feature a low environmental impact and a strong social effects that can re-define the role of Naples on a national and international level. The availability of a wide strip of land, close to the metropolitan centre is an excellent opportunity for the economic renewal of Naples and the renovation of Bagnoli. As a matter of fact, Naples requires profound urban renewal, and the area of ex-steelworks plant may open a new path for the rehabilitation of abandoned industrial areas.

The most important aspect of the new project is what might be defined as the "geographic reassembling" of the Bagnoli site, as it aims to recover both the natural and social environment. The process of territorial innovation is an interpretation of the projections on the territory of the reconstruction of the geographic factors of an area that has been re-evaluated thanks to its urban integration potential with the extended metropolitan area of Naples.

Therefore, the aim is to realise a development site bordered by the beach and a park where the entire community (citizens, tourists, curious guests and visitors) will find a space for leisure activities, sport, culture, and nature, where space, roles and functions can be continuously adapted according to different and changing needs.

The park represents the fundamental core of the entire system, as it is considered as a "social space", "a chance for cultural enrichment and socialisation for individuals and groups". The park will feature also a number of examples of industrial archaeology that will be preserved and renovated; these will be distributed in three autonomous areas of Federconsorzi warehouses, the steelworks plant, and the buildings of the furnace areas, and they will be the centres for other social and productive activities.

The old steelwork plants, symbols of the city's recent history, will host expositions, meetings, a cultural centre, the Ilva industrial archives and the Museum of the Civilisation of

14 Law no. 486 of 1996 started the long process for the restoration of the Bagnoli industrial site with the allocation of 350 billion liras (ca. 125,000,000 Euros); the arrangement of the executive town scheme completes the planning phase for the urban plan of the town hall initiative. Article 23, paragraph 7, provides that "the law must be implemented through a detailed executive plan that defines the entire layout of the area, with due respect for the functions and dimensional limits" that the law has fixed. The approval decree then modified the definition of a detailed plan into the wider definition of executive urban instrument "that aims at increasing the possibilities of resorting to different planning schemes provided by the law in all urban planning interventions."

The definition of the contents of the executive urban instrument has been the subject of Naples City Council resolution no. 243 of 25 June 1998 that appoints the development of the instrument to the urban planning service and it also provides that the aforementioned executive urban plan will include:

a) the land registry of the targeted area, also in order to identify the area of transformation as described in par. 59, art. 17, Law 127/1997;

b) the definition of the functions provided by the approved law and of the correspondent location, with the identification of the individual lands and the building quantities for each of them;

c) the budget plan for the intervention.

15 The rehabilitation and the creation of the large beach requires a complex transformation process that combines three different operations: beach and seabed feeding and reclamation, clearance of fill between the two major piers. Also the bill no. 3833 of 26 July 2000 favours the clearance of the fill through environmental provisions.

16 This space can reach up to 340 hectares with the inclusion of Posillipo's and Nisida's green areas (even if they are not included in the plan), which are considered by the law as the only large open area on the gulf of Pozzuoli. The great green artery, cradle of several new productive functions, in a dialectic and intense relationship between the district's history and nature, will be a filter from the chaos of metropolitan life.

17 This confirms the decision taken by the oversight and coordination committee for the rehabilitation of Bagnoli, which through the resolution of 23 March 1999 has ordered that these building should not be demolished, thus modifying the guidelines of the first rehabilitation project.
Labour, in a constant dialectical process where past and present will alternate physically and symbolically, where the memory of the steelworks cycle represents the leitmotif and the common element of territorial transformation.\(^\text{18}\)

The promotion of the area will require the consequent promotion of construction for the surrounding area, to be used both for housing and for productive activities; the profits made through the sale of real estate and the management of Bagnoli’s public and urban facilities will cover a large amount of costs for the whole operation, which will contribute to balancing the budget.

The plan provides that these facilities will be targeted for specific purposes which are considered strategic development factors and are traditionally part of the Campi Flegrei area. The key sectors of the development plan for Bagnoli pivot on three main thematic areas; each of these will play a role within a larger paradigm that will combine and exploit all elements and foster growth and development.\(^\text{19}\)

The strong attraction of the Neapolitan territory, its prestigious traditions in nautical science, and the valuable environmental context make Coroglio bay a winning candidate as host to sea-related sport activities and international competitions.\(^\text{20}\)

For this purpose, one of the first goals is the construction of a pier connected to a high-quality hotel-housing development. Such a context would unite different functions in harmony among themselves: navigation services, restaurants, commercial and residential facilities will have to be organised in order to form an integrated whole that will add new value to the potential of the site.\(^\text{21}\)

The rehabilitation of Bagnoli necessarily matches the development purposes of the entire area, which is mainly oriented towards increasing hotel and tourist facilities. Given the new status of Naples in national tourist flows, the demand for more and better hotel and tourist facilities has increased; this has driven the tourist sector towards the development of a system that can be competitive on an international level through the adoption of a model combining different productive activities.\(^\text{22}\)

Another interesting field for the Plan is that of music; also in this case, the aim is to promote and enhance a function that Bagnoli has performed for years, making this area (and Naples in general) a point of reference in the Mediterranean area for music ‘consumption’ and production.\(^\text{23}\) The combination of Neapolitan traditions and Bagnoli’s facilities can make

\(^{18}\) In Bagnoli there is no need to start over again because the targeted space already includes elements to be used for the projects: the industrial archaeology buildings. The complex is formed by a conference structure divided in different branches, smaller rooms and a large one, which total more than 4000 seats. The idea is to give birth to an efficient and competitive structure that does not follow the models of large conference centres with high visual and environmental impact. The missing element is a 2000-seat room for major conference plenary meetings; the project provides an area right outside the border of the park, between this and via Nuova Bagnoli, which could have a more flexible and profitable use. The location would offer numerous advantages: proximity to the park and the beach; hotel facilities; connections to productive plants and activities; excellent transport connections to the centre of Naples and major transport hubs.

\(^{19}\) The Executive Urban Plan divides the activities provided by the law according to the following themes: park and beach; tourism and leisure quarter; research and production quarter; music and youth park; sport park.

\(^{20}\) Also in this case, the Executive Urban Plan means to promote existing structures such as San Paolo stadium, the Sport palace, Aagnano hippodrome, Scandone swimming pool, and the University Sports Centre (Cus) which is located in Coroglio.

\(^{21}\) The Plan suggests the construction of a stretch of sea for about 350 boats. This would be smaller than the 700-boat pier suggested by the law. It should be surrounded by the industrial buildings and the restaurants, and will not change the dimensions of the beach or disturb people swimming, but it will simply add more value to the tourist system of the area.

\(^{22}\) The tourist thematic area, close to the pier, the beach, the park and the industrial archaeology buildings used as tourist structures, will feature hotels for the higher bracket of the clientele, highly specialised commercial activities, as spas, restaurants, camping sites, bed and breakfast (which are already provided by the law in Bagnoli historic centre and in other surrounding areas).

\(^{23}\) In order to favour this goal, the plan envisions the realisation of two specialised structures in this sector: the first is a large, fully-equipped venue for open-air concerts, a sort of covered square al the
Naples a music capital and enjoy the same advantages that other metropolitan areas have experienced with the adoption of such formulas for urban renovation.\footnote{The relationship between culture and economy has recently become the subject for studies and analyses thanks to the ever-increasing importance of the role played by cultural activities in economic renovation processes and strategies in many European cities. Geographers, however, have been studying the relationship between culture and economy only for a few years, and only very recently has a renewed cultural and economic geography considered the fundamental role played by culture in the economic development of a territory and the ways in which economic forces are culturally codified.}

Nevertheless, in order to guarantee the success of the suggested initiatives it is necessary to "overturn the inaccessibility of the area that are due to mainly geographic and urban conditions".\footnote{This refers to the Western border of Posillipo, to the sea border, to the Campi Flegrei train station and the railways that separate Cavalleggeri district from Fuorigrotta district.} This is actually defined in the Plan: the transport system will feature mainly rail transportation, which is environment-friendly and at the same time can move a large number of people. Cars will be left at the borders of the park where 8000 new parking lots will be created, while the access to the most representative places will be served by new underground stations.

In brief, the general goal of the Plan is redesigning an urban area that is strongly characterised in historical, social and landscape terms, and giving it back to people through an integrated system of innovation, research, quality services, accommodations, and other elements that will trigger the development process. Therefore, an essential condition for this plan is the creation of a productive district based on a high density of companies that depend on each other, characterised by innovation, flexibility and creativity, based on information and knowledge, and oriented towards the supply of highly-specialised products and services.\footnote{In this case also, a very old tradition of the Campi Flegrei area which might find fertile ground in Bagnoli.} The so-called "cultural industries" can play a key role in triggering processes of growth and development and in drawing a considerable amount of jobs for qualified professionals.

In order to realise the aforementioned interventions, the plan suggests the use of over 310,000 square metres for the production of goods, and 900,000 sqm for services, in addition to an area dedicated to conference rooms. Some 150,000 sqm will be reserved for commercial facilities, such as media and large distribution.

The advantages of such highly-qualified urban functions are clear, also in the light of the virtuous cycles that can be activated in the surrounding area, and which can gradually influence the entire metropolitan area.

3. Environmental reclamation and social decay

The full realisation of all the goals of the plan requires a sound environmental reclamation of the site. The steel industry has left behind a wide and deep trace of pollution and desolation that could be eliminated or dramatically reduced through an efficient exploitation of the available instruments of law and finance.

The purification of aquifers and the elimination of heavy metal sediments from the soil faces considerable technical, economic and structural problems.

The issue concerns the technology, duration, and cost of intervention, but also the fact that it is not easy to estimate the environmental damage. For this purpose, it is necessary to define the term "environmental damage" and limit the targeted area, both geographically and conceptually; in addition to the alteration of the natural environment caused by the industrial facilities, also the effects of the entire socio-economic fabric should be assessed.

Given such problems, it seems rather difficult to determine a cost for the environmental recovery of the area, as well as to estimate in monetary terms the damage sustained by the citizens due to poor environmental conditions, and to evaluate the economic advantages brought about by the industrial giant.
However, in only ten years, nature has again taken possession of this territory: among the remains and the debris vegetation has flourished once again. Every water puddle has turned into a small pond with canes, water plants and frogs, and a notable numbers of birds.

This surreal mixture of an archaic nature and a nearby industrial past (which seems rather remote now), with debris of iron and concrete, can be turned into an element of value and development if it is managed respecting the identity of these places. Any further intervention in the area needs to consider its history and unite new elements; the final product of such a complex work should be a mixed-use development that can offer well-identified functions and which is easily accessible.

Together with environmental reclamation, including the total elimination of polluting residues of iron and other waste minerals from soil, seabed and beach sand, and with the aggressive and involuntary natural transformation process of the site, an inverse process of social decay seems to take place.

When the steel factory was built on the beach of Coroglio, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the plant seemed to stand for economic growth and social development. People hoped to see the beginning of that social progress which Naples clearly needed to escape from the decay that tortured the city, and which no intervention, research or study had been able to solve.27

In fact, the massive industrial plants have a massive visual and environmental impact and they represent the kind of industrial settlement that moulds and modifies social and economic structures more than any other. According to the economic differential that steelworks industries produce when they work on low-cost raw materials, these factories are considered a driving force for the entire economic system in which they settle due to the considerable invested capital and the notable creation of wealth that they can produce. Given these aspects, the steelworks have performed a fundamental function in economic development plans and industrialisation processes in certain developing or transitional countries.28

The great steelworks plant should have extended its influence also to aid initiatives, professional training, and leisure activities organisation, in order to enter life conditions and act concretely to favour social growth and population geography reorganisation.

Actually there was a certain social success, as the area has always featured low rates of unemployment and criminality, and a high "social commitment" of its inhabitants; schools, administrative offices, doctors' practices, and training centres, low juvenile delinquency, and a significant active population have characterised the area for many years, so much so that Bagnoli has been considered more as a residential rather than a peripheral area. But since the factories have closed, the civil associations of Bagnoli have also started to close and the area has gradually absorbed social decay, unemployment and delinquency. The unemployment rate has reached 68%, temporary and illegal work are growing, trade is in crisis, the hopes of the young are too often disappointed. The traditional social structure of the area that have survived about a century have been disrupted and as a consequence prostitution has grown as well as drug use and other illegal activities, and Italian and foreign-organised crime has stepped forward.

More and more Bagnoli suffers from the acts of gangs of common criminals;29 such illegal acts, which in most cases are not punished, are often an expression of the connections between

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27 On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the Bagnoli plant M. Prisco wrote: “Ilva gave jobs to 1500 workers who had been forced to emigrate from Fuorigrotta, Bagnoli and Pozzuoli to the centre of Naples and earn a poor living with very hard activities, (…). Now these have a profitable job nearby, their salary is safe and in close proximity to their modest houses and they wish the best to this gigantic plant (the largest in Italy), which gives them work, wealth and serenity for the future.” M. Prisco, L’acciaio di Napoli ha cinquanta anni, in Bagnoli anni cinquanta 1911 - 1961 Italsider. Alti fornì ed acciaierie riunite, ILVA Cornegliano Spa, ed by Italsider, 1961.

28 The complexity and the diversity of productive phases contribute to the birth of small satellite factories and infrastructures, and above all to the creation of income and a high number of work places. E. Massi, M. Fumagalli, Geografia dell’acciaio, Milan, 1973, p. 67.

29 Investigations have ascertained that the responsibility for predatory acts and drug peddling has to be credited with gangs of foreign citizens (mainly from Albania and the Balkans), family-based and not specialised, which are unscrupulous and highly flexible. Such organisations live with other Italian and
the gangs’ leaders and organised crime, which targets the management of the real estate of the area and the trade system, looking at the opportunities coming from the new urban quality that the area could achieve through the implementation of the plan.30

Between these two criminal poles there has been a profitable exchange: if criminality is a large reservoir for clans’ workers recruitment, the gangs enjoy the support of major cosche (hierarchical structures) in the execution of their crimes and the consequent reuse of illegal profits.

The social alert driven by these criminal acts needs to be related not just to the frequency of the crimes themselves, but to their diffusion, the popularity of this phenomenon in a given area, and the ways criminals work. Crimes become more significant in the degree to which they are related to territorial extension, population density, temporal dimension and a ratio between all these values.31

With reference to the territorial concentration of crimes in the area of Bagnoli, the values are much lower than the average for Naples. Nevertheless, the considerable expansion of the area, which is 7.9 sqm (the largest of the city), confuses the reliability of these data. A vast decrease of urban districts never corresponds to a high concentration of crimes, as the territorial reference cannot express the human concentration that is obviously the most concrete element of confrontation for an estimate of the degree of social decay. As a matter of fact, the comparison with the situation of other districts (such as Pianura and Soccavo with 25 crimes per sqm, Ponticelli with 35 crimes/sqm) shows that the statistics are diluted by a spatial effect, that certainly does not match the real incidence of crimes committed in the most densely populated areas.

The analysis of the ratio crimes/population testifies to the poor social conditions of the area. This data places Bagnoli in an in-between position in comparison to other areas of the city; however, the number of inhabitants is 26,324, well-below the Neapolitan urban average, which is above 35,000 people.

The estimate of crimes compared to the dimensions of the area and its population is probably the clearest data on the phenomenon. The estimates show that Bagnoli has better conditions than the Neapolitan average, but worse than all districts’ average.

TABLE 1 Ratio crimes/population and crimes/sqm in Bagnoli and in Naples (year 2003)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AREA</th>
<th>CRIMES</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
<th>SQM</th>
<th>CRIMES/POPULATION</th>
<th>CRIMES/SQM</th>
<th>CRIMES/(POP./SMQ)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bagnoli</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>26,324</td>
<td>7,96</td>
<td>0,010</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0,08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naples average values</td>
<td>11642</td>
<td>1.021,507</td>
<td>108,43</td>
<td>0,011</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>1,24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: processed data of the Questura of Naples

The perception of Bagnoli’s inhabitants has been evaluated through a direct survey on a sample, and it confirms the impoverishment of life quality and safety conditions in the area32.

The analysis shows a spread malaise, uncertainty and mistrust of institutions. In all interviews, many indicators have proven a constant underlying of the difference between present and past, when life quality was considered better than current conditions. Moreover, the general impression is that the worsening conditions are credited to the closure of the factory. Nevertheless, a deeper investigation confirms a general appreciation of the better

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30 The existence of other criminal organizations is rather considerable, not just in the Plan for the industrial reconversion of Ilva in Bagnoli, but also in other great public initiatives such as in the project for a high-speed train, and the project for delocalising Q8 Petroli plants, MINISTERO dell’INTERNO, Rapporto annuale sul fenomeno della criminalità organizzata, year 2000

31 Source: Questura of Naples

32 The research was carried out in July 2003 with a closed-test questionnaire administered to a sample of about 200 people who live in Bagnoli and demonstrate varied demographic and professional characteristics.
environmental condition achieved in water (sea), air and land, which play an important role in the definition of different level of life quality.

### TABLE 2 Frequency and percentage of crimes in Bagnoli and in Naples (year 2003)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of crime</th>
<th>NAPLES</th>
<th></th>
<th>BAGNOLI</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pick-pocketing</td>
<td>1135</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car theft</td>
<td>3123</td>
<td>9.72</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>43.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motorcycle theft</td>
<td>12000</td>
<td>37.35</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>theft in shops</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burglary</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burglary in tall buildings</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burglary in offices</td>
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<td>0.85</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.38</td>
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<tr>
<td>theft on cars</td>
<td>856</td>
<td>2.66</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>robbery in shops</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
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<td>mugging</td>
<td>1712</td>
<td>5.33</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13.16</td>
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<tr>
<td>robbery of car</td>
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<tr>
<td>robbery of motorcycle</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>0.75</td>
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<td>36.23</td>
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<td>1.88</td>
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</table>

Source: processed data of the Questura of Naples

The attention towards such component is characterised by the fact that it cross-cuts all different types of people that have been interviewed, unlike the equation factory closure=social decay, that has been confirmed by almost all interviewees who are older than 30, and which was completely absent in younger interviewees. Over-35 people complained a progressive lack of identity in the area, which was much stronger before, as well as the lack of efficient policies that focus on new forms of identification between community and territory.

All interviewees, regardless of age, professional status and sex, describe their district as a less liveable area featuring a strong malaise and the need to conquer a shared heritage, something to grow and defend, they all call for justice, efficiency, order, the respect of law and work.

The environmental reclamation of the antique steelwork site of Bagnoli ends an itinerary of localisation mistakes and industrial policy negligence which have been often pinpointed by politically concerned geographers who study Southern Italy development perspectives. The renovation process of the area, which is certainly hard but not impossible, risks to be shattered by the terrible phenomenon of social decay, criminality and spread delinquency due to the lack of adequate development policies which can allow the re-employment of labour that was caused by the closure of the plant, and the consequent crisis of the local satellite activities. The chances for a rehabilitation pivot on firm resolutions and on concrete environmental-promotion projects that must prioritise the contribution of territorial culture.

### REFERENCES


*Annuario statistico del comune di Napoli, 1951.*