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THE MAKING OF COVERED MARKETS IN THE MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY CITY

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CHAPTER 2

CHAPTER 3

An overview of the thesis

Introduction

The thesis explores the issue of the Europeanization of covered market as a reference for the modern and contemporary city, its connections with urban public policies and the reasons and consequences that the adopting of the "covered market model" have for the urban dimension.

The thesis is grounded on the observation of a European phenomenon that is influencing the urban public policies and on the willingness of the public administrations to empirically anchor the idea of the covered market, as a well-defined model, which is mimetically adopted in other European countries in recent years. In the last decade there has been an extensive production of projects, strategies and policies that address the revitalization of public markets, by providing a list of guidelines, musts, ingredients, ready recipes and consequent advantages to be a "market city", a city which is exploiting the potential of its public markets.

My research reconstructs the trajectory of covered markets in the modern and contemporary European cities by providing a more expansive understanding of what is happening in the urban sphere in the name of a certain type of covered market. The speed and intensity with which the idea of covered market travels nowadays appear unparalleled, boosted by the Europeanization process. The research explores from different points of view how the model for the covered marked is formed, circulated and domesticated from the European context to the local dimension of the city of Mestre. In order to do so, I reconstruct the trajectory of the covered market and its meanings from the modern city – when models for covered markets made their first appearance – until the cotemporary city – when the Barcelona Market Model was institutionalized and spread all over Europe.

The process of Europeanization is followed through the market related European Projects, until the *Central Markets Project – Revitalizing and Promoting Traditional Markets in Central Europe* and the pilot action of the City of Venice for a new covered market in the centre of Mestre.

Research questions and structure of the thesis

The decision to build a covered market in the centre of Mestre, promoted by the Commerce Office of the Economic Development Directorate of the City of Venice and included in the framework of the *Central Markets Project - Revitalizing and promoting traditional markets in Central Europe*, has been the trigger for my research work.

From the summer 2013 I have been involved in the European Project and the implementation of the pilot action, that was the feasibility study for the new covered market in Mestre. My research interest was moved by the idea that Mestre opted for implementing a covered market, even though there was no evident public markets' presence or history in the territory. Moreover, the interest of the Commerce office was specifically directed towards a determined idea of covered market, mimic of the Barcelona experience.

From that starting point, I decided to explore backward the adoption of the covered markets as a strategy for local development in the European context, identifying the distinctive features, motives and rationales supporting the adoption of the covered market in the contemporary city.

The research questions that led the investigation of this part of the analysis are:

- How does the Barcelona experience become a reference for the Commerce Office of the City of Venice?
- And how does the Barcelona experience become a reference for covered markets in the contemporary European city?
- How has the process of Europeanization of markets intended as strategies for urban development evolved?

To answer those questions, I have investigated the components of the success of the Barcelona markets' network and focuses on elements and business strategies implemented

by the Catalan city and the *Institut Municipal de Mercats de Barcelona* (IMMB).

Thus, I have followed the Barcelona Market Model's parabola, originating in European policies that are spread across the continent. The inception of the process has been identified: the year 2006, when the first and official association of traditional markets was established and introduced in the European Union. From that moment, markets have been used as umbrellas for many actions, plans, dreams and design around Europe. Concurrently, European funds within the programme-planning period 2007-13 have encouraged the design of several projects about markets. 2012 was a fertile year for market-related projects, which sees the implementation of three projects (MedEMPORION, MARKANDA; URABCT MARKETS).

It is possible to observe a process of Europeanization of markets, a diffusion of a market model and associated policies, in which specific concepts and visions of the modern and contemporary city materialize and become embedded in a particular design around the same time. The rhetoric behind the "comeback" of markets is that they offer enormous potential for the development of local communities and the liveability of our city; and if the market is like the one in Barcelona, a replica of an unquestionably successful venture, it will be a success as well.

However, there was a time, when the European Union was not established yet and models for covered markets even so travelled around the European continent, crossing physical boundaries and supporting the needs of the cities, shaping their appearance, implementing new features, absorbing new functions and changing their attitude towards the urban dimension and citizens. Through this process of *historical* Europeanization the markets in Barcelona have built and shaped their model, acquiring also a historical legitimation, which has been revamped and potentiated though the attention of the European Union and its policies.

The research questions that guide the analysis of the evolution of covered markets in the modern cities are

- What is the dialectic between the covered market and the European city?
- How did the market and its functions evolved along the history?
- How did Barcelona markets' history evolved in the modern and contemporary era?

And why are they considered a success?

In the light of the above findings, the Central Markets Project and the feasibility study for a new covered market in the city mainland of Venice is reinterpreted. Mestre is analysed as a reference case for the Europeanization of policies for markets, which relies on a specific model of covered markets as lever for improving the competitiveness and the liveability of the city.

The research questions that the final part of the research address are:

- Which is the urban planning approach associated with the preference for a covered market?
- Which public policies can be mobilized in order to support the implementation of a covered market in the contemporary city?
- Which is the role of covered markets within urban policies?

Central Markets' history is deconstructed, starting from its design and implementation made by a joint effort of the Commerce Office – represented by the Deputy Major Carla Rey - and the EU Office of the City of Venice. The feasibility study for a new covered market and the socio-economic study have been analysed in a wider framework. A taxonomy of official documents prepared by City of Venice and its Urban Planning Office, and projects designed by private actors, dealing with the market area and the consequent requalification or relocation of the market activities, are integrated in the research.

The thesis is structured as a monographic research and it is divided in three main chapters, organized in chronological order:

Chapter 1 - The market in the modern European city. The historical trajectory of the covered market as a reference for urban modernization. Barcelona as the paradigmatic case

Chapter 2 - The market in the contemporary European city. The political trajectory of the covered market as a reference for European policies.

Chapter 3 - Central Markets – Revitalizing and Promoting Traditional Markets in Central Europe and the pilot action of the city of Venice. Mestre as the paradigmatic case of the Europeanization of policies for markets.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework that I have chosen to adopt for my dissertation embraces the complexity and the multidisciplinary aspect of Europeanization, which has become in the last decades a key concept in explaining political and societal changes across the continent. Definitions are numerous but Radaelli's one (2003: 30) appears to be the most suitable for the present dissertation. It includes immaterial elements – e.g., ideas, beliefs and "way of doing", discourse –, therefore expanding the concept. Europeanization is not built exclusively on regulations and directives that must be incorporated in the domestic legislation, but also on perceptions and ideas that travel around.

What we are witnessing is a construction of a dominant discourse (Atkinson, 1999, 2000), emanated by the European Union through the definition of best practices and models accepted and promoted as such, seeking to "direct" urban policy for covered markets. Here, city networks and partnerships become the privileged way to diffuse norms and values to the local and regional administration and to exchange the best practices, as 'soft mechanism' of Europeanization (Atkinson and Rossigno, 2010) – e.g. goals, action programmes, guidelines, standards, recommendation and information (Mörth, 2004; Jacobsson and Sahlin-Andersson, 2006) which are not legally binding, but have a visible effect (Jacobsson, 2004; Risse et al., 2001).

Despite the importance of the Europeanization, I have decided not to use it as a generic and stand-alone concept (Featherstone and Radaelli, 2013) and to infuse it with theories and concepts, coming from the organizational theories. The research is intentionally set in a specific literature, originated in Northern Europe and especially in the Scandinavian countries. Taking roots in the neo-institutionalism theory, it develops a particular analysis of the public policies in the European context, mobilizing concepts such as *imitation*, *isomorphism* and *metaorganization*. Interpreting the Europeanization through the lens of the imitation conceptual framework, it acquires a different perspective, allowing us to comprehend what we see when we look at policies for markets.

Metaorganizations (Ahrne and Brunsson, 2008) are defined as organizations of organization. They are actors able to constitute the world through its activities: the European Union as well as its emanate programmes (e.g. Med, Urbact, Central Europe,

etc.) are metaorganizations. The setting of agendas, the recognition and the consequent promotion of best practices it is intended as a formal invitation from metaorganizations to imitate.

Imitation is a common activity in our society, and it always involves a model to which the attention and response of the imitator are directed. Individuals consciously or unconsciously imitate other individuals, as well as various type of organizations look to each other for inspiration and solutions (Zucker, 1977; March and Olsen, 1983; Powell and DiMaggio, 1991). Powell and Di Maggio (1983) combined the concept of imitation with the mimetic isomorphism, happening in case of an ambiguous situation, when the solution is not determined yet and the organization has to face uncertainty (Alchian, 1950; Cyert and March, 1963). Borrowing practices form other organisations is a classic response to incertitude.

The Scandinavian School takes part in this academic discussion analysing the imitating process in its *performative* aspect, elaborating the concept of "travel of ideas" (Czarniawska and Joerges, 1996): ideas, once materialized and translated into an object, an image or even an iconic building, travel in places and time, reaching new destinations. The imitation is a mechanism of learning through a process of translation (Sevón, 1996; Sahlin-Andersson and Sevón, 2003; Czarniawska and Sevón, 2005). Three basic elements are involved in the mimetic process: the model organization (the source of what is being imitated), the object of imitation (best practices, concrete practices, systems, routine, etc. but also the ideational foundations, which is being imitated) and the imitator. And there is always a motive for mimesis, fundamental to investigate why organizations engage in mimetic behaviours: it could be a response to uncertainty (Powell and Di Maggio, 1983), voluntariness (Westney 1987; Jacoby, 2000), organizational identity (Westney 1987; Djelic 2001). But there is also another concept that can be mobilized in order to justify the imitation process: fashion (Tarde, 1890/1962; Simmel, 1904/1971; Blumer, 1969), what appears to be the key of comprehending the complex developments and interrelations between organizations. Guided by fashion, the process of imitation of what appears to be attractive and successful leads to a translation of ideas, object and practices in order to replicate a winning move (Czarniawska and Sevón, 2005).

In the present dissertation, the travel of the idea of a well-defined model – the Barcelona Market Model - had influenced the vision of leaders around Europe, through a process of Europeanization of policies for markets. The imitation process is here investigated in all its components, from the institutionalization of the model, until the adoption by the City of Venice within the framework of the *Central Markets Project – Revitalizing and Promoting Traditional Markets in Central Europe*, as the outcome of the travel of idea of covered markets.

Methodology

Urban planning studies are usually characterized by a heterogeneous use of methods, borrowed from many disciplines. Methods are usually modified and adapted in order to meet the researcher's needs to acquire information and analyse complex problems. Quantitative methods are well acknowledged and recognized as an important tools of urban planning research, and this is partly a consequent planning's conception as an exercise in the application of technical, scientific rationality to societal problem-solving (Dandekar, 1986). It was an attempt to make it more reliable and consistent (Friedmann, 1981; Waterstone, 1965).

However the issues confronted by researchers are usually not inclined to the exclusive use of quantitative analysis, especially when the researcher is observing a system and how it functions. Qualitative methods are, therefore, used in order to obtain information about the qualitative aspects of human/social/physical/political systems and their relationships. They have become particularly important with the introduction of the advocacy planning (Davidoff, 1965) and the discovery of the limits of rational, long-range, allocative planning. The growing attention for the planning processes and organizational structures and their functioning by the 1980s and the need to involve various people in the planning process – decision-making, analysis and policy formulation – sprang numerous approaches to the qualitative methods applied to the urban planning studies (Freire, 1981; Freidmann, 1981; Forester, 1982; Korten, 1980; Schön, 1983).

The approach that I choose to adopt for the present dissertation is the *narrative approach*, in which narrative becomes an instrument to construct and communicate meaning and impart

knowledge. The use of the narrative form has been permeating our societies, as the main bearer of knowledge (Lyotard 1979, Bruner 1986, 1990).

Bruner (1986: 12) wrote about two modes of thought humans are using in order to interpret and understand the world and their experiences:

> […] one mode, the paradigmatic or logico-scientific one, attempts to fulfill the ideal of a formal, mathematical system of description and explanation. It employs categorization or conceptualization and the operations by which categories are established, instantiated, idealized, and related to one another to form a system.

Thought grounded in the paradigmatic mode seeks to explain the underlying relationships between sets of observable variables, offering the power of prediction in that it sets up and tests hypotheses about the nature of reality. The logico-scientific (paradigmatic) knowledge, 1) looks for causal connections to explain the world, 2) out of such connections formulates general laws, 3) contains procedures (paradigms) to verify/falsify its own results (Czarniawska, 2000: 2-3). Therefore, it can be assimilated with the use of quantitative research methods and a logical categorization of the world.

Whereas, narrative knowledge tells the story of "human or human like intention and action and the vicissitudes and consequences that mark their course" (Ibidem: 13) and it seeks to explain the storied meaning people make of these relationships. The narrative mode organizes the complex and often ambiguous world of human intentions and actions into a meaningful structure.

The two modes of thought, even though complementary, are not reducible to one another, and they cannot be judged by the same criteria, differing radically in their procedures for verification. Good paradigmatic explanations should accurately predict observable phenomena. Good narratives should meaningfully capture the shifting contours of lived experience.

The role of narrative has been largely used across different fields to provide insights into decision-making (O'Connor, 1997), in the processes of knowledge transfer (Darwent, 2000), constructing identity (Czarniawska, 1997), leading to cultural change (Boje, 1991; Faber, 1998; Beech, 2000), contributing to sense making (Gabriel, 1998) and acting as a source of understanding (Cortazzi, 2001).

As Bruner (1991: 4) has stated:

> Narrative is a conventional form, transmitted culturally and constrained by each individual's level of mastery and by his conglomerate of prosthetic devices, colleagues, and mentors. Unlike the constructions generated by logical and scientific procedures that can be weeded out by falsification, narrative constructions can only achieve "verisimilitude." Narratives, then, are a version of reality whose acceptability is governed by convention and "narrative necessity" rather than by empirical verification and logical requiredness.

Therefore, it is an inherently multidisciplinary approach and it required a qualitative enquiry in order to capture the diversity of data within stories. Rational and empirical approaches, such as surveys, questionnaires and quantitative analyses of behaviour, adopted by scientific theory are not sufficient to capture the complexity of meaning embodied within stories. Narrative analysis then takes the story itself as the object of study. Thus the focus is on how individuals or groups make sense of events and actions in their lives through examining the story, and the linguistic and structural properties (Riessman, 1993). It offers the potential to address ambiguity, uncertainty, complexity and dynamism of individual, group, and organisational phenomena. Narrative analysis can be used to record different viewpoints and interpret collected data to identify similarities and differences in experiences and actions. Stories are presumed to provide a holistic context that allows individuals to reflect and reconstruct their personal, historical, and cultural experiences (Gill, 2001).

In line with the above mention methodological reflection, I choose to investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real context, while it was happening, and following the course of the case until the end. My study, therefore, shares with all single case design studies the obvious limitations of generalizability of results, but acquires in depth and richness of data. I therefore consider it a suitable design for the purpose of investigating, understanding and explaining the adoption of the model for covered markets in Mestre.

I have used qualitative research methods, grounding my study on the collection and analysis of both formal (resolutions, directives, memorandum, projects, plans) and informal (bulletins, texts, reports) data, and the analysis of the context – the social and organizational processes in which that are generated - participant observation, unstructured interviews, and focus group. I adopt the qualitative approach in planning studies in order to explicit the hidden dynamics and patterns of the construction of a public policy while it was happening.

My direct involvement in the activities of the Commerce Office of the Economic Development Directorate of the City of Venice, since the Summer 2013, allowed me to look at the development of a public policy from the inside and facilitate its understanding within the context.

CHAPTER 1

The market and the city: following the historical trajectory of the covered market models

In all ages, cities have always attempt to attract farmers and local producers within their walls, by clearing open spaces or squares, and helping them to set their businesses, by constructing provisional or permanent shelter and improving related facilities. Indeed, places dedicated to the exchange of goods and services have always played a significant role in the urban structure. Markets and cities have always influenced their history and evolution, with a close interdependence, "tanto da creare un nesso inscindibile […] che rende difficile l'interpretazione causa-effetto nella lettura delle profonde trasformazioni che li hanno interessati" (Cirelli, 2007: 19).

The relationship between markets and cities is unquestionably concrete and tangible; the evolution of the urban history has always been simultaneously accompanied with the transformation of the market space. In the enormous variety of situations and forms, the history seems to identify the market as one of the most "urban" elements of the city and one of the most lasting explanations for the existence of cities itself. Numerous market theories have initiated a discussion about the urban origins (Weber, 1950; Pirenne, 1956; Mumford, 1961; Jacobs, 1979; Christaller, 1980; Bois, 1991); we should therefore expect that were markets are established in a city, where business is conducted, will be a critical assignment.

Even though markets have always existed in cities (Mumford, 1961; Braudel, 1979), as a way to exchange goods and services as well, the characterization of this specific component of the urban life changed along the history. Especially the covered market - that is intended as a building that can contain a large number of separate stalls, run by various people selling the same product or different goods - were already quite common between the

twelfth and the thirteenth century in France, England and the Low Countries. Taking into consideration the oriental bazaar, there were also many prior examples in the Mediterranean countries (Calabi, 2004: 151).

These "covers" had extremely different shapes and they adapted perfectly to architectural styles and functions, as well as the specific characteristics of the urban context of their time. From original marketplaces framed in wood and roofed in tiles to the iron and glass structures, the use and the architecture of trade have been constantly renewed, just as the trade itself.

These constructions were considered, until recently, a simple and utilitarian trade support. Today, however, these same buildings are considered amongst the outstanding public monument and a landmark of cities.

The long lasting presence of cities is the expression of their capacity to form and model a social network in constant transformation. The memory of this development is situated in the physical urban territory, in its geography and its architecture, but also in the set of concrete elements, which built the identity of a society. As traces and signs of the past, the persistence presence of a building such as a market structure, force the observer to search for an earlier condition, essential to explain and understand the development of the object of the research.

The covered market represents a perfect example of a building that goes through the history of cities, adapting and shaping its aspect and function in order to accommodate the new requests of the urban dimension. The market is not a simple juxtaposition of stalls and goods; it has a symbolic appeal, which confers an historical perspective. And through an historical perspective it is possible to retrace the evolution of markets and its role in the city.

The birth of commerce in the urban area was caused by the conjunction of two factors: a numerous urban population and a local productivity conspicuous enough to afford the sale of the surplus (Mumford, 1961). This particular conjunction originated an indissoluble bond between the development of cities, expression of the human concentration per excellence, and the market, intended as the meeting place for producers and buyers. Therefore, the organization of commerce can be identified as the direct or indirect cause of the birth, fortune and decadence of the historical city (Nucifora and Urso, 2012). The

city/market binomial is not easily detachable and their relationship was never easy and idyllic. It is impossible to discuss about markets without framing them into its specific urban context. The early pedlar character of goods and merchants had induced the occupation of existing spaces with precarious and disorganized structures, moving little by little into the central square.

The market's occupation of the crucial centre of cities forced a codification of spaces destined to the trade and exchange of goods, in order to solve practical problematic (hygiene, decorum, fiscal control, etc.). The Ancient Greek society, to free the city from disorder and confusion, invented the square-shaped *agorà*, while the Romans went one step further, creating the first covered structure. The Roman *macellum* was the first enclosed market building, distinctly separated from the public square. Isolating the market from the square was also an innovation that changed the perception and the value of the trade practice itself:

> Da uno spazio aperto ad uno spazio chiuso, un recinto appunto, cambiando la sua natura da contenuto a contenitore, con tutte le implicazioni di ordine sociologico e culturale che tale mutamento comporta nel modo di intendere il "fare mercato" nella città occidentale (Nucifora and Urso, 2012: 21)

The architecture of the *macella* broke apart, together with the falling of the Roman Empire, and the market invaded one more time streets and open spaces. It took almost 1500 years for the rediscovery of the covered markets in the urban organization's debate. Until then, the medieval and renaissance societies were more indulgent with the market activity, allowing a sort of alternation of open and protected spaces, and neglecting the idea of a free standing covered building. The *loggia* represented a sort middle solution between the square and the building, spread in Europe especially in the Renaissance period and until the arrival of the covered market in the XIX century. Its location was diffused along the urban fabric and always open-air. The commerce took place in the empty spaces of the square, where all the functions and interests of the social and civic life were catalysed and unravelled in the adjacent streets. Still, the market, open-air but defined, immaterial but distinguishable, changed the perception of the space and, so, the square that usually host

the market became, *de facto,* the market itself.

The provisional nature which characterized the time and place of the market until that moment, ended with the displacement of the open-air trade into a covered building. The boundaries became tangible and the market hence became a reference building for the functional distribution of urban services.

The XIX century and the industrial revolution have produced important changes in the urban realm, changing the container, the market building, but also the content, the way of doing and envisage the market:

> […] anche il senso di "fare mercato", prima ancora della struttura fisica che lo accoglie, non sfugge al cambiamento, e da semplice soddisfacimento di una necessità di gestito dalla politica diventa, con il mutato processo di produzione, uno strumento di condizionamento sociale, che Adam Smith inquadrerà con il successo della nuova scienza del XIX secolo: l'economia (Nucifora and Urso, 2012: 15).

The new structures, supported by new materials (especially iron and glass) and new building techniques, have radically changed the aspect of the market and the consumer experience. The architects created an innovative building, able to keep unchanged the sense of the space (market activity), and, at the same time, setting a new interior arrangement of stalls and guiding the consumer. A new building typology was codified, a European state of the art was created and the model quickly spread in the main capitals of the continent.

The first chapter of the dissertation analyses the historical trajectory of the covered market as a reference for urban modernization, from late XVIII century in the UK to the early XX century Spain. The United Kingdom was the forerunner, giving birth of the first covered market model, the British market hall (between 1820 and 1850 were built an average of 60 markets each year), followed in the XIX century by Paris and its officials, which endorsed the English model and aimed at the creation of a network of public market as a fundamental urban facility. Finally, during the XX century, the city of Barcelona became the reference city for markets. The network of 40 markets evolved during the century and survived until now thanks to focused urban policies and development plans, aimed at modernizing and improving the markets in order to face the contemporary city's demand.

The scale of interventions, the intents, the buildings and technological solutions about

markets changed over time. And the perception of the urban dimension evolved even more. But still, from the XIX to the consumerism era, the market has confirmed its central position in the city, as a material and immaterial space where goods, people, cultures and histories mingle together. The market has become a synonymous of the city itself.

1.1 The market in the pre-industrial city

An important change in the market history was detected during the urban revival of the Middle Ages, when markets did indeed mark the beginning and the end of economic flows, and favoured their subsequent developments. As such, they became the true heart and basis of the city life (Guàrdia and Oyón, 2015).

Even though, markets in the pre-industrial cities do not perfectly cohere to our investigation, it is important to stress also their evolution during the Middle Ages, as it was the subject of numerous studies and researches.

It is widely acknowledge that public markets have been the driving force behind the configuration of European cities since the medieval times. In his classic thesis, Henri Pirenne attributed the rebirth of the medieval city to merchant activity and the long distance trade in the XI century. After a long period of decadence, following the fall of the Roman Empire, an increased demographic growth together with the development of a new political organization, nourished with new life the produce, the consumption and the circulation of goods and money in the cities and between cities:

> Come conseguenza delle nuove attività, la città si trasforma, offrendo di se una diversa concezione materiale e simbolica, che svolge un ruolo importante nella formazione di un nuovo immaginario urbano. Al suo interno i centri si moltiplicano, e ben presto un nuovo luogo diventa un centro essenziale, se non addirittura il centro per eccellenza della città: il mercato (Nucifora and Urso, 2012: 54).

The "closed domestic economy" of the IX century, in which the production was used exclusively for the consumption of the land ownership (consequently extraneous to the

concept of profit), was interrupted. Therefore, commerce and industry started to take an active part in the agriculture: its products were not consumed just by landowners and workers, but they were trade as commodities or raw materials. The boundaries of the feudatory system were broken and the whole society acquired a flexible and dynamic character. So, it is possible to affirm that urban culture has been developed in conjunction with the commerce, and as Pirenne (1956: 70) stated, "without a market it's impossible to speak of a city".

More recently, however, scholars sustains that the rebirth of medieval cities was fed by the transformation of the relationship between the city and the countryside, which influenced the development of local markets (Guerreau, 1990; Bois, 1991; Verhulst, 1991). The merchant activity and the long trade commerce were a later consequence.

According to Bois (1991), the "mutation" or "revolution" of the year 1000, that is the agrarian expansion, was quite intensive and internal. The agrarian income increased as a result of the production of an agrarian surplus, due to the work of the majority of the population, which acquired a significant autonomy in production thanks to the decline of imposts ad the absence of labour services (Verhulst, 1991). The diffusion of the surplus occurred thanks to the small-scale trade channelled by local markets; therefore, medieval cities grew around local markets, especially those selling groceries (Bois, 1991). The rural produce was progressively encompassed in the trade exchange, and this singularity didn't occurred to the same extent in other historic periods (Guàrdia and Oyón, 2015).

For more than five centuries, since the XIII - when the articulations of municipal government begun -, the economic administration of cities was one the first issue that town officials had to deal with. The regulations of markets proved to be an essential task to guaranteed the social and political health of citizens. In order to ensure the provisioning and the prevention of conflicts, the market was organized, and the ethic of exchange was regulated. Price and quality of products were controlled, as well as weights and measures (assuring the survival of the old medieval "fair price" doctrine). The creation of markets, therefore, was accompanied by a set of measures destined to regulate these periodic gatherings, in order to facilitate their control (Masschaele, 2002).

At that time, the primary purpose of the markets was to provide public access to food

coming from the countryside at designated time and space in the town. The spaces were commonly open-air, but the idea of a covered market wasn't totally foreign to the industrial cities. It is possible to find examples of covered stalls and "covered markets" which had been built to protect certain perishable products - such as fish or meat -, with a higher chance of deteriorating with the exposure to the elements (Bailly and Laurent, 2015). They were accommodated in covered structure or simple canopy or wooden trestle, leaning of wooden poles, such as the still standing Lorris medieval market in *Figure 1*. The shape of the markets was irregular and it corresponded basically to the shape of the city, occupying the un-built and empty urban spaces, such as squares, street that widened, arcades or intersections (Calabi, 2004).

Figure 1: Example of a medieval covered market structure in Lorris, France (Bailly and Laurent, 2015)

There was little or no distinction between wholesale and retail market functions as long as the public had fair access to market products. Markets represented a supply channel for the city and they were characterized also by a lack of regularity: limited to domestic needs of

the few land's inhabitants, they weren't held on regular basis. Therefore, the trade missed stability, which is essential for the following institutionalization of commerce and the standardization of an architectural form. As Weber (1950) affirmed the existence in the settlement of a regular rather than occasional exchange of goods is an essential component of a city:

> We wish to speak of a "city" only in cases where the local inhabitants satisfy an economically substantial part of their daily wants in the local markets, and to an essential extent by products which the local population and that of the immediate hinterland produced for sale in the market or acquired in other ways. In the meaning employed here "the city" is a market place (Weber, 1969: 24)

In the course of time, markets became more and more an essential element of the urban dimension, in which the requirements for efficiency, efficacy and the fulfilment of people's needs interlaced a set of uses, practices, rules and laws that did also influenced the physical structure of the market itself (Lemoine, 1982). This evolution was also reflected in the urban culture, boosting the identification of new solutions and tools in order to simplify and increment the wealth:

> La rivelazione della potenzialità di ricchezza che la messa in circolazione dei prodotti agricoli e dei manufatti era in grado di generare, suscitò lo spiegamento di una serie di dispositivi: il reperimento e l'inventario delle risorse del suolo mediante la cartografia, la formazione di un'infrastruttura di circolazione omogenea mediante una grigia di attrezzature, strettamente legate alla definizione della nuova politica urbana (Lemoine, 1982: 40).

Nevertheless, as Calabi affirmed, markets of the pre industrial cities "were never the result of a lucid, comprehensive political decision, or the will of a single thinker or a committee of technicians working according to an inflexible and rigorous logic" (Calabi, 2004: 37). To gain this inflexible logic within the urban development about market implementation, we need to reach the XVIII century. A new urban culture was implanted through the enlightened theories and put into practice in the urban planning development of the following century.

1.2 The emergence of covered market: towards a new urban culture

An impressive transformation of European cities was witnessed in the half of XVIII century: population growth, evolution in the productive process - from a rural economy to an industrial one -, technological innovations were all factors that contributed to the definition of the new industrial city.

The chain of changes that succeeded one another in XVIII century Europe had also a visible effect on the shape and organizations of markets. The existing system was breaking down as a result of different forces, which turned the marketplace into a battleground (Schmiechen and Carls, 1999). It was led to what Sidney and Beatrice Webb (1963) called the "devastating torrent of public nuisances", namely overcrowding, lack of sanitation and pollution.

From the late medieval times until well into the XVIII century, the public market has its own anarchistic way of dealing with problems of crowdedness and disorder: it invaded the surrounding streets with stalls and carts, spreading the market activities throughout the town. To make market confusion and congestion even worse, most working-class entertainment took place in the same space in which most marketing occurred. It also encouraged lower-class lawlessness. Stealing food and haggling over prices could easily turn into a mob activity, which could, as town officials knew too well, lead to a full-scale riot (very common from the end of the XVIII to the first decade of XIX century). The food riots were in many cases tolerated by official, but as the French revolution proved to the ruling classes, the uncontrolled mob could let to the destruction of a society (Rudé, 1970; 2005).

Moreover, also the quantity of products being brought to the market considerably increased, due to improvements in agriculture, regional transportation and international trade. Plus, without a proper space to store them, products were left in the street rotting under the sun or in the rain, smelling and spoiling.

Thus, there was a continual tension between centralization and decentralization of market activities: while on the one hand, the market was subject to decentralizing pressure as commercial and demographic growth pushed marketing activity outward from the town

centre, on the other hand, the market was being forced by law and tradition to remain in its centralized physical space. Markets were regulated on the principle of the Roman maxim "ubi est multitude, ibi esse rector" (where there is a crowd, someone should be responsible for its control); the need for governance over market activities, including tool collection, drew these activities toward the market centre (Schmiechen and Carls, 1999).

Beginning in the late XVIII century, problems like these were no longer accepted as unalterable. The change in attitude come about in part because urban growth had exacerbated the problem to a point where a solution simply had to be found, and in part from the ideas and new theories that were spreading in the new intellectual society. The newly developed bourgeois social sensibilities, which reflected the new "enlightened" attitude toward public space - clearly separated from the private space -, sought to make shopping a respectable activity.

The social space, according to Foucault (1994), had to be inspired by the Rousseau's notion of *transparency*, a social space visible and legible, that would banish dark areas, cradle for privileges or disorders. Markets were enclosed in order to free streets and squares form the congestion of buyers and seller, and in this *transparent* space:

> Human beings won't even be able to behave badly, because they will feel so bathed and immersed in an absolute field of visibility in which the opinion of others, the gaze of others, the discourse of others will prevent them from doing what is bad or injurious (Foucault, 1994, 3: 196).

The urban life should have been reshaped according to "rational" and "educated" middle-class models of respectability, social order and civic virtue: a proper arrangement of the public space could correct the human behaviours and, through the implementation of formal rules, teach people how to interact with each others in a better and safer city (Guàrdia and Oyón, 2015).

Therefore, the unenclosed and poorly regulated urban marketplace had come to be viewed by "respectable" residents as a place of disorder and chaos, and as a magnet for the worst elements of society. Separating the market from the street, the insularization of the market in a plot of land, was only the fist conceptual step towards the invention of the covered

market as an architectural type. The closed space would allowed the authorities to fence the enclosure, guard the space and differentiate the entrance of people and carriages, and control and classified the products brought to the market.

Decentralizing the market often become the problem rather that the solution, because it branched out more selling in the peripheral streets of the traditional market place. Moving the market was usually a way of transferred the problematic elsewhere, from one crowded space to another crowded space. Therefore, the solution to bring the commerce under one roof, enclosed in a building, perfectly organized and ordered, proved to be the most suitable.

In moving the market function beyond its primitive bargaining space to this new building type, municipal governments wrote also important chapters in the history of modern consumerism (Benson, 1993; Miles and Paddison, 1998) and of capitalist city:

> The reformation of the street into a circumscribed environment and the isolation of public markets were early victories for middle-class control in the struggle for urban spatial hegemony. In short, control of location became a characteristic of the capitalist city (Schmiechen and Carls, 1999: 21)

The covered market did not only emerge as a result of a new conception of public space but also connected with the idea of "facility", new form of "urban knowledge", modern town planning theories and development of municipal policies (Monclús, 1989; Morachiello and Teyssot, 1980; 1996).

City administrators started to ideate and implemented projects for constructing facilities, notably those intended for public provisioning. As Voltaire prophesied in *Le temple du* goût, referring to the city of Paris:

> [C]eux qui viendront après moy, feront ce que j'ai seulement imaginé. Alors le Royaume sera remply des Monuments de tout les beaux Arts […] Un jour, vous n'aurez plus de Temple gothiques. Les salles de vos Spectacles seront dignes des Ouvrages immortels qu'on y représente. De nouvelles places, et des Marchés publics […] décoreront Paris comme l'ancienne Rome. Les eaux seront distribués dans toutes les Maison comme à Londres; […] et annoncera aux Etrangers la gloire de la nation, le bonheur du Peuple, la Sagesse et le Goût de ses Conducteurs. (Voltaire, 1733: 94-

95).

The beautification works undertaken in some of the larger capitals in Europe, especially in France, granted a larger place for trade. While at the beginning aesthetic considerations and their symbolic staging were a priority, these slowly gave way to a greater concern for public welfare (Bailly and Laurent, 2015). New constructions and the development of a system of conveniences based on a network of abundant, safe and easy communications and on the homogeneous distribution of facilities was what Voltaire wished for Paris:

> Paris serait encore très incommode et très irrégulier quand cette place serait faite; il faut des marchés publics, des fontaines qui donnent en effet de l'eau, des carrefours réguliers, des salles de spectacle; il faut élargir les rues étroites et infectes, découvrir les monuments qu'on ne voit point, et en élever qu'on puisse voir. [...] Nous rougissons, avec raison, de voir les marchés publics établis dans les rues étroites, étaler la malpropreté, répandre l'infection, et causer des désordres continuels, [...] Il est temps que ceux qui sont à la tête de la plus opulente capitale de l'Europe la rendent la plus commode et la plus magnifique. (Voltaire, 1835)

The XVIII was the century of the revolutions (demographic, agricultural, industrial, commercial and political), and what before was perceived as an unavoidable destiny, became a problem that need to be solved. The enlightenment movement brought with it a proactive behaviour to deal with the urban problems and hope for a better future. The building activity started to be organized according to more social and economic criteria, instead of just technical ones, and all those newly acquired criteria became a vector of modernity in the cities (Carvais, 2005).

Daniel Defoe (1697) in his *Essay upon projects* - dedicated to the analysis of several projects for commerce spaces, bank, hospitals, etc. – defined his epoch as the "projecting age" par excellence:

> Necessity, which is allowed to be the mother of invention, has so violently agitated the wits of men at this time that it seems not at all improper, by way of distinction, to call it the Projecting Age. […] No injury to say the past ages have never come up to the degree of projecting and inventing, as it refers to matters of negotiation and methods of civil polity, which we see this age arrived to (Defoe, 1697).

Cities of the second half of the XVIII century were in desperate need for a complete reorganization, generating a new building hierarchy, which was gradually developed: churches, theatres, museums, schools, library, hospitals, bank, bridges and also markets, were constructed in harmony, according to the newer arrangements and to improve the quality of urban life ad the well-being of citizens. The usefulness had the priority on what is pleasant, but, still, urban facilities could (and should) contribute to the embellishment of the city (Laugier, 1753). As Donald J. Olsen (1986: 4) has argued about the renovated European capitals in the XIX century were "deliberate artistic creations intended not merely to give pleasure, but to contain ideas, inculcate values, and serve as a tangible expressions of systems of thought and morality". Even the most utilitarian structures were expected to reflect and reinforce certain values:

> Concorrenza e confronto, nuovi traffici e crescita demografica, rinnovamento delle attività produttive e crescente domanda degli spazi ed edifici specializzati, insieme al mutato rapporto tra sovrani e cittadini, tra capitali e loro Stati, allo sviluppo delle scienze mediche e alla nascita della "polizia" urbana, ai nuovi principi di economia politica e alle tensioni tra concezioni mercantilistiche e fisiocratiche, tra la condanna del lusso e il credo del progresso tra "controllo" e "felicità": tutto questo, alle soglie della rivoluzione industriale, impone alle grandi città, antiche o di nuova fondazione, la ricerca di un difficile equilibrio tra l'esibizione della propria individuale fortuna e l'esaltazione del loro "buon governo", tra le espansioni e la qualità del vivere, tra un'imprescindibile omologazione internazionale e una consapevole riflessione sulla propria storia. (Curcio, 2008: 78)

From the half of the century, intellectuals and technicians, especially in France, assumed the *urban question* as a constitutive part of the modern age's principles. Give an order to the chaos is translated in a set of minimum requirements for a liveable city, actualized through regulations and public infrastructures, which control and normalize the growing urban agglomerates in Europe.

It was also the time for the great urban competitions, such as the Parisian one, launched in 1748 for the design of a new squared in honour of Luis XV - today Place de la Concorde. The competing architects proposed different solutions and location, analysing the different sector of the French capital. Voltaire strongly criticized the winning project by Ange-Jaques

Gabriel, underlining that after its realization, the city of Paris would have narrow streets and noxious neighbourhoods, and still missing squares, fountains, markets (Voltaire, 1749). All the theories constructed in the XVIII century were fully encompassed in the XIX city, which assimilate those ideas and put them into practice to solve the unacceptable problematic of the city:

> Nel corso dell'Ottocento, ingegneri, tecnici e amministratori investono idee ed energie in modelli formali ed organizzazioni funzionali, che diventano costruzioni di fabbriche coperte mutate, attraverso l'uso di riferimenti precisi, da uno stato dell'arte europeo già in fase avanzata. Questi modelli si diffondono attraverso le relazioni tra i tecnici e le associazioni professionali, nel tentativo di mettere in comune un progetto sociale, ancora prima che architettonico (Nucifora and Urso, 2012: 71).

At the turn of the XIX century covered markets, like other utilitarian buildings, underwent notorious improvements both in their appearance and their surroundings, attained monumentality and took their place among the urban element that put towns on maps. By the end of century, the opening of covered markets had become a lay fest that even counterbalanced religious celebrations (Bailly and Laurent, 2015).

1.3 The evolution of the covered market model

The phenomenal urban growth and the urbanization process did not affect just European capitals like Paris and London. Also small towns increased the size because the newly acquired industrial, commercial and administrative functions. The United Kingdom underwent well in advance, between 1740 and 1800, trends that will be performed only in the second half of the century in the rest of Europe (Wrigley, 1967). And it's not coincidence that the first covered market model, the market hall, had its origins in the provincial towns of United Kingdom at the beginning of XIX century (Schmiechen and Carls, 1999).

The economic and social transformations provoked imbalances and inequalities in the fist decades of the XIX century, and the evolution in political theories and the public opinion

conceived these problematic as obstacles that can - and need - to be overcome. The urban dimension was integrated with development-based logic: a new way of conceiving the city, not as a motionless entity but as an evolving organism, which can measures, extended, transformed and fixed (Zucconi, 2001). The modern town planning was indeed developed when the quantitative effect of the XIX century urban transformations became evident and came into conflict. The town planning was conceived in order to find a remedy to cure the city and extending the potential benefits of the industrial revolution to all the classes (Benevolo, 1963: 7).

The program of transformations shaped the general structure of cities, making the urban elements, which in the past had an essential role for the urban life (such as churches, convents and city walls), obsoletes. Those physical ties with the old city were removed or modified, in order to make space for new modern facilities. This set of transformations changed the life of the majority of the population, altering the use of the land and the urban landscape itself. The entity of the phenomena were totally new – the crowd of the inhabitants, the number of the new houses, the capacity of industrial plants, the spreading of commercial buildings, the new network of transport, the number of vehicles in the streets – and the velocity of those transformation was unprecedented.

In the first phases of the industrial revolution, the majority of urban infrastructures (such as streets, canal, harbour and bridges) were realized by private initiatives and the State intervention was limited to a generic surveillance. Afterwards, through a set of institutional and administrative reforms, the State strategically planned and gave form to a system of public services, adequate to the needs of the emerging cities. New elements – theatre, museum, university, and market - stood out as urban catalysts and social aggregators, replacing the old strongholds. Hence, the architecture "diviene strumento non tanto di enfatica affermazione monumentale, quanto di omogeneizzazione del quadro urbano per l'affermazione degli ideali in tutta una classe sociale" (Bocchi, 1992: 31).

The municipalisation of services concerned also the economic sector and public hygiene, and in particular the trade-related functions acquired a notable importance in the dominant commercial culture. Stock exchange and commodity exchange satisfied the immaterial trade, while the covered markets, the warehouse and the arcades were the symbol of the

material and direct trade:

> Anche se il mercato tende a risolvere problemi tecnici, assume un valore che va al di là di del dato funzionale, diventando uno strumento di politica urbana teso a rendere la città conforme al modello sociale liberale. I mercati, in sostanza, diventano il perno di un'economia urbana che sostituirà quella informale e tradizionale, e permetterà l'ingresso de capitali privati e finanziari nel campo dove è possibile produrre utili (Nucifora and Urso, 2012: 71)

Identifying an established model could be difficult for some typology of buildings; the covered market, on the contrary, witnessed a clear and progressive standardization and diffusion of the model, which can be divided into different generations, with specific and identified characteristics (Guàrdia and Oyón, 2015).

The first generation started in the second half of the XVIII century, when the crowded and shaky collection of stalls was no longer acceptable and a renovation of market buildings was implemented: fully covered, enclosed, and clearly demarcated from surrounding streets and residences, as well as the interior stalls (Thompson, 1997). This generation was the golden age of British covered markets, which was the first nation to welcome this type of structure.

At this point, there were two distinctly different markets: traditional retail markets, where consumers dealt directly with producers/supplier and wholesale markets, where towns people were excluded by middlemen/dealers who struck deals with large and small scale farmers.

The latter was the trend of the city of London, for example, where public market went in the wholesale direction, leaving food retailing to street sellers or small shops, creating an impressive system of wholesale markets, many of which were genuinely innovative in architectural terms (such as the one designed by Charles Fowler around 1830). Markets were not conceived as neighbourhood or district facilities and they were not spread homogeneously around cities.

This tendency, in part, relied upon a specific urban geography and the positioning of social classes in the city: the London administration experienced a institutional fragmentation, lacking of efficient legal instruments which could enable a strategic set of investments and interventions for the city centre. The city centre underwent a process of deterioration and a

suburbanization of the leisure classes in search for better living conditions away from the chaos and congestion of the central neighbourhoods. The London élite, usually real estate owners and businessmen, was in charge of the promotion of the moral and economic progress of the local community, as well as the construction of the infrastructures:

> L'impianto delle infrastrutture e la loro gestione erano spesso collegate con un interesse diretto delle classi dirigenti, al fine sia di creare economie esterne e nuove opportunità industriali sia di defiscalizzare, quando non rispondevano a pressioni puramente speculative (Capuzzo, 1995: 91).

The power of the local administration was weak compared to the private initiative, and this was rather understandable in the institution of the *leasehold estate*, which was a very common building process in the UK, between XVIII and XIX century. The *leasehold estate* was an ownership of a temporary right to hold a property (from 21 to 99 years), established usually in the post-feudal period. The *lessee* - the tenant - was entitled to decide about the land use, or even to sell the estate in the open market, influencing the whole city development:

> Lo sviluppo urbano londinese è guidato quasi esclusivamente dai grandi proprietari terrieri privati, il che vincola più fortemente il disegno delle espansioni ai confini casuali delle proprietà terriere stesse e sottomette la strategia d'intervento urbanistico a interessi unicamente localistici del singolo proprietario, con scarse connessioni con lo sviluppo urbano complessivo (Bocchi, 1992: 53).

Many covered markets, especially in the city of London, were *leasehold estate* and they were mostly built to maximize the profit of the area, through the collection of fees. The construction of a network of markets, as an important modern facility, required a strong central government and a top-down intervention, as it happened in the French capital, which chose a different market, the retail one.

The other direction, the retail market, was taken by progressive minded provincial cities and also capital cities, like Paris, maintaining alive the idea that public markets were a public good – leading to a radical restructuring of the public market.

While the British towns established the first architectural model, French cities were equipped with a first network of covered markets. Even though retail markets erected in

France were not original as the British one, during the second half of the century the city of Paris model regained the lost ground. Paris was soon identified as the European capital par excellence. Confronting with the outstanding rhythm of urban growth and the ambitions of Napoleon III, the prefects of Paris were particularly sensitive to the problems of provisioning and markets and planned a coherent homogeneous system of markets. Four large free standing covered market were built: Saint-Martin, Saint-Germain, Saint-Jean and Les Carmes, in addition to Saint-Honoré, built in 1810, and to the wonderful cast-iron dome of the corn market, La Halle au Blé[1]–, built between 1802 and 1811. The ensemble of the Parisian markets was conceives as a system pivoted on the project for the central market of Les Halles.

The extraordinary techno-administrative skills of Eugène Haussmann, the Prefect of the Seine from the 1852 and 1870, and his group of officials made possible to reorganize Paris in order to give coherence and amplitude to the city (Tamborrino, 1995). The main task was to create a network of paths in order to link the city nodal points (stations, the Louvre, the Hôtel de ville, the Île de la Cité, the Sorbone) to the new functional strongholds of the capital city (the Opéra and Les Halles), through a homogeneous management technique combined with the evaluation of needs, distribution and construction of spaces (Teyssot, 1980). A remodelling of the city's functional structure, not limited anymore to circumscribed and privileged areas, but part of an administrative routine. The development of the city was a top-down intervention, where the private investments had to fit into the framework created by State:

> Il caso francese è quello in cui i controlli del centro sugli enti locali comprimono notevolmente l'autonomia municipale. La capacità di iniziativa della periferia è subordinata al livello di sintonia politica con il centro. La forte partitizzazione della politica locale, non esente da contrasti e difformità, favorisce questa forma di razionalizzazione verticale del rapporto centro/periferia […] (Capuzzo, 1992: 9-10).

[1] The Halle aux Blès was built based on the project of Lecamus and Mezieres. The huge circular market, covered in 1802 with the fist iron dome by Brunet, represents the beginning f a new era. The building maintained its importance among over the centuries, being incorporate in the project of the central market of Les Halles. In 1971, thanks to its magnificent architecture, the Halle aux Blès was spared from the demolition.

With the *grand travaux* and the construction of the central market of Les Halles (1850s), Paris became the protagonist of the second generation of markets. Even if the design phase had been numerous criticisms, once completed Les Halles successfully became the model for over twenty markets in Paris and 400 building in French provincial towns, from 1860s to the end of the century. This building not only made school in France, but it was taken as a model in many countries and the construction of metal markets spread rapidly in Europe and also America. Magazines English, French and German architecture contributed to the spread of new technical solutions for new markets (Tangires, 2003; Bailly and Laurent, 1998).

The combination between iron and glass, until then used to build bridges, industrial or railway structures, became the symbol of dynamism of the new city. The idea itself of the iron glass shell was identified as the symbolic object of the great international exhibitions. The *Crystal Palace* and the *Galerie des Machines* were built between 1850 and 1860, just during the boom of the diffusion of covered markets. The extended use of iron and glass, brought also an undeniable element of comfort and permitted the fulfilment of the principle of the "great umbrella", that liberated space: the association of metal and brick for walls and the huge glass surfaces for lanterns and windows, were fundamental technological innovations. It was not just a matter of realizing fast and inexpensive roofing for the market activities, but to offer also an appropriate image to the aspirations of the modern cities.

The British Market Hall

The British Market Hall was the first example of a new conception of covered market, a model that had spread all over Europe. Although London could be taken as an example for the most impressive market halls (Covent Garden, Spitalfields, Smithfield, Billingsgate, Borough and Leadenhall), the British market hall was first invented in provincial cities. The new concept was rapidly adopted nationwide, but it was primarily diffused in the British industrial areas - Midlands, Wales and Scotland (Smith, 1999).

The market hall building showed "at a glance that the building is a large hall to be

dedicated to the purpose of a market" (Schmiechen and Carls, 1999: IX), but with a renovated function. The new typology of building was the centrepiece of a major reorganization of urban space, the symbol of a new municipal architectural identity and a way to teach people of all classes a new world of retailing. It was the invention of a revolutionary age of political, economic and social changes in the urban dimension: it was designed to pursue the old concept of "moral economy", sustaining the idea of direct public access of food suppliers and increasing, at the same time, also the food consciousness of all classes (Tangires, 2015).

The British market hall represent one of the major Victorian architectural accomplishments and an example of the Victorian mode of planning, which was focused on specific urban amenities (such as railway station, bath, parks, new streets, etc.), rather than a comprehensive vision of the urban planning, as it happened in the XX century. Victorian used architecture largely to promote a set of rigid (and exploitative) moral and social codes, to impose order in the world (Scola and Scola, 1992).

If we consider the architecture of the public market in the framework of the Victorian principles, that architecture should be a reflection of social and moral belief:

> The buying and selling in everyday life assumed a new respectability and civic engagement, and the retail market hall introduces standardization of product and rationalization of commercial space, marketing and display - all in a controlled environment that sought to define consuming as a pleasurable pursuit (Schmiechen, 2015: 100).

The market as a public building thus offered a lesson in civic and moral virtue, urban dwellers learned to be consumers and to participate to a modern consumer society: "the public market hall stood for the Victorian notion that good buildings (and spaces) made for good people and good society" (Schmiechen, 2015: 74). Good building make good people and utilitarian building were not tolerated anymore.

Most of these markets reveal a link between the market hall and urban redevelopment, being often the centrepiece of urban renewal. The construction of the market hall usually led to a demolition of existing buildings or to a reconfiguration of the mobility. Usually accompanied by rearrangement of streets access or the construction of new street; the

design always tended to maximize the market access.

Architects produced a clean, protected space, preferably heated and with standardized stalls, refrigerated storage, lighting and they paid special attention to aesthetic amenities such as clock towers or indoor fountains (to signify the site's importance and confirm the idea of markets as public good). Fixed and marked pricing and printed advertising were introduced as a part of the modern selling practice, restricting the old practice of "crying of goods" by sellers. The most important public space in town, the essence of the urban life, created order out of chaos.

The middle-class recognized the important function of the market as a place where the insubordinate poor could be taught good morals, manners, and civic virtue, combined with a good food sense. All this would contribute to social stability and to healthy content labour force: "Municipal reformers, engineers and architect, as well as the urban economic-political elite were fairly unanimous promoting a new civil code" (Schmiechen, 2015: 77).

The Liverpool's enormous market hall, St John's Market (see *Figure 2*), built in 1820, was the first big breakthrough. The city architect presented a project for the largest building of its time in Britain: a fully enclosed and roofed market, lightened by 136 windows. It was build by brick, except the entrances (eight in total, three on each side and one at each end), cornice and foundation, which were composed of free stone.

Figure 2: Exterior and interior pictures of St. John's Market in Liverpool (www.antiquemapsandprints.com)

The interior of the market, supported by cat-iron pillars, was divided into five shopping avenue, with a central avenue more than 6 meters wide and outer avenue lined with 62 shops carefully organized into departments.

Variations on the giant hall at Liverpool were constructed with great public attention throughout Britain in the 1830s and 1840s: Brighton (1830), Bridgwater (1830), Birmingham (1835), Newcastle (1835), Aberdeen (1842), Birkenhead (1845), Blackburn (1848) and Doncaster (1849). As the chart in *Figure 3* shows, there was an outstanding hike in the spread of the model between the 1821 and the 1840.

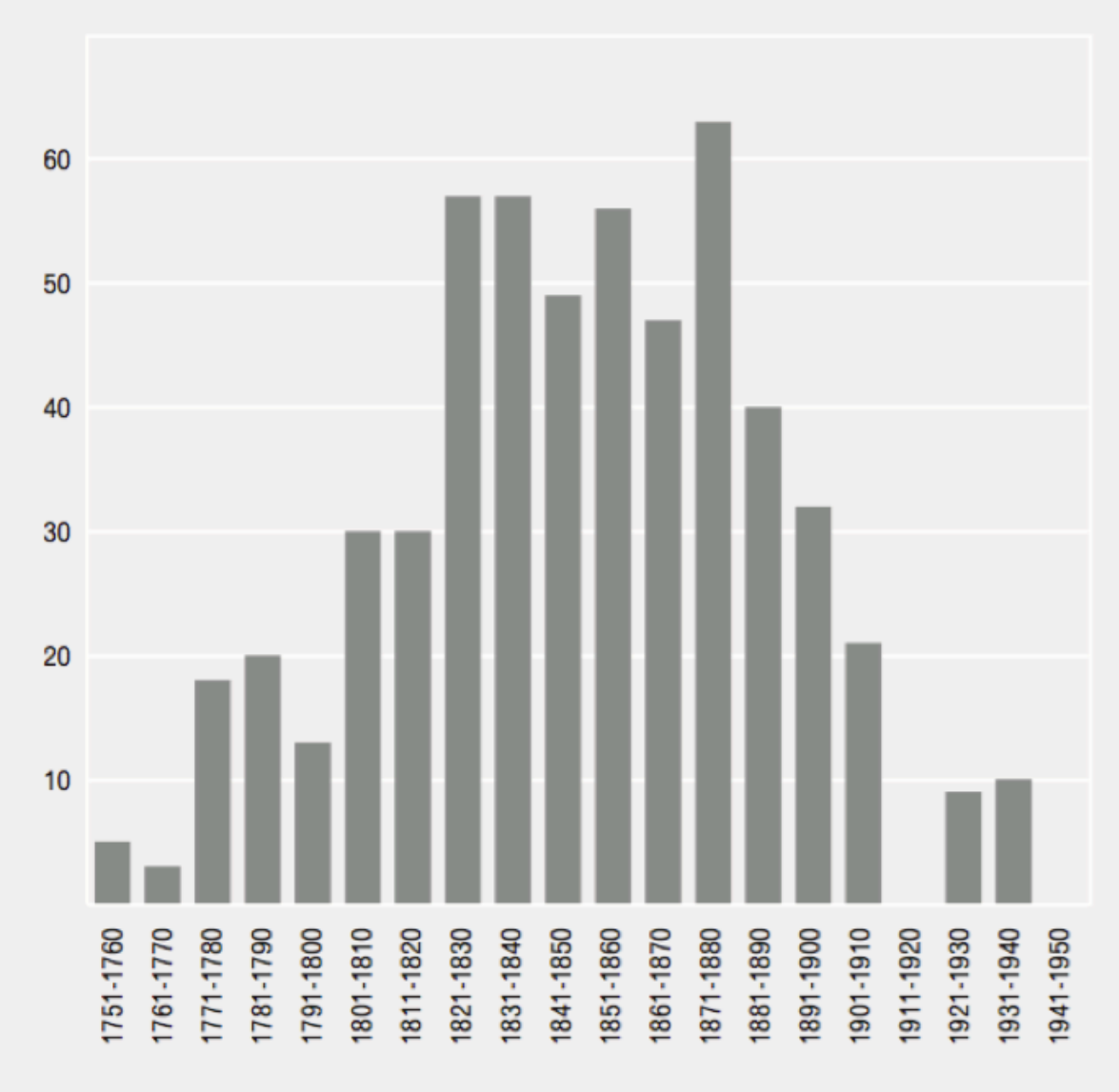

Figure 3: Graphic of the construction of market halls in United Kingdom, 1751-1950 (Guàrdia and Oyón, 2015)

According to Schmiechen and Carls (1999), who surveyed 480 new markets from 1801 and

1900, the XIX century was the golden age for British markets, with 81,2% out of the total number examined. Until the 1800 just 11% of markets were built (and almost all of them were traditional market houses of mixed use) and only 7,8% in the fist half of the XX century. The phenomenon of British markets, therefore, was almost exclusive of the XIX century, when the new type of large freestanding and completely covered market became consolidated and ready to be exported elsewhere.

During this period some of the most original markets from a constructional point of view were design and built: the most innovative structure was definitely the Birkenhead market built in 1845, the European largest market after St. John in Liverpool. The town's population experienced a dramatic growth, from 2569 to 8223 inhabitants in less than a decade, necessitating the creation of a new structure for the provisioning of food. The market was constructed by Fox, Handerson & Co. and the magnificent structure served as prototype for the London's Crystal Palace project, later undertaken by the same contractor (Morris, 1998).

The unconventional case of the city of London

The city of London is partially to be excluded: despite the presence of impressive market halls, the city government still relied on street market as an essential part or public retail. London was an anomaly in the British market scenario, with no tradition of a central marketplace. Nonetheless, new markets appeared during the population growth of the second half of the XVIII (*Figure 4*).

Although market continued to be created, other fell into desuetude and by 1840 London possessed just seventeen effective food markets, which was not a striking number compared with the population. The table in *Figure 4* is not definitive, but it clearly illustrates the fact that market numbers were not keeping up with the rising of the population. No huge central retail market emerged in London; neither any of them did dominate the retail scene as it happened for the Liverpool's St. John's.

Year	Population estim.	Numbers of retail markets			Population per market	
		City	Outside City	Total	Mean*	Average increase p.a.
1660	400 000	12	4	16	25 000	
1700	575 000	6	14	20	28 800	0.35%
1760	700 000	5	18	23	30 400	0.09%
1800	1 000 000	5	15	24	41 700	0.79%
1840	2 000 000	4	13	17	117 600	2.59%

* To nearest hundred.

Figure 4: London's retail market compared with London's population, c.1660-1840 (Smith, 1999: 52)

Lacking of a coherent and single government for the urban planning development, London's market distribution was largely shaped by entrepreneurial and commercial forces, which did not always reflect consumer preferences or produce efficient outcomes. In contrast to the retail situation, wholesale markets in London became firmly established, supporting the flourishing of covered markets in UK and the exportation of the architectonical model.

The XIX century London had six principal wholesale markets, many of them specialized – Covent Garden for fruit and vegetables, Spitafields, Smithfields for meat, Billingsgate for fish, Borough and Leadenhall. Considering together these markets had enough common denominators to be regarded as a type. Generally built by public authorities for rental trading or by businessmen in search for profits, they had a linear architectural project and essential embellishments (Thorne, 1980: 26).

All these markets were built within the city centre and its immediate periphery, what was in the past defined by the ring of the ancient city walls. London was the largest city in the world and its population was still growing, but with a limited unified and regulated infrastructure or government (Schmiechen, 2015: 83). Since the city markets were highly centralized, citizens mainly found their food supply from the multitude of open-air street markets.

Spitafields, Leadenhall and Borough originated as general retail markets, providing householders access to variety of foodstuff, household products and clothing. Over the time these markets became increasingly specialized so that by 1800 they had become single-

product markets, catering wholesale to middle man buyers.

The story of Spitalfield's market hall shows the paradoxical state of food distribution in London: excellent market facilities for wholesalers but limited or no access at all for the general public. Spitalfields was located just outside the City, in a poor neighbourhood of artisans' weavers and Jewish immigrants. Privately owed by a silk weaver, it evolved into a market specialized in potatoes - the principal food of the residents' dietary - and it was a collection of wooden stalls and a retail market that spread into the streets. With a new market hall and a new private owner in 1876 (bought afterwards by the Corporation of London in 1902), it became a giant wholesale market covering an area of more than two acres. Still, public market access continued through unregulated street markets, especially in Petticoat Lane market.

In the meantime, a plan was developed to meet the demand of the increased working-class residents. In 1860, by the architect Henry Darbishire, the new Columbia Market was erected; it embodied the Victorian belief that public market hall would improve the people's diet, as well as the use of visual language for the interior decorations. The market would provide a good and fresh food at a fair price, in an architectural format that would teach a good market behaviour and manner, defending the poor from dishonest traders. But the market did not attract any buyers or sellers, because competing with the low price of street markets, which did not have to charge tools in the goods sold. The Columbia market was another victim of a dysfunctional public market system, which was not conceived as a system as a whole, failing to meet the higher public market standards being set elsewhere in the nation.

The Smithfield market evolved during the centuries as London's principal open-air meat market. In the end XVIII and early XIX century reached impressive amount of live animals sold, providing meat for more than two million Londoners and becoming the principal distribution point for meat. As the sales volume grew, the number of animals being brought into the market from around the country was causing mayhem in the area and encroaching on the nearby streets and houses with unsanitary butchering and slaughterhouses.

In 1852 the Smithfield Market Removal Act was passed, relocating the livestock market to

a new open site north of Islington, specialized in cut meat and built a "new Smithfield" wholesale dead meat market hall for the butchers on the old market site.

Work for the new market began in 1866 and the city architect Sir Horace Jones completed the whole project in two years. It was an enormous Italian renaissance-style structure, made of iron, stone and glass, full of light and air. It consisted in two main buildings linked under a great roof and separated by a central arcade and it was the world's largest and most modern market. It even had an underground area where meat could be unloaded from the train, thus all the movement of animals was made through the railway. At the end of the XIX century Smithfield expanded to include five separate building to include poultry, fruit, vegetables and fish (all for the wholesale trade).

Another important market in the city of London was Covent Garden, much known to the public also for its recent redevelopment (in the 1970s). The story of Covent Garden is also exemplary: it was one of the most important wholesale market in Europe and also one of the biggest failure to protect food access for its citizens to their most important city marketplace.

The market was established as a small public market, privately owned by the Earl of Bedford. As one of the largest open space in London, it was prime for expansion as London's population increased. The supply of the market products grew, together with the buyers and sellers who access the market with carts full of fruits and vegetables. It became an overcrowded space, filling the surrounding streets with muddle of carts, baskets and awnings, as much in need of renewed control as its neighbourhood.

From 1828 to 1830 the old structure was replaced with a huge and partially covered market hall designed by Charles Fowler, one of the most important market designer of the time. In his project, Fowler had encompassed the varied functions of the market, meeting the needs of producers and buyers, and demands of wholesales and retail salesmen for more permanent stall accommodation. Fowler based his design on fundamental principles, respected the function of the building had to serve and used the most suitable materials to create "a structure at once perfectly fitted for its various uses; of great architectural beauty and elegance; and so expressive of the purposes for which it is erected, that it cannot by any possibility be mistaken for any thing else that what it is" (Thorne, 1980: 24).

With the new design, the popularity of Covent Garden grew and by the early XX century the market had become the largest fruit and vegetables market in Europe, a combination of five distinct markets. Nonetheless, it was open only to wholesale buyers, leaving householders and urban dwellers outside the market waiting until the products reached them by way of street sellers or shopkeepers. The City's failure to protect the public's direct access to the market meant that Covent Garden was a giant wholesale market in the middle of the world's largest concentration of people who were left out of the market (Schmiechen, 2015: 96).

Les Halles of Paris

The history of Les Halles in Paris lasted almost a thousand years, going beyond all sort of events that Paris experienced among centuries. The Halles has been a market area since the Middle Ages, the earliest marketplace in the whole France, and it maintained the same function continuously since its settlement (Evenson, 1973: 209), evolving over time into a bigger market:

> […] the *halle* became so large that the name began to be used in the plural (*halles*), describing the many other buildings that had been added […] Anything could be brought to *Les Halles*. […] There was, in short, 'an inexhaustible source of everything, which endlessly flooded all the neighbourhoods and other markets of Paris'. (Calabi, 2004: 155-156)

After centuries of various reforms and improvement (such as the construction of a new ring-shaped gallery, the H*alle au Blê*, which will be spared from demolition), in the XVIII century, the central position of the market, the collection of goods and buyers, and the narrowness of the surrounding streets, produce sever problems of circulations and congestion:

> Practically at the center of the city, at the side of the Cimetière des Innocents, there is a square surrounded by arcades. It is called the Halles […]. One perceives such confusion

> there, one hears a noise infernal enough to move one to pity. The houses, the storage spaces are dark […]. People bring a great deal of stolen goods there, they pawn their own belongings to the shopkeepers. They [the pawnbrokers] lend money for as long as you like in exchange for exorbitant interest. (Platter, 1896: 198)

Furthermore, population growth during the first half of the century, popular insurrections of the early 1830s and the first epidemic disease of cholera in 1832 urged a renovation project. The market was indeed identifies as a centre of riots and a breeding ground for disease. As a member of the municipal council affirmed:

> The Halls quarter, unhealthy, badly built and crowded, is of a repulsive appearance. No other point of Paris requires improvement with such urgency, under the triple goal of improving public health, beautification and public security. (Thompson, 1997: 88)

The office of public works under Napoleon I already addressed the issue of the system of Parisian public markets as an essential part of the urban agenda. Even though many ambition plans and projects were researched and analysed for the central market, none of these were implemented at the end (Lemoine, 2015). Instead, some covered markets, both wholesale and retail, were built in the several neighbourhoods of the city, with a simple a timber-frame structure and with a simple architecture. Among the markets built during this period there are Marché Saint-Honoré, Marché Saint-Martin, Marché Saint-Germain and Marché des Carmes. In 1811, Napoleon III expressed the desire to build a large and more functional central market, with the aim to transform it into the people's Louvre. Moreover, It was the Emperor's belief that the provision of food could be an effective form of government, capable of influence the happiness and wellbeing of people. Therefore, together with the prefect of the Seine Haussmann, Napoleon III attempt to create a more splendid, hygienic and more secure Paris: between the 1850s and 1860s old neighbourhoods were demolished and replaced with boulevards, parks, open squares and new centres for leisure and commerce (Thomson, 1997: 87). Also the construction of the magnificent covered market of Les Halles fell into this city plan.

Even if the renovation of Les Halles was integrated in the beautification of Paris, it was not reformed merely for this reason. It was a matter of establishing new structures and facilities

for a market and economic motives were fundamental as well; the market did in fact come back to life after the renovation (Calabi, 2004). As the Victorian belief, the new physical environment would encourage adherence to a new moral code and rouse the moralization of merchants.

The architect Victor Baltard, together with Félix Callet, was officially appointed architects of Les Halles in 1845, but it took more than a decade to submit the final project. The different draft proposals attempted to integrate a stonewall building with large exterior windows and a light roof supported by cast-iron columns, allowing for a big open space in the middle. In the same year Baltard visited England, the Low Conutries and Germany; particularly attention was given to the English markets and their architectural design and innovations. After his travel, he submitted the first project and the demolition of the nearby buildings started (Mead, 2012).

The combination was elegant and light, conveying well the idea of the "umbrella". The use of the iron for the construction was a solution to maximum exploits the ground level and as a protection against fire and mould. Moreover, the Great Exhibition of London in 1851 with the Crystal Palace, the designs of railways station and greenhouse had demonstrated the potential of use of new technological resources and materials in the field of construction, convincing Baltart for an entirely metal structure to built the pavilions (Baltard and Callet, 1863).

Between 1852 and 1870 (and in 1936 in the case of the last ones), Les Halles was built. The final project (see *Figure 5* and *6*) was composed by twelve pavilions of iron and glass, grouped in two bodies and separated by a large road running from north to south. Inside, cast iron columns spaced a 6 meters hallway, which divided the sale space, and sustain the roof lantern.

Each pavilion was assigned to a particular type of ware, relocating the goods in their former area, both for topographical and traditional reasons. The dimension of the stalls varied: two meters for two, and one meters bigger for the butchers' shops (Lemoine, 2015). Haussmann was the first to commend Baltard's merit:

> In his use of iron […] Baltard has proven building skills that surpass the credit […] of

> having designed this great project. With the aid of a fortunate combination of very simple elements repeated indefinitely, he has been able to give the monument as a whole a most effective sense of unity. (Haussmann, 2000: 478).

Figure 5: Rendering of Baltard's project of Les Halles, 1863 (Lemoine, 1982)

And also Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, one of the most eminent French architects of that time, stated:

> If all our monuments were raised with such absolute respect for the needs and habits of the population, if they clearly indicated the materials for their construction, they would have a character proper to our times, and furthermore we would consider them beautiful and comprehensible forms of art. […] Perhaps thought was not given to making it a work of art, so perhaps it would be best if no one had that intention: this would perhaps be the quickest way to provide ourselves with works of art, expressions of our civilisation. (Viollet-le-Duc, 1977: 323).

Les Halles acquired the status of a work of art and it became soon one of the most admired monuments, a compulsory visit in Paris. Every touristic guidebook contained a chapter about Les Halles; every newspaper commented enthusiastically the new market. According to the Journalist Maxime DuCamp, quoted by Thompson (1997):

> The change [in the halles] has been profound and so radical that nothing had left of the

> past. The pillars, those famous pillars of the Halles of which so much has heretofore been said, have disappeared, the criss-cross passages, dirty, unhealthy, by which one arrived with difficulty on the square, have given way to large passageways, airy and commodious, those cabarets which, at midnight, opened their doors to the entire vagabond population of the big city have been uprooted and moved outside the limits of Paris, in modifying this area, in stripping it, it has been moralized. (Thompson, 1997: 87-88).

Figure 6: Interior of the Les Halles, 1853 (http://www.paris-architecture.info/PA-071.htm)

The new Les Halles were now unquestionably the economic fulcrum of the entire city and it succeeded also to impose a strict order in the neighbourhood, differentiating between the public and the private area of the area, as well as in every aspect of market life, from standards for weights and measures to the status of paid assistant, was clarified, controlled and categorized. The "civilizing mission" undertaken by the city in regard to the Halles was generally agreed to have been a success. It also change the character and the population of the neighbourhood, giving it a much more "bourgeois" tone, accompanied with a gentrification process, from primarily working class residents to "commercial and well-off"

(Thompson, 1997: 107). Les Halles required a century and a half for its construction (in 1935 were built the last two pavilions) and it lasted only twenty years in its definitive form (*Figure 7*).

Figure 7: Air vision of Les Halles final project (http://www.paris-unplugged.fr/1852-les-halles-de-baltard/)

As well as the other covered markets of Paris, it started a slow but continuous decline. Furthermore, the central location of Les Halles produced increasingly difficult traffic problems and it was to be expected that sooner or later the market might be moves to a less congested site.

The council of Paris planned to demolish the market pavilion to facilitate the construction of the subterranean station complex, transforming Les Halles in the major central interchange for public rail transport. Plus, there would be introduced several social and civic facilities, and a new open space.

A protest group started to resist the proposed relocation of the market. Their concerns focused on the alteration of the social and physical character of the district, the destruction

of Baltard's magnificent pavilions and the nature itself of the proposed rebuilding site.
The 2nd of March 1969 was the last market day, and the market began moving to its new location in Rungis. The council did not attempt an immediate demolition of the pavilions, and the market building spontaneously became site for art exhibition, cinema, theatre, concerts, etc. Therefore, the council began to contemplate the idea to create a new cultural centre in the Halles district, in line with its new identity: "the muscular proletarian aura of Les Halles began to be transformed by an influx of antique dealers, interior decorators, discotheques, fashionable boutiques, bars and shop selling art books" (Evenson, 1973: 312).
Despite the numerous protest and the alternative proposals for the renewed area (which did not solve the principal concern of the council, that was where to locate the underground station), demolition started in August 1971 (*Figure 8*).

Figure 8: Demolition of Les Halles in 1971 (Screenshot of the movie "Non toccare la donna bianca" by Marco Ferreri)

As the journalist André Fermigier forcefully condemned in his article, the "Les Halles' affair" became an international scandal, example of the behave of the City of Paris to maximize profits to the detriment of the urban character and inhabitants wellbeing:

> Il y avait un Paris auquel chacun était attaché et autour duquel aurait pu naître une autre ville, humaine, accueillante, tolérable sur le plan social et urbanistique. Le moins que l'on puisse dire est que le Paris moderne, le Paris du second XX siècle a été manqué, minablement raté […] Paris ressemble de plus en plus à une capitale de pays sous-développé hérissée de symboles capitalistes et de pauvres contrefaçons d'une architecture qui a son sens à New York mais qui est ici l'architecture du mensonge (Fermigier, 1971).

For many the destruction of the market of Les Halles was symbolic of the destruction of Paris itself.

1.4 A contemporary role for covered markets: the case of the city of Barcelona.

In the main European countries the erosion of the market system of the XIX century was slow and progressive. The circumstances of the decay were certainly different in each country, but the results were quite similar. The World Wars caused the destruction, lack of maintenance and subsequent demolition of many of the covered structures, accelerating the decline of markets' structures. Moreover, the supermarket revolution and the pre-packaged products helped make the traditional market an anachronistic option, compared with the modern retail facilities. Public funds were less able to meet the need of renovations and open-air markets took over the majestic structures, because they were more flexible and did not need large investments.

Since the late XVIII century the government in Spain had the control over the public market buildings, land and management of the organizational infrastructures. In terms of construction of a market system Barcelona was certainly a latecomer, however markets maintained over the course of the centuries a central role in the urban fabric and continued provide an important service to the inhabitants. Within this context, the city government had continued to support and safeguard this local form of food distribution, while enabling and promoting its integration into the larger global society (Hernandez, 2012). The 43 markets which constitute the Barcelona public market system are an amazing and unique

examples of web of infrastructures that combining traditional and contemporary methods of distributing and selling food, have been considered as a fundamental tool of governability (Guàrdia and Oyón, 2010).

During the 1950s and 1960s, when other countries were abandoning the old covered markets and replacing them with new retail formats, Barcelona built a new generation of markets, preserving almost its entirety covered markets heritage. Paris, which was the reference model, today has only 11 covered markets up to 78; Madrid has 51 covered markets for a municipal area of 607 sq. km. Barcelona has 40 markets spread in 92 sq. km, all covered and open 47 hours per week (close only on Sunday).

Barcelona's case illustrates how the municipal network of covered markets is the result of a clear planning process, strongly determined by local conditions and transformations. The geometric homogeneity of the market system, initially proposed by Cerdà, was the expression of shared expectations and ambitions of the municipality of Barcelona. The actual construction of the various markets had to overcome many obstacles and was heavily marked, especially in its early stages, by local particularities and various circumstances. The process of integration, coordination and management gradually evolved, till the creation of the Municipal Institute of Markets of Barcelona responsible for the direct management and administration of municipal markets, which was the start of a new and innovative phase in the history. Barcelona is now considered the contemporary reference for the network of public markets, being able to create, brand and export a model, the Barcelona Market Model. This model focuses on the importance of markets remodel as a response to the challenges of the contemporary cities, fostering its relationship with the citizens and the international connections. The Institute of Municipal Market has been able to fully support the city of Barcelona though the nourishment of the markets, exporting at the same time their successes in way that helps to create recognition for market system around the world. While creating an image and model for export, Barcelona is ensuring its own sovereignty.

By examining the case of Barcelona, it is possible to fully comprehend the far-reaching influence that markets have non only on the Catalan city and its citizens, but also on the European debate about innovative strategies for the revitalization of traditional markets.

The dawning of municipal market system, 1834-1897

Urban markets are an historical legacy of the medieval Barcelona, but only the end of the *ancient regime* induced a change in the cultural and functional perception of markets, linking them with the emerging category of urban facility. The later fall of the *ancient regime* in Spain delayed the building of a market system, which had been implemented in France since the half of the XIX century.

The mercantile activity was liberalized in 1834 and permissions were granted to trade all the "*comer, beber y arder*" (except bread). The municipalities maintained and reinforced the control over the provisioning of goods. Moreover, from 1836 the secularization of the ecclesiastical assets, offered a chance to plan, develop and modernize the city, incorporating new facilities, including public markets.

The re-zoning process of Barcelona started with two markets, St. Josep and Santa Caterina, both built on lands owed by convents. The main purpose of the new buildings was to decongest the surrounding streets and squares invaded by open-air market activities (Domènech, 1990). The new market of Sant Josef at Las Ramblas accommodated the former market de La Boqueria. It was erected in a central neighbourhood that recently acquired a middle-class character and it was designed as a square flaked by porticos and ionic columns. The Santa Caterina market, situated in a working-class neighbourhood, humbly reinterpreted the Saint-Germain market in Paris (1813-17), market models of the end of XVIII century and very beginning of the XIX century. The slowness of the markets' construction - works for the Santa Caterina market started more that ten years after its design project, in 1848 – made the buildings appearance anachronistic for the second half of the XIX century.

The market was not only a utilitarian facility that responded to the new demands and social imperatives of public hygiene and comfort, but also a highly significant monument for industrial cities (Castañer, 1994). The construction of new markets responded to the new sociological and urban development needs, the ambition and the dynamism of modernizing municipal policies:

> Aquest exemples [referring to the newly constructed markets of Sant Josef and Santa Caterina] deurien contribuir al canvi decisiu en la manera de mirar i d'entendre els mercats. Més enllà dels mercats com una herència de la ciutat tradicional, s'anava imposant la noció dels mercats com equipaments, en una visó que en aquells temps ja es veu àmpliament compartida (Guàrdia and Oyón, 2007: 2).

The logic of a homogeneous distribution of covered markets was implicit in the design of the urban extension of Barcelona, reflected also in the rules of the competition announced in 1859 for the enlargement of the city: markets should have been built in proportion to the population of each areas into which the city will be divided. This logic inspired the plan proposed by Ildefonso Cerdà, envisaging a system of twelve public markets uniformly allocated in the different neighbourhoods - pivoting on El Born central market and following the Parisian market-facility model (Cerdà, 1985; Guardia et al., 2010). The key of the success of this model it was that it built district markers, but also that the location chosen for the contraction were areas with medium and high population densities. Therefore, a high number of inhabitants gravitated in the markets, making them economically profitable and the fulcrum of the social life the city. The instability of public funds didn't enable the implementation a program comparable to the French model, "Són anys, doncs, en els que hi havia una gran distància entre el sentiment d'urgència modernitzadora i les limitacions i parsimònia dels progressos reals" (Guàrdia and Oyón, 2007: 2). Still, municipal markets were in fact one of the few public services offered to citizen in a period characterized by lack of municipal facilities.

Markets in Barcelona, before the revolution of the 1868, evolved from a relatively dispersed system (numerous markets with small sales volume) to a rudimentary hierarchical system, where few markets were used by larger segment of population, rapidly increasing in size and capacity. The municipality was extremely critical about the inefficiency of this market spaces that caused great congestion and produced severely unsanitary conditions in a city with steady growing population. Obviously, this nascent market system still suffered from serious shortcomings. The surrounding of markets did not show the characteristics of isolation from the surrounding vehicular traffic, preservation of a covered pedestrian space, well-lightened, tidy and hygienic, typical characteristics of the modern architecture of the

"iron umbrella". Some of the projects and proposals of those years proved the distance between the expectations of modernity and the resistance of the reality, translated into severe budgetary constraints. It is the case of projects for El Born (1848) and El Pedró (1861) by Daniel and Molina, for La Boqueria (1865) by Miguel de Bergue and the project for Barceloneta (1868) by Garriga and Roca. It is significant that the project for the Barceloneta market was submitted by the architect Garriga immediately after his return from Paris, where he was appointed to study the Great Exhibition and visit other French cities (Guàrdia and Oyón, 2007).

The revolution of 1868 favoured the development and concretization of the program for the implementation of the public market system: a new disentailment, allowed the enlargement of the St Josef market and in 1871 a commission issued a report on the planning of the all city's markets. The importance of Santa Caterina and Sant Josep was reaffirmed and complemented with a consistent network of markets. The 1871 proposal can be identified as the starting point for the modern market system of Barcelona (Fava et al., 2009).

The first two metal markets – Born (1876) and Sant Antoni (1882) – were designed according to the iron and glass European models, monumental and innovative, with open spaces, protected elements and clear separation from the street. These markets responded to three basic characteristics required by the municipality administration - comfort for the citizens, hygiene of the installation and monumentality of buildings combined with the simplicity required by the utilitarian architecture (Castañer, 1994).

The period between the 1884 and 1900 saw the construction of numerous iron markets, which padded out the network: Barceloneta (1884), Hostafrancs (1888) and Conceptió (1888). Markets were built also in the surrounding municipalities, integrated into the market system of the enlarged municipality of Barcelona in 1897: Llibertat (1888), Clot (1889), Unió (1889), and Abaceria Central de Gràcia (1892).

The value of the fixed capital of the new structures built in the municipality of Barcelona exceeded the 3 million pesetas in 1900, 26 times the value of modest buildings more or less stable markets of Santa Caterina, Sant Josep and El Ninot (Guàrdia and Oyón, 2007).

The unity of the newly formed system of neighbourhood markets could also be detected in

the gradual structuring and standardization of a municipal administrative body (staff directors, un-loaders, security guards, counted more than 150 employees at the beginning of the twentieth century), the progressive creation and adoption of the 1898 regulation. Moreover, while other infrastructures were subcontracted to foreign companies – such as the Spanish railway - the construction of the metal structures in this period was designed and built by the most important metalwork factory of Barcelona, *Maquinista Terrestre y Marítima* (Torras and Vilanova, 2011).

Towards a policy for markets, 1897-1975

The conception of a system of markets in Barcelona was rudimentary. And following the integration of the municipalities to the city of Barcelona, the enlarged market network solicited a new administration and integrated management. The impressive dimensions of the newly built covered markets (Sant Antoni and Born) were excessive compared with the real revenues of the markets, and the congestion of Sant Josep and Santa Caterina was limitless. According to the 1902 yearbook (*Figure 9*), the market of Sant Josep produced the 40% of the total income of the taxes paid by vendors; the second one was Santa Caterina with the 12,5%. The high income of the two markets was indeed accompanied with a deterioration of the physical structures, which needed to be restructured.

Considering the partial failure in decongesting old markets through the creation of new and bigger ones, the market commission decided to head for neighbourhood markets, abandoning future projects for colossal constructions; a change of strategy to balance the income, the size and the flow of people. Besides, in 1921 the market of El Born was transformed into a wholesale central market, in order to absorb all the buying and selling of fruits and vegetables which invaded the entire neighbourhood, and to fully exploit the dimension of the building. Moreover, the choice was obvious in view of the municipality's financial limitations (Fava et al., 2010). Moreover, the location of the market was excellent, from logistical standpoint: it was situated between the railway stations (Estació de França and Estació del Nord), close to the port and with easy connection to the Morrot terminal

and with easy access for carts and automobiles.

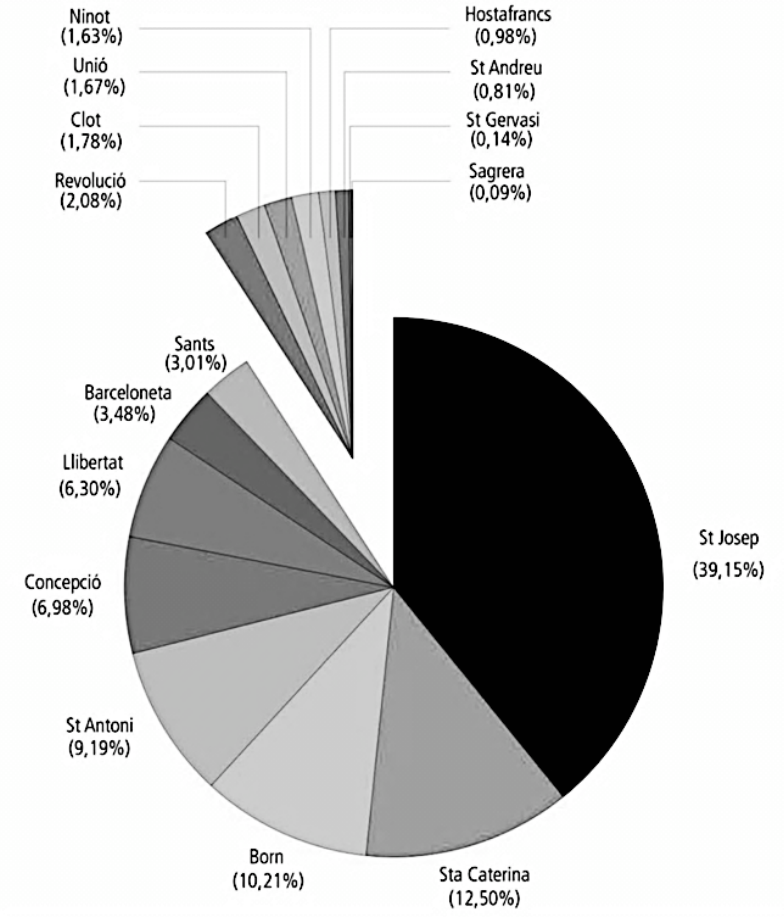

Figure 9: Revenues from the markets of Barcelona in 1902 (Anuario Estadistico de Barcelona, 1902)

While Barcelona was consolidating the market system, in the beginning of the XX century market buildings in Europe started a slow but steady decline, especially in the pioneering countries that had established innovative models, such as United Kingdom. After 1890 and especially after the II World War, the construction of markets dropped considerably, mainly due to a revolution in the food supply and distribution channels. Barcelona stood out as a counter-tendency: the market network kept functioning and it was strengthened with a further expansion and modernization: from 18 in 1940 to 40 market buildings in 1970, with a peak during the 60s (see the chart in *Figure 10*).

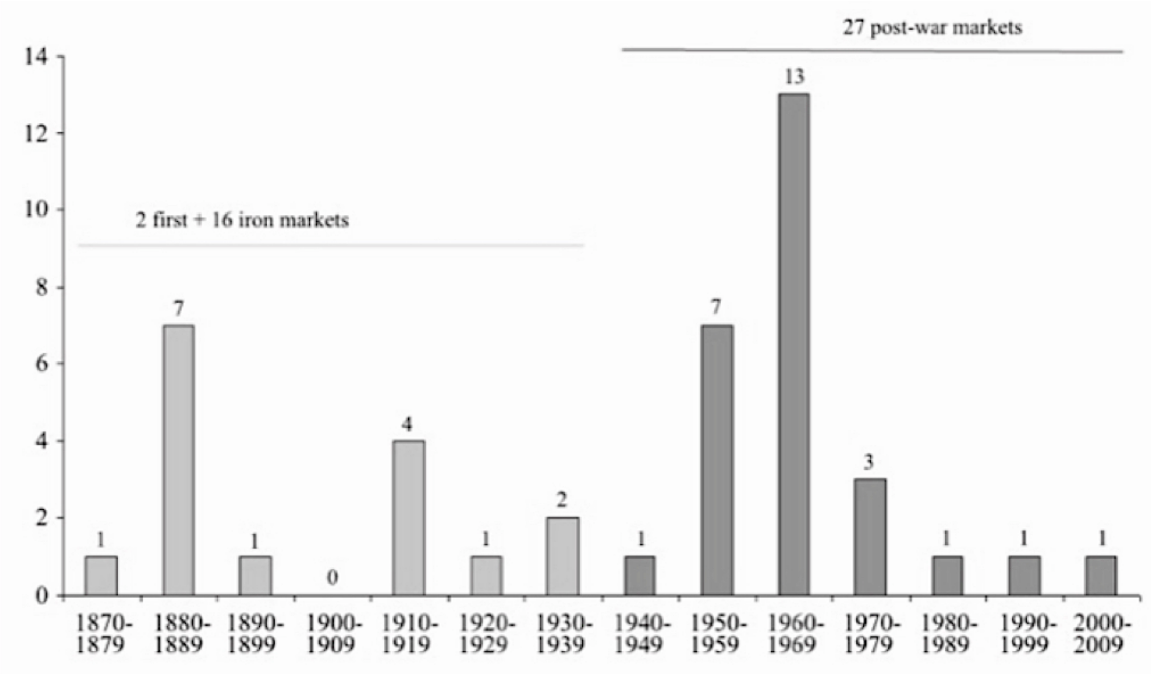

Figure 10: Markets of Barcelona constructed by decade (Fava et al., 2010:7)

Markets were still the objects of the commitment of the municipality even during the Civil War (1936-39); they had been used as an instrument to solve the severe subsistence problematic and the disorganization of the retail commerce in the city. For example, in wartime, the traders associations tried to compensate the disorganization and the lack of points of sale homogeneously spread in the city, organizing *mercadillos* (street markets) with the pervious authorization of the municipality. Learning from the experience, from the 1942 the municipality substituted the *mercadillos* with covered structures: Sagrada Familia, Senyora del Carme, Vallvidrera and Guinardó.

Even during the so-called Autarchy period (1939-1959), when the city experienced the most depressive and interventionist phase of the dictatorship, markets were an important part of the urban agenda.

The gradual liberalization of the economy and the *desarrollismo* during the 60s didn't hinder the development and expansion of the market system, which grew significantly in Barcelona to serve the districts, which had arisen with immigration. Between 1950 and 1979, 23 new markets were built in the city, in order to complete the network, equipping all the neighbourhoods and the inhabitants with a market at least in 1 km radios (*Figure 11*).

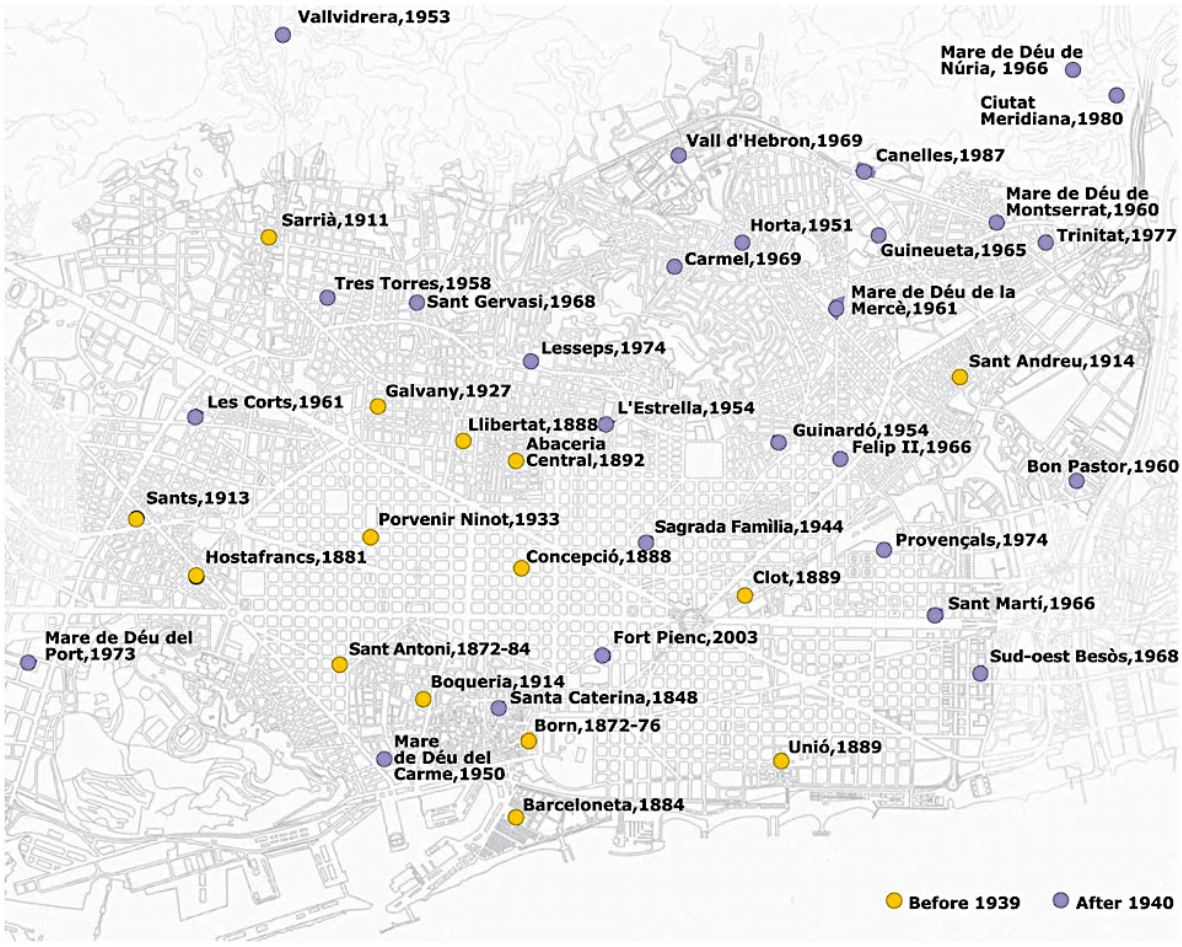

Figure 11: Location and construction years of Barcelona's markets (Fava et al., 2010: 6)

The increase in the market construction was also due to the fact that in 1956 a municipal regulation - *Regolamento del Service de Mercados Particulares* - entailed a private participation in the construction and management of markets (reverting to the City Council in a pre-established time). Unlike many European cities, the Barcelona market system was exclusively council-run, with no private intervention, but in order to boost the rate of market construction the municipality had to allow private initiatives (Fava and Guardia, 2009).

In 1962 the municipality announced a competition for the construction and the management of a new wholesale market, which could solve inertial problems of the commercial structures and make more efficient the distribution model for the enlarged

market network, which had important effect on the cost of living. Non-without difficulties, in 1971 the new central market of Barcelona, the Mercabarna, was inaugurated. From a logistical point of view, Mercabarna was and still is located in a strategic position, which facilitates the arrival and dispatch of goods by land, sea and air. Still, the construction of the Mercabarna didn't avoid a crisis in the public market sector, which arrive together with the economic and political crisis of the 1970s (Londoño, 2011).

The crisis of the 70s provoked a standstill in the urban growth and a considerable increase of the cost of living, and a consequent market system's deprivation of all significance in the city council's discussions. Municipal records of the 1975 clearly stated the growing difficulties in completing the network with peripheral markets: many calls for tenders had no response, such as the one for La Trinitat market, because the investment was not profitable for the contractor. Still, for the markets themselves, nothing much changed and the considerable share of the overall market share could still be observed in 1983. The cycle came here to an end: 40 markets, homogeneously distributed in Barcelona's small municipal territory of 92 sq. km.

Crisis and revitalization, 1975-2015

Despite the modernization process was already taking place, the Spanish retailing sector was still at a traditional stage. While in other European countries the fight against high prices was undertook placing trust in the great distribution chains, in Spain the diffusion of shopping centres was delayed until the period 1984-1996 (Arribas and Van de Ven, 2003; Green et al., 1998).

There is currently no doubt that the raise of large commercial areas in the periphery of large cities, has weakened the traditional commerce that originally gave life to the urban centres. Central governments tried to intervene in defence of small businesses in crises, with various policy measures. For example, in order to regulate and limit the installation of new commercial centres and supermarkets - which easily spread as a consequent to the policy of containing prices - in France, since the 1973, the restrictive Royer Law tried to avoid the

disappearance of small companies and commercial facilities. During the 80s, the rapid expansion of the new retail centres conceded with the adoption of the restrictive model of French retail planning - urbanism commercial - by the Spanish administration. The law of 1987 was, in many aspects, similar to the Royer Law (Fava and Guardia, 2009; Green et al., 1998).

Regarding the trade and sale of food products, they become the primary response to unemployment during the 70s' crisis. As a result, a decade later, the proliferation of dispersed units saturated the sector and the market, and, incapable of adapting to this disproportioned growth, it reached the inefficiency point (Guàrdia, Fava and Oyón, 2010). Paradoxically, the increased offer was also accompanied with a rise in prices, because these establishments in order to be sustainable needed high sales margins. In addition, covered markets were characterized by an excessive number of operators with scarce preparation, business instability, inadequate physical structures with a poor mix of activities and a lack of merchandising and promotion strategies (Juan, 1993).

Covered markets in Barcelona regained their lost importance in the second half of the 1980s, even if not formerly considered in the city planning policy: the democratic city council established a set of guidelines, that in the long term would favour them and modernize also the commercial activity. It is important to understand that the planning policies were influenced by the change in the political situation - with the recovery of democracy in Spain -, the final stages of earlier urban growth, and new conceptual references for urban planning practices. It is possible to speak of a new generation of plans and projects and of a whole cycle of urban planning – during the 1970s and early part of the 1980s – interested in restoring the links between architecture and urban planning, and revealing a renovated attention for the existing city (Rossi, 1982). It's easy to find affinities in the ideas that dominate the city operation of the 1980:

> new appreciation of the 'historic' city (especially that of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries), the reclaiming of traditional public spaces (streets, squares and parks), the integration of urban planning and architecture as a reaction to the abstraction of an all-encompassing planning (Monclús, 2003: 403).

Furthermore, the urban policy started to look at the city form the neighbourhood perspective, rather than from a general plan: specific actions were planned to accommodate the existing morphologies, uses and identities. Covered markets fitted perfectly into the new planning practices, thanks to their flexibility, and became a fundamental toll in the strategic administration, in order to unify criteria of sustainability and social cohesion inside the neighbourhoods and sustain the conversion process of the food retail sector (Juste, 1993). They were defined as "piezas clave en el comercio de la ciudad […] y, además, como la estructura idónea para el mantenimiento de los hábitos más favorables al consumo del producto fresco" (Juan, 1993: 37).

Therefore, there was a shift in the duty of the municipality regarding the system of markets: if traditionally the prime objective was to guarantee the provisioning of food for the inhabitants of Barcelona, at the end of the 1980s the municipality used markets to exercise "a variable commercial urbanism" and improve the commercial environment, revitalizing the whole urban fabric (Arribas and Van de Ven, 2003).

In 1986, markets were formally recognized as a tool of the city planning policy by the *Plan Especial de Equipamiento Comercial Alimentario de Barcelona* (PECAB). It arose from the importance of markets, adopting the municipal markets, and above all, their areas of business concentration and polarity, as its main instrument of action. The PECAB "es la expresión genuina de una política de ordenación sin precedentes en la Administración pública española" (Cabruja Martinez, 1992: 33); it was limited to the food sector regulation and it was created to conceptualize the commercial activities in the city as a sole service and equip each neighbourhood with a well balanced commercial network, combining municipal markets - defined as polarity nodule - with their immediate environment (see *Figure 12*).

The business environment and issue of accessibility (bus stops, metro stations, car parks, pedestrian areas, direction of traffic, etc.) were also analyses, as well as population data. It required a specific approach to urban planning: organizing polarities, quantifying businesses facilities, avoiding saturation of the sector, and regulating the commercial uses and forms permitted in each area of the city (Fava et al., 2010).

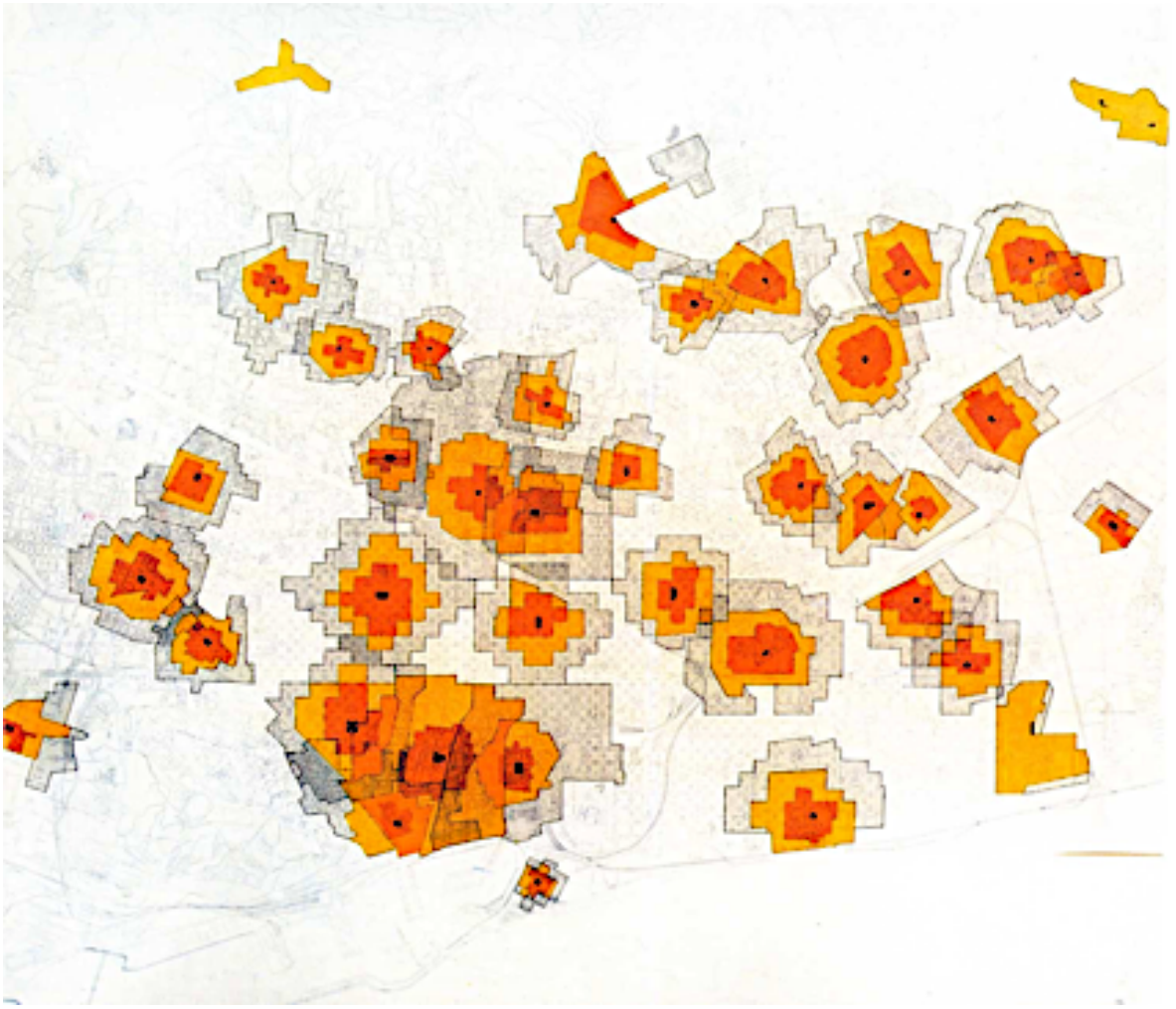

Figure 12: Market areas of concentration and commercial polarity (PECAB, 1990)

The PECAB aimed at a trade harmonization, which would enable the coexistence of the traditional business with the new and modern forms of trade, restraining the oligopoly and the urban homogenization (Juan, 1993). To do so, the economic perspective - insufficient by itself - had to be integrated with a specific urban project, which comprised a reflection of the symbolical and functional spaces of the urban fabric. Neighbourhoods were optimized, the forms of commerce which tent to substitute the public markets were limited, the complementary commercial activities reinforced and the areas were equipped with adequate network of services - pedestrian zones and commercial axis. Lastly, in addition to the renovation of the existing markets, the installation of new markets is planned (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1990).

In 1991, the government decided that the public market system had become too complex to manage without dedicated staff and programming, and so it created the *Institut Municipal de Mercats de Barcelona* (IMMB), as a branch of the municipal government to oversee all of the working public markets and their areas of influence. It was, and still is, an autonomous agency, with its own budget and under the supervision of the City Council; its autonomy from the Barcelona government enabled it to be a small and agile organization.

The IMMB had been created with the mission of managing and administering the market network, formulating and putting into practice the remodelling projects and promoting and publicize the activities of the institute through conferences and symposia about trade and commercial planning (Província de Barcelona, 2006: Article 2). The existence of a market management body that centralizes all the different functions is an advantage for the competitiveness and promotion of local markets. The integrated vision and global perspective of this management model allows a long-term action and provides consistency and solidity to the market projects. It also incorporates significant elements of co-management: traders in each market are organized into associations, which are responsible for the cleaning and security of the markets, and participate actively in the promotional activities. No market remodelling is promoted without the approval of the retailers. Every market has a director, appointed by the IMMB, who is in charge of the trader's association, supervising the functioning of the market on a daily basis, and channelling the most relevant stallholders demands to the IMMB.

The IMMB also facilitate the involvement of the private sector in the financing the operational aspect of the market with two different dimensions: traders and new operators. Their involvement is essential to the remodelling process, allowing them to finance between 40-50% of the overall cost.

The last instrument produced by the IMMB is the *Pla Estratègic de Mercats 2015-2025,* presented in the City Council on December 2014. The objective pursued with this document is to update even more the Barcelona market network, renewing, modernizing and adapting the structure and the management to better suit the citizen's demand. The plan, elaborated as a part of the European project *URBACT Markets'*s pilot action, includes 39 measure and 153 actions to implement over the next ten years. It is the result of a

participatory uppercases of more than 250 people directly or indirectly involved with markets and trade in general.

The Deputy Mayor for Commerce, Consumer Affairs and Markets, Raimond Blasi, described the document as a roadmap, which provide tools to improve and meet the challenges of the future; but also a document that in the course of a decade could adapt according to new needs and possible future changes.

All the measures and actions are structured in three different areas, declined in 12 specific goals (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2014):

- Soul - markets are a benchmark of the life of the neighbourhoods of Barcelona and provide meaningful experience to the citizens

a) Consolidate the market as core of the neighbourhood
b) Supporting the enlivening of neighbourhoods through the markets renovation
c) Reinforce the commitment of traders to the market and to the network
d) Strengthening the relationship between market - local businesses

- Motor - markets are leading the commerce activities in the neighbourhoods, they are a key factor in the local economic development and job-creators. In addition markets of Barcelona are promoting worldwide a model for the sustainable urban commerce

a) Leading food distribution of fresh produce in the city of Barcelona
b) Continue to improve the management model of municipal urban markets
c) Promoting a sustainable management model for markets
d) Targeting the consumer

- Sustainability - markets are associated with sustainability, environmental and cultural values

1) Set markets as a source of food heritage Catalan
2) Position the market as a place for healthy eating habits
3) To ensure the economic and environmental sustainability of the market

4) Strengthen the market as a defender of social sustainability in the neighbourhood

The IMMB has always maintained an active policy in the last decade, renovating its effort and call into question the identity of markets and the strategies to improve them. Not only modernization and renovation of existing markets, but also installation of new markets, with a particular attention for the quality of architectural projects. Moreover, it's estimated that the economic impact of the public markets is between 950 and 1,100 million euros - considering all operators - and the market share of the format, regarding the fresh food, is between 30% and 35% (IMMB, 2009). The market formula, also from an economic point of view, have tempted numerous city administrators, who wish to emulate its extraordinary success.

The renovation projects have also not been exempt from a process of spectacularisation that is quite evident in some project like Santa Caterina and Barceloneta. It's not surprising that the beginning of the boom of market renovation conceded with the Barcelona Olympic Game, which boosted the transformation of the entire city and change its perception worldwide. Many architects, planners and urban designers have expressed special interest in the changes that have taken place in Barcelona in the last decades (Buchanan, 1992, 1984; Rowe, 1991; 1997; Gehl and Gemzoe, 2001), converting the mega-event into a lever and strategic instrument of urban renewal and urban regeneration (Monclús, 2003; Marshall, 1996; Portas, 1998; Ward, 2002). The experience has been widely cited and described in academic and professional media alike, although it is not easy to find global interpretations that take into account the different variables at play, even from a strictly urban planning perspective. Some have highlighted the formal dimension of these changes, the good design and the quality of the public urban spaces, which converted Barcelona into a more competitive and dynamic city, using the Olympic Games as an occasional catalyst for these strategic projects.

In addition to the architectural development and building expansion, Barcelona took a new identity as a brand. Before 1992, the Catalonia identity was not evident, and the inevitable and inadequate reference to bulls and flamenco led the tourist imaginaries. Barcelona became a reference in the urban regeneration strategies. The network of covered markets

considerably contributed to the new city image, being one of the driving forces of the urban liveability, an economic asset for the municipality and a model tobe exported and imitated..

The Barcelona Market Model

One of the fundamental task that IMMB has been carrying out since its institution is the modernization and remodelling of the markets, as a basilar part of the municipal policy in order to boost local commerce. At the base of the intervention there is an agreement including a plan of action, timing, and management during the transition period, new services to be introduced, new licenses and budget. This process starts with the analysis of the evolution of trade and of the adaptation strategies to make the market more competitive and meet the new demands of citizens. The variables analysed are several: history, socio-economic, culture, demographic and commerce data are considered. The modernization process always has agreed upon by traders of each market and involves the active participation of the stakeholders.

The project is financed by public investment, market traders' contribution (price per Sq.mt or linear Mt stall as a result of an agreement signed by the city council and traders), new activities and complementary services (new operators such as the supermarket or the restaurant). To join the market, new operators have to apply to a public bid and if they meet the condition they will be appointed for 25 years and they are obliged to become members of the market stallholders association. Since the membership fee is based on the surface area occupied within the market, the supermarket, for example, will pay considerably more. In addition, all the stallholders and new operators will have to pay occupancy of public space tax and an eventual part of the remodelling total cost - the percentage varies depending on the location and the surface area of the appointed stall.

Modernizing a market involves the improvement of the commercial range, infrastructures and services to meet the demand, and is based on specific commercial and social studies conducted within the area of influence of each market. It involves a number of levels of intervention:

- restoring the architectural value of the building and its artistic features;
- redefining the combination of shops (commercial mix), adapting it to make it commercially sustainable and introducing new operators to complete the offer;
- moving the market's logistic underground and creating parking spaces and unloading bays, where possible;
- selective waste collection and environmental commitment;
- promoting the markets through commercial promotion and communication campaigns and through the publication of their own media.

Figure 12 graphically illustrates the model for markets renovation implemented by the IMMB policies.

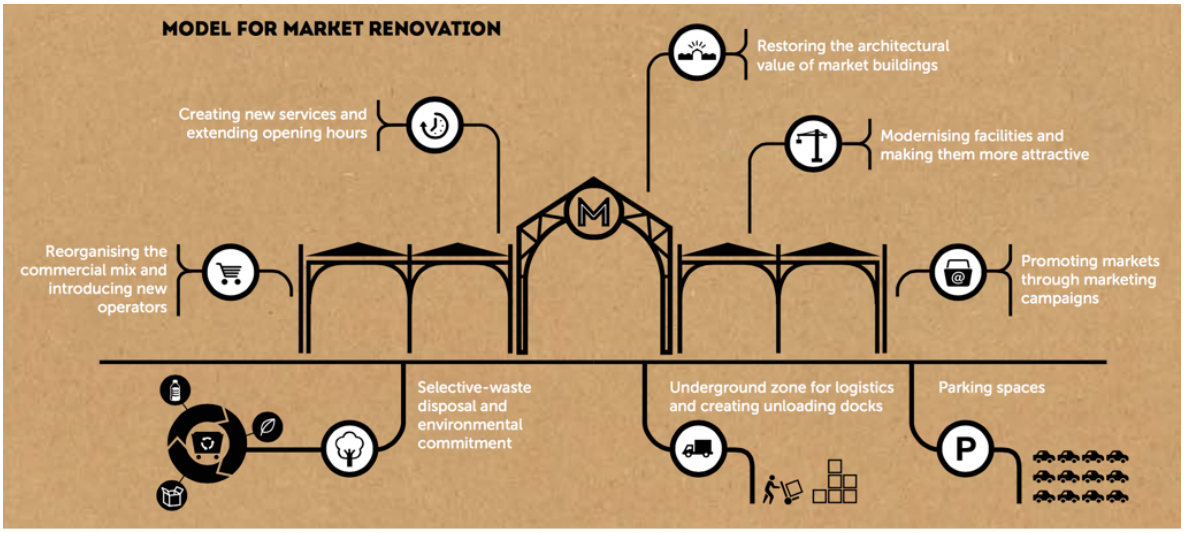

Figure 12: Barcelona's graphic models for market renovation (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2015: 6-7)

Following this model, over the last few years the IMMB has modernized the majority of markets within the network (*Figure 13*) and has altered the landscape and uses of markets in Barcelona with the introduction, for example, of supermarkets, new services, etc. Two newly markets - Fort Pienc and Marina - have also been opened and the Barcelona Market Model has been applied also in the most emblematic non-food market, Encant Vells - Fira de Bellcaire.

Figure 13: Map of the Barcelona's market network (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2015: 8)

The model is putting the markets through an important modernization and remodelling process, aimed at creating more competitive municipal markets, with modern facilities and efficient services.

Barcelona is now considered a model "market city". It even received the *1st Market City Award* from the organization Project for Public Spaces (PPS) – 28th March 2015 - during the "9th International Public Markets Conference", organized by PPS and Barcelona City Council through the IMMB, with backing from UN-Habitat, the United Nations'

organization for urban settlements. Barcelona is "a model city in its use of markets as a tool for sustainable urban development, where people live a short distance from a market" and singled it out as a "city that champions public markets as essential tools for the revival of every neighbourhood"[2].

The many renovations allowed markets to compete in the contemporary era, reinstalling the utility as well as the local pride in Barcelona, as a chance to preserve the Catalan society that had been restrain during the Franco's dictatorship. The modernization of the decaying markets has been conceived as a symbolical embracement of the local history and the community's identity - and the decision has been made from the standpoint of the government.

The involvement of the government is crucial in the renovation projects, underwriting 70-80% (125 million Euros) of the total cost; the rest of the cost are fronted by stall owners, who understand the incredible potential of economic returns (Hernandez, 2012).

The theoretical pillar of the Barcelona market model is based on the idea that markets are the litmus test of the neighbourhood vitality and by restoring these buildings not only the location are beautified, but the community's heart is revitalized as well:

> La definició del model Barcelona no és un invent de laboratori, no és una marca creada en un despatx: és una realitat que s'està imposant per la via dels fets i que s'ha validat amb les darreres actuacions. Està bastat en una proposta de ciutat densa, compacta, cohesionada i participativa i pensa en el mercat com a motor econòmic i agent de desenvolupament urbà (Tolrà, 2007:163)

The model is a combination of three fundamental elements within the restoration process: the commercial mix, the improved services and the renovation of the infrastructures (Diputació de Barcelona, 2011). Concerning the commercial mix, the market is re-organized internally: reducing the number of stalls and increasing their average dimension, offering more products and rearrenged in order not to compete with one another - variation within a row of stalls. Besides, within this new commercial mix, markets are

[2] Web Article, "International award for Barcelona Markets", 2015, http://w110.bcn.cat/portal/site/Mercats/menuitem.cbbdaa21d18cb6185cf05cf0a2ef8a0c/?vgnextoid=eb944fc663b7c410VgnVCM1000001947900aRCRD&vgnextchannel=1f5fede30b518210VgnVCM10000074fea8c0RCRD&vgnextfmt=formatDetall&lang=en_GB, last access 20th December 2015.

including elements that could be considered in direct competition with the public market, such as supermarkets (Hernandez, 2011). Instead of fighting the large distribution, markets have incorporated them into the building, offering people fresh and quality food, but also things that are usually not available, enlarging the consumer base:

> L'autoservei, que s'havia vist sempre com un adversari, ha acabat esdevenint un soci amigable que impulsa el mercat com si fos una potent locomotora. Els mercats que incorporen autoservei multipliquen el seu nombre de clients, atrets per la possibilitat de fer la compra en un sol acte (Tolrà, 2007: 164).

In addition to supermarkets, some of the public markets have added libraries, electronic stores, wineries, hair salons and other stores, transforming the public market in commercial centre. Despite the complementarity, the inclusion of those stores can be seen as a direct example of the influence of globalization, which sustain and allowed the access to fresh food for the citizens, but at the same time modify the image of the market.

The second element, which participates to the restoration process, is the improvement of services, in order to bring the markets up to date, meeting at the same time the expectation of demanding consumers. Services such as home delivery, club cards, promotional days and online shopping are some of the basic services added in the last years. Globalization has changed global working trends, and the opening time has to be extended in order to meet the needs of the working people. Therefore, the market, as a reflection of the buying habits of the citizens, is adapting in order to serve its community.

The architectural changes implemented through the renovation projects are a fundamental part of the Barcelona market model. Usually the addition of a lower level to the building is created in order to accommodate an easier and fluid access for the distribution trucks, as well as parking space and elevators for costumers. Barcelona's market system is also aware of the current trends in terms of sustainability and environmental consciousness, supporting renewable energy - most commonly solar power - and installing areas dedicated to the separation of the different waste and the conversion into compost (closing the circle of food production):

> Els residus orgànics se separen de la resta en origen, al mercat, i s'envien a la deixalleria

> per ser convertits en compost. El compost que s'obté és de gran puesa, i els mercats són, de fet, el millor client de les deixalleries barcelonines que transformen l'orgànica en quelcom els pagesos poden usar, tancant així el cercle de la producción alimentària (Tolrà, 2007: 211-12).

Thus, through this remodelling process, it is quite clear that markets are intend not only to move towards the new era of technology and interconnectedness within the global society, but they are also committed to do so in an ecologically and environmentally friendly. The project of the Santa Caterina market, is considered one of the best example in market renovation and it has rapidly become a benchmark for local residents and visitors. Santa Caterina stands out for the modernity of its approach, commercial spaces equipped with modern resources and designed to supply residents, to promote interactions between people and improve the liveability of the neighbourhood. Reopened in 2005, after almost six years of work - during which traders were moved to a temporary market – it was designed by Enric Miralles and Benedetta Tagliabue (*Figure 14*).

Figure 14: Tile roof of the Santa Caterina market
(http://w110.bcn.cat/Mercats/Continguts/Documents/Fitxers/dossier%20santa%20caterina-5%20aniversari.pdf)

Another case of "comprehensive modernization" is the Barceloneta market (*Figure 15*), design by Josep Miàs, as part of Municipal Action Programme (PAM) 2004-2007. Architecturally, the market also attracts attention because it has restored the old metallic structure and the original components, incorporating them with modern and functional elements, such as the pergola, which connects the market to the public square (Zavala Sánchez, 2013).

Figure 15: An image of the Barceloneta market (http://www.archdaily.com/140622/barceloneta-market-mias-arquitectes)

Barceloneta is also the first market in Barcelona to structurally integrate photovoltaic solar panels that produce 30 kilowatts per hour - an energy that covers 40% of total energy consumption in the market. Also, the market is running specific plan for waste and recycling: the waste is separated according to their origin (glass, plastic or paper) and the organic waste is used as compost.

CHAPTER 2

The Europeanization of policies for markets

Markets are social phenomena that frequently come with positive connotations. When we think about markets we often think of daily lives and local traditions; they serve as a place for citizens to convene and socialize as well as fulfilling shopping needs in a space that supports the identity of the consumer. It is within this context of nutrition and social interactions that markets stand today, as the core of our cities, as they have for hundreds of years.

Models for covered markets have travelled around the European continent, crossing physical boundaries and supporting the needs of the cities, shaping their appearance, implementing new features, absorbing new functions and changing their attitude towards the urban dimension and citizens. Up to now, almost every city in Europe possesses a covered market, either still in place and operative, or transformed into something different, depending on the specific case. Markets have been subject to a process of Europeanization, a diffusion of covered markets' models, in which specific concepts and visions of the modern and contemporary city materialize and become embedded in a particular design around the same time. Embracing the complexity and multidisciplinary aspect of the Europeanization term allow us to describe the emergence and construction of a type of connection around covered markets and European cities.

Even long before the institution of the European Union, a process of Europeanization can be detected, taking on different meanings throughout modern history (Mjoset, 1997). It manifests the term's diversified application in a variety of disciplines of social sciences, ranging from history to economy, as a process of structural change, variously effecting institutions, actors, ideas and interests (Faetherstone, 2003: 2). This kind of

Europeanization, which can be defined as an *historical Europeanization,* is a useful support to reconstruct the collective and personal identities, originated by process of "European integration", an excellent entry-point to conceptualize and better understand processes of change that have transnationally transformed Europe's past and present. Conway and Patel (2011: 2) have defined the H*istorical Europeanization* as:

> a variety of political, social, economic and cultural processes that promote (or modify) a sustainable strengthening of intra-European connections and similarities through acts of emulation, exchange and entanglement and that have been experienced and labelled as "European" in the course of the history.

Despite the attention given to the definition of Europeanization, there is a danger inherent in any simplistic use of the term. Every definition tents to result in a curler argument and as Kevin Faetherstone has observed, the term has often been applied as a "loos epithet", when used as a stand-alone conceptual framework (Featherstone and Radaelli, 2013: 12). Still, Europeanization can be infused with realm meaning when it is accepted as a flexible term that has always been plural, and which refers to different processes over the course of European history. Indeed, it is precisely the complexity of the term that needs to be exploited, conceiving that "Europeanization […] is not a fact (and still less a cause), but rather a thesis which needs to be tested against the history of the century" (Conway and Patel, 2011: 2), in order to provide a means of linking period of times, spaces and facts together.

Scholars give different answers to what Europeanization means and what underlying mechanisms are. In its predominant meaning the term has been used in the field of law and political science, referring to the processes, initiated with the European integration in the 1980s, which have been inducing new forms of European governance and the domestic adaptation to the pressure emanating directly or indirectly from EU membership (Saurugger, 2005). The Europeanization has become a key concept in explaining political and societal change across the continent and the production of new policies, polities and politics in its domain has become a very prominent agenda (Hamedinger and Wolffhardt, 2010: 10).

Numbers of studies have been published on the definition of the so-called *political* E*uropeanization* (Ladrech, 1994; Knill and Lehmkuhl, 1999; Börzel and Risse, 2000; Radaelli, 2001, 2003; Cowels et al, 2001; Caporaso et al., 2002; Olsen, 2002; Featherstone and Radaelli, 2003; Goetz, 2006). The enlargement of EU over the past decades has challenged researchers to conceptualize the bi-directional European integration process on the EU and the national level. Several studies can be distinguished according to the object that is supposed to go through the process of Europeanization, notably politics (Tarrow, 1995; Marks and Steenbegen; 2004), polity (Goetz and Hix, 2001; Anderson, 2002) and policies (Muller, 1997; Knill and Lehmkuhl, 2002).

Radaelli (2003: 30) offers an insightful definition of *political Europeanization*, which integrates formal and informal elements of influence:

> process of (a) construction (b) diffusion and (c) institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things', and shared believes and norms which are first defined and consolidate in the EU policy process and then incorporated in the logic of domestic (national and subnational) discourse, political structures, and public policies.

In Radaelli's definition, the inclusion of immaterial elements, such as ideas, beliefs and "the way of doing" allows the enlargement of the concept itself. Europeanization is not therefore built exclusively on regulations and directives that must be incorporated in the domestic legislation, but also on perceptions and ideas that travels from countries to the European Union, and from the European Union to other countries.

Following Radaelli (2004: 6) "Europeanization can be seen as a governance, as institutionalization, and as a discourse" and it is in particular the latter meaning that interests us here. Not to deny the relevance of the other two aspects, but this way of reading the process of Europeanization seems to be more relevant to the area on which we focus - broadly speaking urban policy, urban networks and associated knowledge in the regard of covered markets. The notion of *discourse* refers to the context within the knowledge is produced and reproduced, and acts to structure what is "thinkable" (Atkinson, 1999; 2000). In this sense a dominant discourse delimits "the possible", and all the actions and attempts will be congruent with that discourse. We are interest in the:

> […] discourse as a broad contextual notion that structures what is officially sanctioned as thinkable and which bestows upon particular individuals/organizations the right to determine the appropriate (i.e. legitimate) scope of operation, form(s) of organization, operating procedures, etc. (Atkinson and Rossignolo, 2010: 199).

Given that, we aim to describe and analyse the manner in which the discursive construction of urban knowledge and learning about polices for covered markets is concomitantly steered in defined directions by official discourses, emanated from the European Union and the European Commission - seeking to "direct" urban policy, through the definition of best practices and models accepted and promoted as such. It becomes possible to identify the assumption, which attempt to orientate the development of urban policy, revealing the interplay between local actors and institutions. This leads to changes in the local politics and policies, actors' preferences, values and beliefs.

The European Union plays an important role in the processes. It is acknowledge that cities have increasingly been affected by the European Union and by its legislation in different policy field, implementing EU programs and imitating responses to the EU set by other cities – mimetic process - and adopting on the national level EU policies and laws. Today, a typical large city part of the European Union is likely to be eligible for some forms of funding form the EU structural funds, to deal with spending constrains stemming from monetary union, or to implement European regulations which directly affect important urban areas (Hamedinger and Wolffhardt, 2010: 20).

The European Union with its policies, programmes and decision mechanism is one of the driving forces for urban change. In particular, the accelerated drive for the regulation of the service sector as a part of the internal market agenda galvanized the European engagement of many cities, as they lined up to defend what they saw as a public prerogative to provide services of general interests (Bartik and Wolffhardt, 2005). Particularly, the post-1989 requirements for using the funds considerably changed the role of sub-national authorities, making cities and regions legitimate actors in EU regional policy and establishing cross-national networks and partnerships (Le Galès, 2002). Some cities and regions have been forerunners in exploiting the opportunities provided by the EU (e.g. Liverpool, Manchester, Lille and Barcelona), and the "cross-national experience leads cities and municipalities to

think about and do things differently" (Goldsmith, 2003: 129), modifying over the years the way they operate, policy paradigms and governance styles. Even though the institutionalization process of Europe opens up new opportunities - a stronger position for local government in the EU, structural funds, resources and networks -, it also faces certain constrains, that are norms and rules imposed at the European and national level (De Rooij, 2002).

Europeanization can be considered either a top-down and bottom-up process: the first one encompasses all constrains the EU level imposes on the city through EU legislation, policies and programs (through *partnership principles* which had to be applied at the local level). The bottom-up process is represented by the transnational city networks which

> […] are the privilege sites for obtaining information, exchanging experiences, ideas and knowledge of various kinds, and challenging European programs or states: therefore, they are also places for learning policy norms and styles (Le Galès, 2002: 107).

Recently, political science and international relations literature has focused the attention on mutual learning, collective learning and the recognition of the role and potentials of institutions (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998; Bomberg and Peterson, 2000; Dolowitz and March, 2000; Radaelli, 2000; Zito and Schour, 2009). In particular, the process of *policy transfer* is worth to be mentioned. The term is coined by Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) and defined as "the process, by which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in one political system (past or present) is used in the development of policies administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in another political system" (Ibidem: 5). The policy transfer approach distinguishes between voluntary, negotiated, and coercive forms of transfer, and thereby tries to answer the question as to why actors engage in transfer processes (see Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000: 8; Evans, 2006: 8).

When political units are forced to adopt certain policies by other actors we are referring to coercive policy transfer. Negotiated transfer processes take place when decision makers are compelled to change their policies in exchange for loans or grants. And voluntary policy transfer is intended "as a process in which policies implemented elsewhere are examined by

rational political actors for their potential utilization within another political system" (Evans, 2006: 7). Policy is used in a very broad sense – e.g. goals, content, instruments, programs, institutions, etc. - and the degree to which policies are transferred can vary. Dolowitz and Marsh, referring to Rose (1991) distinguish between four degrees of transfer, namely "copying, which involves direct and complete transfer; emulation, which involves transfer of the ideas behind the policy or program; combinations, which involve mixtures of several different policies; and inspiration, where policy in another jurisdiction may inspire a policy change, but where the final outcome does not actually draw upon the original" (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000: 13).

Since the EU has no treaty based competences urban policy, city networks are the primary way to diffuse its norms and value to the local and regional administration and to exchange the best practices, as 'soft mechanism' of Europeanization (Atkinson and Rossigno, 2010). Thus, the considerable mobilization of cities and regions can be understood as a result of the process of Europeanization, which opens up new opportunities and challenges for the participants; the reaction of cities to the EU depends on "size, economic importance, attitude of local political elites, […] the existence of a project to increase the international recognition of the city or an explicit international strategy" (Schultze, 2003: 122).

The system of EU governance, with the advent of 'soft modes', opens up windows of opportunity for cities to influence EU policy-making, evolving from simple 'policy-takers' (only implementing EU regulations) to policy-makers - active participants and influencers of EU decision-making in different policy fields. *Soft law* are not legally binding; they are goals, action programmes, guidelines, standards, recommendation and information (Mörth, 2004; Jacobsson and Sahlin-Andersson, 2006). As Snyder (1994: 198) has observed, soft law is "rules of conduct which, in principle, have no legally binding force but which nevertheless may have practical effects" despite their multifaceted functions. Effects may include policy change in line with the soft law or they can also have a more subtle impact on national debate and discourses, changes in ways of thinking policy (policy principles), and in collective understandings and identities (Jacobsson, 2004; Risse et al., 2001).

Although the regulated and those regulating by soft laws may seem to be diverse, what could be notice is a striking convergence across sectors and territories: patterns of

transnational inter-linkage are clearly displayed and various policy field are governed in similar ways. In order to understand the specific pattern emerged around covered markets and its dynamics, we need to incorporate lessons from organization theory and especially the imitation framework. The latest is going to be use as a structuring device for the upcoming analysis.

2.1 Imitation and metaorganizations

Nowadays, it is true, more then ever, that the Europeanization has become a new catchword in the political as well academic realms, an impulse that was driven principally by the growing importance of the European Union. Yet, the term is applied in a number of ways to describe a variety of phenomena of change. The variable meaning assigned to the word *Europeanization* pushed also the idea that it is an overrated concept and futile to be used as an organizing concept (Kassim et al., 2000: 238).

Having said that, the present dissertation does not used the concept of Europeanization in a generic acceptation, just to indicate a European source of the covered market model. The research is intentionally set in a specific literature, originated in Northern Europe and especially in the Scandinavian countries. It takes roots in the neo-institutionalism theory and, from that, it develops a particular analysis of the public policies in the European context, mobilizing concepts such as *imitation*, *isomorphism* and *metaorganization*. Interpreting the Europeanization through the lens of the imitation conceptual framework, it acquires a different perspective, allowing us to comprehend what we see when we look at policies for markets.

States can be considered organizations, although much more complex and fragmented than average organization. They are defined as organization of organizations - *metaorganizations* (Ahrne and Brunsson, 2008) - composed by many ministries, agencies, commissions, etc., all of which are supposed to work together for a collective purpose. Therefore, they necessitate a high amount of control and coordination, through rules and ideas, which become institutionalized:

> If they wish to be considered serious and modern, it is difficult for most states not to have such things as a constitution, a police force, a national anthem, a glorious past (maybe also a bright future), and policies concerning education, the environment, the economy, etc. (Jacobsson, 2010: 3).

The pressure to change their practices, to compete with other actors and obtaining expected results, triggers processes of imitation.

The European Union can be considered a metaorganization, as well as its emanated programmes, such as Med, Urbact, Central Europe, etc. A metaorganization, through its activities, is able to constitute the world: they "(1) classify the world, create categories of problems, actors and actions; (2) fix meanings in the social world; and (3) articulate and diffuse new norms and rules" (Barnett and Finnemore, 2004: 31). Therefore, the recognition and consequent promotion of best practice made by metaorganization – in the specific a case of the dissertation, European projects and programme - is a formal invite to imitation. Actors are not completely at the mercy of metaorganizations, they voluntarily choose to act on defined stimulus; still, the influence of the latest is powerful enough to address its members.

Imitation is a common human and organizational activity. It covers a wide range of behaviours, and it takes place at many levels of society. It always involves a model to which the attention and response of the imitator are directed. Individuals consciously or unconsciously imitate other individuals, as well as various type of organizations look to each other for inspiration and solutions. It has been noticed that organizations introduce the same changes about the same time, undertaking actions that has already been successful in other organization/countries (Zucker, 1977; March and Olsen, 1983; Powell and DiMaggio, 1991). Powell and DiMaggio (1991) have stated that organizational change occurs as a result of a process of homogenization, which is primarily driven by a competition for earning prestige and resources; not by efficiency, as one might think. Competitiveness is a major factor of change, especially in the globalized economy, where cities are called upon to compete with one another and to take a leading role in dealing with a range of socio-economic challenges, and the network of local economies has acquired an unprecedented scale and scope of action. Consequently, this process is an inexorable push

towards homogenization, as organizations (or cities) seek to ensure that they can provide the same benefits and services as their competitors. Seen from another perspective, with a focus on the receiving end, imitation is thus a frequent activity and it is "*crucial* to many cases of institutional change" (Jacoby 2000: 2) and concepts of imitation and change are intimately intertwined. Talking about imitation is talking about some kind of change or at least a willingness to change of the imitating organization.

The effects of organizational imitation have been well researched (e.g. Tolbert and Zucker, 1983; Fligstein, 1985; Sevón, 1996; Haunschild and Miner, 1997; Mizruchi and Fein, 1999; Djelic 2001; Hedmo *et al.*, 2005), attesting the significance of imitation as an organizational phenomenon. Different approaches – both quantitative and qualitative – have been employed to identify the mimetic process; the starting point for such analysis, identified by Meyer (1996: 243) is: "there is either active purposive social action or there is passivity, as when people and organizations under uncertainty are driven into passive conformity with institutional norms and definitions". However, a middle way exists, where "identity and activity always involve ideas, which always have exogenous aspects, and that organizational behaviour involves the routine use and modification of them" (Meyer 1996:244), therefore perceiving the actors as cultural embedded and not passive. Along these lined I have assembled my theoretical perspective on organizational imitation.

Powell and Di Maggio, in their seminal article from 1983, combined the concept of imitation with the isomorphism. In the human ecology, isomorphism is defined as a process that forces a unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same set of environmental conditions (Hawley, 1968). The *mimetic isomorphism* process – as one of the three mechanisms producing organizational isomorphism, together with coercion and normative pressures - is used in case of an ambiguous situation, when the solution is not determined yet and the organization has to face uncertainty (Alchian, 1950; Cyert and March, 1963). Modelling is the response to incertitude and it consists in borrowing practices form other organisations; organizations search for successful that can be applied to them, models upon which to built (Powell and DiMaggio, 1983).

However, this interpretation with its focus on the automatic nature of imitation and the homogenization process leaves out the imitating organization. This aspect of imitation has

instead been more thoroughly explored by the Scandinavian School, inspired by the works of Michel Callon (1980) and Bruno Latour (1986). They expand the theoretical perspective, focusing on the institutionalization process rather than its result, proposing a *performative* perspective on imitation, replacing the mechanical concept of diffusion - to a number of passive recipients or trend followers-, with the concept of translation. Czarniawska and Joerges (1996: 46) use the concept in their model of "travel of ideas". There is a point of beginning, in a defined time/space, a process of materialization of an idea in which the idea is separated from its institutional surrounding – placing the idea in a global time/space, "disembedded" (Giddens, 1990) – and translated into an object such as a text, an image or a prototype (packaged). Such object travels across boundaries and organizational field to another time/space, when it is translated to fit into a new context (unpacked). Finally it is "re-embedded" once it is translated into concrete actions that fit the wishes and specific circumstances in which they operate. Such idea will then be taken for granted its, and it will be ready to travel once again.

Therefore, imitation is considered a mechanism of learning from other experiences through a process in which something new is created and continuously transformed, through a series of translations (Sevón, 1996; Sahlin-Andersson and Sevón, 2003; Czarniawska and Sevón, 2005).

Imitation is a process initiated and pursued by the imitating organisation and drive forward by its perceptions of its current "faulty" situation or identity - asymmetrical dependence (Djelic, 2001) -: some kind of problem is observed, the desire to change and improve the situation is experienced, and an excellent model to emulate is identified. Imitation, thus, is an appropriation of ideas – already embodied in some structures or systems – and consequent translation into something that fits the new context and that will guide the new types of behaviours (Sahlin- Andersson and Sevón, 2003), in order to achieve the same – or similar – results as the model (Sevón, 1996).

Therefore, three basic elements are involved in the mimetic process and their relationship indicates aspects of soft actor-hood: the *model organization* (the source of what is being imitated), the *object of imitation* (best practices, concrete practices, systems, routine, etc. but also the ideational foundations, which is being imitated) and the *imitator*. To fully

understand imitation is important to investigate why organizations engage in mimetic behaviour - hence the motives of justification for imitation - and the outcomes and results of the activities.

Motives for mimesis, identified in the literature, range from coercion to explicit will to change. *Uncertainty* was mentioned as the classical motivation for engaging in imitation for Powell and DiMaggio (1983), when other organizations are source of motivations, inspirations and ideas. But it is not the only identified motives. There is also an emphasis on *voluntariness* (Westney 1987; Jacoby, 2000), as local initiative and voluntary choice, but it is usually intermixed with external pressure to change such as the integration into international organizations (Djelic, 2001). *Organizational identity* is another motive for imitation: mimesis can change important others' perception of the focal organisation and gain acceptance and respect from the environment (Westney 1987; Djelic 2001) but it can also change the focal organisation's own identity, strengthening their position and decreasing its dependencies (Sevón, 1996, Sahlin-Andersson and Sevón, 2003). Hence, imitation can be driven by a self-perception of inferiority and the desire of be accepted (with legitimacy) into a wider international environment, thorough a change of identity into a more suitable or desirable one (Sahlin-Andersson and Sevón, 2003). Identity is created in relation to other, through comparisons and references.

The object of imitation, in order to be imitated by other actor, must "possess characteristics which seemingly make them successful" (Sahlin-Andersson, 1996: 70). What it is defined "successful" depends on the context and on the meaning attributed to it: it can be connected with the sense of *modernity*, which is considered one of the primary development trends of the Western societies, or with the *legitimacy* for the survival of the organization (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). Moreover, it could also be about what is *fashionable* (Røvik 1996). The concept of fashion, long treated with disdain, it appears to be the key of comprehending the puzzling developments in and between organizations (Czarniawska and Panozzo, 2008).

Fashion is a notion - used by Tarde (1890/1962), by Simmel (1904/1971) and Blumer (1969) – defined as a collective choice among tastes, things and ideas, which influences the market and distorts the demand and supply curves. It is a way of introducing order and

uniformity into what might seem like an overwhelming variety of choices and possibilities; therefore fashion reduces complexity and facilitates choice making.

It helps comprehend the present and at the same, "fashion serves to detach the grip of the past in the moving world. By placing a premium on being in the mode and derogating what development has left behind, it frees actions for new movement" (Blumer, 1969: 289).

Czarniawska and Sevón (2005: 10) affirmed that "The image we are evoking is as follows: guided by fashion, people imitate desires of beliefs that appear as attractive at a given time and place. This leads them to translating ideas, objects, and practices, for their own use". For a public administration, for example, fashion could be considered expression of what is modern and following it can be a way of keeping up with times by being at the forefront of novelty, replicating a winning move. Undertaking actions that has already been successful in other countries is a common practice, and it has been so also in the history. Even though the imitators rarely have any direct experience of the object they imitate, they do rely on accounts and materialization of ideas and practices presented as successful (Hedmo *et al.*, 2005). Consequently, objects of imitation are made models through a standardisation and rationalization processes: actual practices and real life experiences are transformed into universal organizational solutions, context-free prototypes, ready to be adopted in other realities (Meyer, 1996; Sahlin-Andersson, 1996). They are characterized by simple, clear and rational attributes and sets of ideas, which are easy to understand and to implement universally.

The relation between the model and imitator is an important element of the mimetic process, however, usually, there is no direct meeting or communication in practice between them. Instead, the imitator meets the model indirectly through documents, success stories, publications, international organisations or media (Sahlin-Andersson 1996; Sahlin-Andersson and Engwall 2002). However, a direct relation between model and imitator is possible. There are case such as European Projects, where the direct relation and cooperation between actors, and therefore between the model and the imitator, is encouraged and highly desired. Old member states are pushed to teach other candidate to follow and adopt rules, practices and visions; and candidates will learn from the other states' experiences.

In the present dissertation, the travel of the idea, of a well-defined model – the Barcelona Market Model and the rediscovered of markets as an instrument to transform a faulty reality -, had influenced the vision of leaders around Europe, through a process of Europeanization of policies for markets. When it comes to travel of ideas, there is always a plot, which is usually not so clear and defined. However, in the case of covered market it is possible to follow the political trajectory of the covered market as a reference for regional policies, and approach the question of how it emerges and becomes institutionalized on a European scale, triggering an organizational change - intended as a planned innovation and a strategic choice (Czarniawska and Sevón, 2005). In the following paragraphs the imitation process is outlined in some details, until its final output, investigating also what kind of outcomes can be expected from imitation between cities in a European context. The last chapter precisely consists in a fuller analysis of the *Central Markets Project – Revitalizing and Promoting Traditional Markets in Central Europe* and the pilot action of the City of Venice, as the outcome of the travel of idea of covered markets.

2.2 The diffusion of the covered market model in the contemporary city

There seems to be a magic attraction to covered markets, a new era for markets have started and, form one year to another, they have been used as umbrellas for many actions, plans, dreams and design. The rhetoric behind the comeback of markets is that they offer enormous potential for the development of local communities and the liveability of our city; and if the market is like the one in Barcelona, a replica of an unquestionably successful venture, it will be a success as well.

Mary Douglas (1986: 45) says that "[to] acquire legitimacy, every kind of institution needs a formula that founds its rightness in reason and in nature". It doesn't really matter which are the attributes of the idea or the characteristics of the problem, as far as the idea is presented as based on reason and nature. In this case, the narrative of the past is used to present a set of concepts connected to the market projecting them into the future vision of a liveable city

and in opposition with the current faulty reality. And so, the Barcelona Market Model has been institutionalized and a trans-local frame of reference is constructed in order to recognize the project and transnationally enact the idea.

Usually the circumstances in which an idea arose in the local time and space, or even more important, how and when it decisively come into the pan of attention of a given group of actors, are usually unknown or impossible to discovered. On the contrary, the travel of the market idea had a precise logical starting point, connected with the city of Barcelona and the model implement.

The Catalan city deserves the merit of setting up a process of rethinking the role and significance of these large containers and trade proximity within its local contexts, keeping alive the heritage of the covered market combining it with contemporary and innovative strategies. But, how did it happen? How is it possible that the Barcelona market experience, so embedded in the urban fabric and history of the city itself, has become the dominant model?

The diffusion of the Barcelona Market model can be clearly detected and analyse through the proliferation of transnational cooperation projects with a focus on the revival of traditional markets as a flywheel for local development. Through the project partnerships, the innovative practice of Barcelona, most of the time chosen as the lead or strategic partner, spread all over the continent, crossing borders and reaching out cities without a "market history". Cities began to crave for a covered market or an efficient and up-to-date market, where it could replicate the Barcelona Market Model and emulate the results obtained by the Catalan city.

The starting point of the proliferation of projects devoted to markets is 2006. It is also the year of the promulgation of the Directive 2006/123/EC, also know as the Bolkestein Directive. Although the European Union, in the case of markets, has developed minimalist directives or non-compulsory regulations, which do not create adaptation pressure themselves (but may still prepare the ground for major cognitive shifts in the domestic policy debate), the Bolkenstain directive is an exception. The Bolkenstain Directive was promulgated in order to regulate services for the internal market and encourage its competitiveness. Since services constitute the engine of economic growth - representing the

70% of the GDP and employment in the majority of EU countries - the Directive aimed at solution for the fragmentation of the internal market, concurrently producing a positive impact on the entire European economy. It does not refer specifically to traditional markets; still the wide definition of "services" has produced changes also in the regulation of markets, especially regarding the grant of permits[3].

Although the transposition of the EU directive into the local legislation had an important impact on the regulation and establishment of markets, what matters here are the non-regulatory approaches such as discourses, funding programs and other "soft measures"

[3] The Italian case is particularly interesting to understand how markets have been affected by the application of the Directive and how its integration has been studded with problems. And, in the same time, how it is not useful in our investigation about covered markets (in this specific case the soft instrument are the instruments that count in the evolution of urban policies).
Italy incorporated the contents of the Directive 2006/123/EC into its laws through the Legislative Decree 59 of March 26th 2010, published in the Official Gazette on April 23rd 2010. The Article 8, paragraph 1a) gives a definition of economic service as "qualsiasi prestazione anche a carattere intellettuale svolta in forma imprenditoriale o professionale, fornita senza vincolo di subordinazione e normalmente fornita dietro retribuzione" and the paragraph 1f) defines the authorization scheme, introducing the first element which has a direct influence on markets: title II (Articles 10-19) is devoted to the "Provisions on the access to and exercise of service activities", including the discipline of selection from among several candidates, as per Article 16, and the granting of permits, disciplined by the Article 17. The new regulation produces an intense protest led by Italian markets traders' groups, denouncing the negative impact on their working conditions and their prospect of work stability - due to annulment of the automatic renewal of the selling licenses.
What characterizes the Italian legislation is Article 70, dedicated to the retail in public areas, which change the previous Article 28 of the Legislative Decree no. 114 of March 31st, 1998 ("Reform of the trade law", also known as the "Commerce Decree"). The first paragraph of this article extends the range of bodies that can obtain authorizations, beyond individuals and legal partnerships, to corporations and cooperatives. Moreover, the Art. 70 paragraph 5 entrusts the Joint State-Regions Conference Agreement to identify "senza discriminazioni basate sulla forma giuridica dell'impresa, i criteri per il rilascio e il rinnovo della concessione dei posteggi per l'esercizio del commercio su aree pubbliche e le disposizioni transitorie da applicare, con le decorrenze previste, anche alle concessioni in essere alla data di entrata in vigore del presente decreto ed a quelle propagate durante il periodo intercorrente fino all'applicazione di tali disposizioni transitorie". In 2012, the Joint State-Regions Conference Agreement "on the criteria for issuing stall spaces for trade in public areas" (no. 83) was approved on July 5th, 2012. Starting from the provisions of Article 70 of Law 59/2010, the Agreement regulates the procedures for granting authorizations for the allocation of stalls in public areas. The Joint Conference was identified as the responsible body (on the basis of the Article 120 of the Constitution). Specifically, the paragraph 1 of the Agreement stated that the granting of the stall spaces has a defined duration (not less that nine years and no more than twelve years), a period that not limit the free competition beyond the required time needed to recoup the investment cost. Paragraph 2 outline the rules for the selection procedures for the allocation of stall, identifying also the priorities: greater professionalism (relative to length of service) evaluated as up to 40% of the total score and the commitment made by the candidate to make his commercial service compatible with its purpose and with territorial protection, thus including the type of products offered for sale. To sum up, the new elements introduced by the transposition of the Directive that have effects on the Italian markets are basically two: the introduction of other business bodies (corporations and cooperatives) and the limit on the duration of licenses by removing the mechanism of automatic renewal. For an in-depth analysis, see http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32006L0123&from=EN.

(Bruno et. al., 2006), which contributed much more to the diffusion of policies for markets. To answer the question of how the Barcelona Market Model has travelled around European countries, arousing the interest of local administrations, we need to recall the EU-funding for the cooperation between cities and regions, which leads to domestic change as a consequence to the whole process. The journey of the perception, of the belief that a market with specific and well-determined characteristics could become in effect the local landmark, did not pass through compulsory regulation but towards a "soft measures". Given the considerable funding that has been made available for territorial cooperation since the 1990s and due to the scope involvement of actors, estimated to be in tens of thousand, the reconstruction has involved multiple layers.

The impetus in the diffusion of policies for markets has been identified with the establishment of the first European Association of Markets, EMPORION. It was found by the city of Barcelona and the IMMB (also the association's headquarter), and it is formed by the markets of five European cities, the best practices in traditional markets with an international resonance and prestige: the network of Barcelona municipal markets (captain by La Boqueria), the Központi Vásárcsarnok of Budapest, the Borough Market of London, Porta Palazzo in Turin and the system of markets in Lyon. The association was established in order to defend and strengthen the position of markets in Europe, endorsing the role of markets in the European construction process and as a unique feature of the European way of life. As a consequence, markets acquired a renovated importance, a dignity to be the object of projects and the key player of local development strategies.

Identifying themselves as the "Association of the Best Food and Traditional Markets of Europe", EMPORION positioned itself strategically as the representative of markets in front of the European Institution, as inspirer and promoter of a well-defined market model. Facilitating multilateral relationships and forging alliances with countries and cities that share similar challenges "EMPORION seeks to share experience and resources, while acting as a lobby to represent traditional food markets in front of the European Institutions"[4].

In order to officialise its active role in the Europe, the association presented itself to the

[4] http://www.emporiononline.com/it/about-emporion/objectives

European Commission in Brussels in November 2006. And as soon as the association was officialised by the European Union, also the Barcelona Market Model acquired the status of "European" model and the legitimation to be exported elsewhere. The institutional patter, therefore, enabled the next municipality, the next region, the next city, and the next country to notice easily the objectified idea that has passed the test of local actions, and to apply it.

2.3 Previous European market-related projects

Since the establishment of EMPORION, the basin of cities - and especially local administrations - interested in markets as a tool for the improvement of the urban liveability has broaden. Concurrently, the chance to obtain European funds within the programme planning period 2007-13 has encouraged the design of projects about markets, captivating also cities that lacked of an historical market or a own market history.

The year 2012 was a fertile period for market-related projects: the European Union financed four different project focused on the improvement and development of urban markets. *Medemporion*, leaded by the Institute of Municipal Markets of Barcelona, was aimed at creating a network, fostering transnational exchanges and finding the best practices applied to commercial life of markets in the Mediterranean zone. The *Marakanda* project was implemented in order to preserve the typical Mediterranean markets through the setting-up of a cross-border cluster to promote the integration of high quality agro-food/handicraft productions chains and improve governance processes among private and public actors in city markets. The third market-related project, *URBACT Markets*, focused on understanding and exploring the role of urban markets as a key drivers of change in terms of local economic development, regeneration and sustainable living. The main goal was to provide action-oriented knowledge about how to use urban marketplaces to develop low carbon, local supply chains, better and more sustainable urban planning, employment and entrepreneurship. The *Central Markets Project – Revitalizing and Promoting Traditional Markets in Central Europe* joined the European scenario in 2012, co-financed by the Central Europe

programme, supporting the idea that markets still represent an important economic, social and cultural reality that needs to be protected and promoted.

The mentioned projects were all financed by the European Territorial Cooperation (ETC), better known as Interreg, designed in the framework of the European Cohesion Policy in order to implement joint actions and policy exchanges between national, regional and local actors located in the internal and external EU borders. The all-encompassing objective of the ETC is to promote a harmonious economic, social and territorial development of the Union as a whole (http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/).

The Interred IV 2007-13 is built around three strands of cooperation:

1. Cross-border cooperation;
2. Transnational cooperation;
3. Interregional cooperation and three networking programmes.

Each strand financed in the programme-planning period 2007-13 have ultimately financed a project with a focus on markets, as exemplified in the table below (*Table 1*).

Table 1: *Synthesis of the financed project by the Interreg IV*

Interreg IV 2007-13		
Strand A	CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION	ENPI CBC MED / Marakanda
Strand B	TRANSATIONAL COOPERATION	MED / MedEMPORION CENTRAL EUROPE / Central Markets
Strand C	INTERREGIONAL COOPERATION	URBACT II / URBACT Markets

Through the analysis of programme and projects declinations around traditional markets, it is possible to understand the evolution of the idea of markets, how it became flexible and adaptable to the needs of the contemporary city expressed by the European guidelines. Following the trajectory of the market in European policies will be functional to understand the involvement of the city of Mestre in the *Central Markets Project - Revitalizing and Promoting*

Traditional Markets in Central Europe and the feasibility study for a new covered market in the heart of the city.

MED/MedEMPORION

The first project about markets financed by the European Union has been MedEMPORION. The project was directly linked to the markets' association; even the project's name recalled it. The majority of the project partners were part of EMPORION and already active increasing the importance of markets in the political agenda. It was promoted and leaded by the cities of Barcelona, Torino and Genova, together with the Conservatoria del Piemonte and the Conservatoire des Cuisines de la Mediterranée of Marseille. The geographical focus was the Mediterranean area and the study of the importance of markets as a tool for urban development and economic promotion. As it is stated in the outline of the project:

> Med EMPORION will try to contribute to the European construction, and to the dialog and inter-Mediterranean cooperation from the food markets, considerate not just as important elements of the proximity trade but also as agents of economic and social development, and creators of values linked to the social cohesion, the public health, the environmental sustainability and the food sovereignty (http://www.emporiononline.com/fr/general/projects).

It was financed by the program MED, which is an instrument of the European regional policy for territorial cooperation, replacement for the INTERREG program. For the period 2007-20013, the MED primary purpose was to fund actions taking the strategic community lines into account for the cohesion, the national strategies of structure of the member states, the specificity and the needs and potential specific to the Mediterranean space (*Figure 16*).

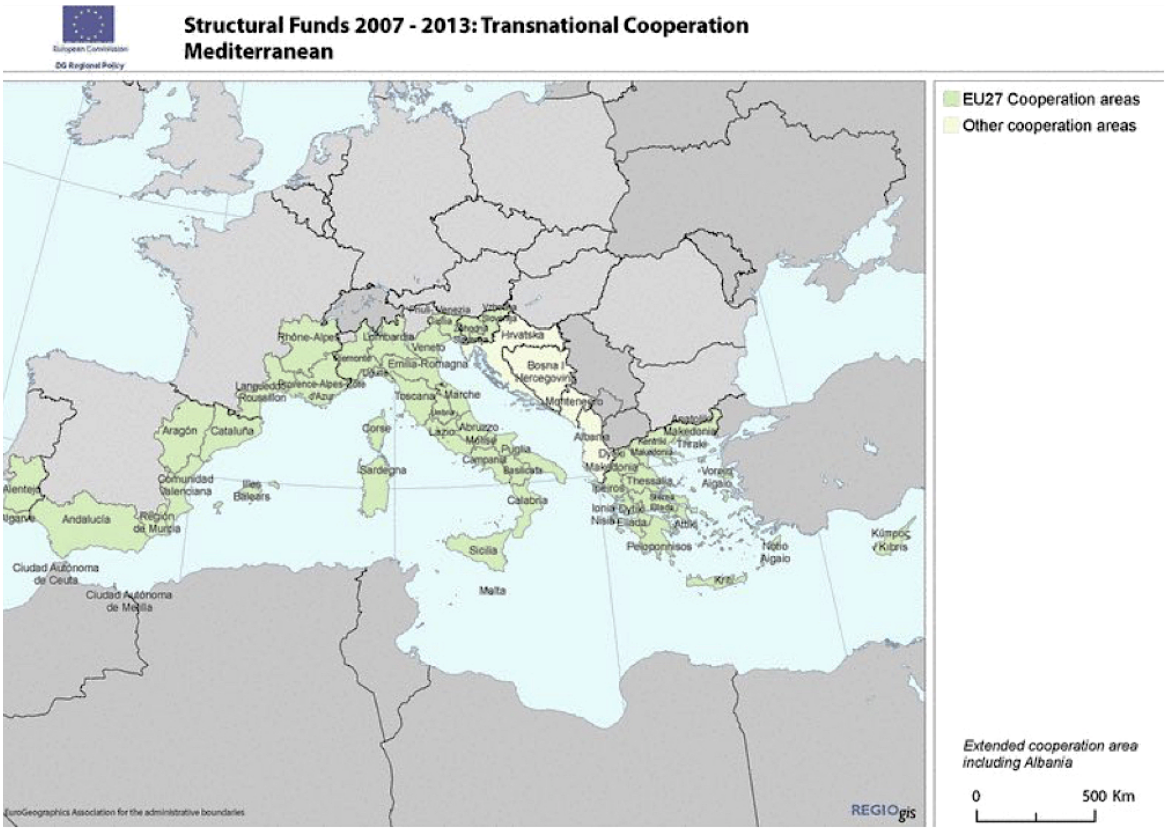

Figure 16: Countries involved in the MED program (http://www.medemporion.eu)

To make the Mediterranean zone an area with an enhanced capacity to compete in the international scene in order to insure the growth and the employment for the next generations, providing support to the territorial cohesion and acting up in the protection of the environment and sustainable development[5].

The program MED has identified four specific priority axis and the last one was identified as the suitable framework for the MedEMPORION, that is the promotion of a polycentric and integrated development of the Mediterranean space (balanced regional development). More specifically, the project is set in the objective 4.2, "Strengthening of identity and enhancement of cultural resources for a better integration of the Med space" (http://www.programmemed.eu/index.php?id=15377&L=1).

The specific goals identified with the project were:

[5] In accordance with the Lisbon strategy, the aim was to ensure economic growth and the employment for the next generations, and with the Goteborg strategy to promote the territorial cohesion and the protection of the environment, in accordance with the logic of the sustainable growth.

1. development of a transnational network and common support to the management of cultural nodes (such as urban areas, historical centres, cultural districts, etc.);
2. increase of the importance of historical inheritance and cultural resources through the promotion of transnational initiatives and integrated territorial development strategies;
3. support of the exchanges of tools and development of common strategies while increasing the cultural services of innovation. Promotion of the cultural initiatives in order to increase the economic attractiveness in the area (tourism of business, congresses, fairs, lectures, etc.);
4. disseminating the experiences for a better economic appraisal of the local and regional inheritance and of the cultural resources.

According to the goal of the MED programme, the EMPORION association has identified markets as a key element, as one of the leading characters of the Mediterranean space. The market is seen as a typical buying and selling point but especially as a reflection of the society in which it takes place; it is a place appropriate for the exchange of information, a space for sociability and where relationship between costumers and traders are forged. Here, the market, as meeting point and supply centre, requires to be protected and survive as a strategic space, in order to transmit agreed social values established by the population as a whole. Thus, the focus on market was not specifically on municipal markets held daily within a covered building, but also on traveling markets, which are determined by the market day established by each town or village and are usually held outdoors, and specific fairs and markets based on specific activities (such as organic market, Christmas market, etc.).

In the implementation of the action plan, the MedEMPORION project develops a series of complementary activities that will be carried out by the leading cities: the production of two academic studies on issues of strategic importance, the implementation of a pilot project in each of the participant cities and the holding of a gastronomic festival in each city. These actions are complemented by a series of meetings, events and activities.

What emerges from the *Table 2* and the pilot projects of each participant is the variety of

actions implemented, still connected with the enhancement of the value of the local food products, having in view to promote and communicate the quality of the products to the generic public.

Table 2: Pilot actions of the MedEMPORION project

	PILOT PROJECT	OBJECTIVE	STRATEGY
BARCELONA	Educational programmes	Disseminating the value of the market local trade, space of social relations, local quality products and responsible consumption	Educational activity for pupils
GENOA	Enoteca Regionale	Valuing and promoting the regional wine heritage	Implementation of a local wine museum and planning of educational and promotional activities
MARSEILLES	Ensuring the origin and quality of the products by producers from Marseilles sold in the market	Guaranteeing the quality and origin of the products to the public	Application of a participatory guarantee system and creation of a communication plan
TURIN	Market, tourism and their social identity	Promoting and valuing the wine and food products of the territory	Introduction to Porta Palazzo Market into the touristic circuit

The connection between the product of proximity (excellences of the territory) and the promotion activities is proven by the organization of four food festival in Marseille, Turin, Barcelona and Genoa, as one of the biggest events and a major activity of the MedEMPORION project, a week of gastronomic events and popular activities focused on the Mediterranean food and its qualitative and typical products (http://www.medemporion.eu/index.php/contents/view/festivals).

The first market related project was therefore aimed at promoting the best practices in terms of already existing marketplace, promoting at the same time the value and aims of the new-born EMPORION association and the market as a constitutive element of the

Mediterranean city[6].

ENPI CBC MED/Marakanda

The MED transnational cooperation program, which financed the first European project with a central focus on markets, had partially overlapped the geographical coverage with the multilateral cross-border cooperation "Mediterranean Sea Basin Neighbourhood Programme". The latest is part of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and of its financing instrument (European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument - ENPI) for the 2007-13 period, aimed at reinforcing the cooperation between the EU and partners placed along the shores of Mediterranean Sea[7]–.

The ENPI CBC MED was created in order to coordinate actions of both programs, develop synergies and maximize their respective contributions. The general objective of the Programme is to contribute to promoting the sustainable and harmonious cooperation process at the Mediterranean Basin level by dealing with common challenges and enhancing its endogenous potential.

The Operational Programme, approved on August 14th 2008 by European Commission decision C (2008) 4242, establishes a strategic framework of 4 priorities jointly defined by the participating countries:

1. promotion of socio-economic development and enhancement of territories;
2. promotion of environmental sustainability at basin level;
3. promotion of better conditions and modalities for ensuring the mobility of persons, goods and capitals;
4. promotion of cultural dialogue and local governance.

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6 As part of the MedEMPORION project, the IMMB carried out the study titled *Mediterranean Markets. Management Models and Good Practices*, in order to put forward tools and strategies for making the markets more competitive, ten proposals, as a guide for political strategies and as specific action plans for municipal markets, and based on the good practices observed in the cites surveyed. This document was intended to guide the Europe 2020 strategy about markets.

7 14 participating countries, which represent 76 territories and around 110 million people, are eligible under the Programme: Cyprus, Egypt, France, Greece, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Lebanon, Malta, Palestinian Authority, Portugal, Spain, Syria and Tunisia.

Marakanda, the second project about markets launched by the European Union, lies in the priority 1, measure 2: "Strengthening economic clusters creating synergies among potentials of the Mediterranean Sea Basin countries" (http://www.enpicbcmed.eu).

This measure fosters the creation of partnership between SMEs and SMEs clusters, with the purpose of promoting integration of certain production chains, through the valorisation of endogenous resources and know-how, while respecting the principle of sustainable development. Actions within this measure involve enterprises, professional associations, local and national public institutions, development agencies and actors working in the whole process of integration of chains offering financial and non financial services, trade unions and consumers organizations (http://www.enpicbcmed.eu/programme/about-the-programme/priorities-and-measures).

Marakanda project set up a cross-border cluster in order to promote the integration of high quality agro-food/handicraft production chains and improve the governance among private and public actors in cities markets.

Here, the focus is on historic Mediterranean markets, with a central role for the political, economic, and social development of cities themselves and their surroundings. The main goal was to design and experiment through policy measures, best practices and innovative tools in order to promote and re-launching historical and traditional markets, including also direct actions to foster local networking and exchange practices in order to upgrade competencies and capacities of market operators, enhance quality standards, and the management efficiency.

The Marakanda projects' participants have been composed by a heterogeneous consortium of local authorities, institutes in charge of the market management, association of SMEs, universities and research centres, with a balanced geographic coverage. The partnership has provided transnational and interdisciplinary contribution on historic local market promotion strategies (Marakanda Final Report, 2015). The partners which have been identified for the project were: Florence (lead partner), Alexandria, Genoa, Xanthi, Limassol, Barcelona, Favara, and Souk El Tayeb, all cities with historical markets in need of renovation.

The market is here seen as an element that can bind together cities and strength the

cooperation between countries. The value of this specific project resides in the transnational cooperation between partners, in the creation of a local and traditional markets' cluster, which made available to all partners competences and resources that are not available, developed and customize so easily.

The project work was divided in three macro-phases:

1. Transfer of Know-how: exchange of experiences, collection of good practices, methodologies and tools;
2. Local Experiments: definition of guidelines to improve competitiveness and attractiveness of the market and a common cross-border methodology. On the basis of these guidelines, each partner has designed a Local Action Plan (LAP), which should be approved by a Technical Committee;
3. Cross-border Experimentation: a Joint Common Circuit of local festivals, creation of a virtual mall in order to support SMEs internationalization and the creation of an Association of Historic City Markets.

The role of the IMMB of Barcelona, as a technical supervisor, was concentrated in the first phase of the project: identification of innovative methods and approaches, which lead to pilot policy experimentation in targeted markets. Through a participatory way, project partners have developed a common methodology in order to implement a transfer of good practices. Each partner had to fill up a questionnaire, providing information about their background, capacities, and markets' current situation and learning interest. The output of this phase has been the creation of SWOT analysis, which outlined the partner's training needs and critical elements. Activities that increase competencies have been identified. Each partner has been matched with a potential "best practice" able to be transferred and a preliminary match between Mediterranean countries training supply and demand has been identified. The IMMB, on the basis of the partners' information, has elaborated a document with a list of best practices/actions that can be potentially transferred, and suggested the most competent partner to lead the implementation of each methodology section. An intense agenda of thematic cross border workshop - in order to present and discuss various examples of best practices and relevant experiences - and study visits have been planned.

The study visits have been specifically organized with the purpose to encourage the exchange of practical experience, and the presence of Barcelona as a reference in each partner's learning possibilities (except for Souk El Tayeb and Favara) is not surprising. Also, the attention for its expertise in terms of innovative market strategies is confirmed by the numerous study-visits made by the Marakanda partners in order to study the Barcelona Market Network (three up to five visits were organized in of the Catalan city).

URBACT II / Urbact Markets

URBACT is a European exchange and learning program promoting sustainable development. In the spirit of the strategy defined in Lisbon and in Göteborg, the program recognizes the role of cities as key players and stakeholders of development and social cohesion, and provides them the necessary resources. URBACT has established a forum of more than 500 European cities in 29 countries that work together to develop pragmatic solution to major urban challenges, integrating economic, social and environmental dimensions. Through the sharing of ideas, experiences, know-how and methods between professionals involved in urban policy in Europe, participants have developed and implemented action plans specifically focuses on urban issues and solutions.

URBACT Markets was the third market-related project and it was created under the framework of the URBACT programme, addressing the challenge of integrated urban development. Markets have been treated as a part of the urban trade and retail policy, but with an integrated approach, connecting urban planning, environment employment and truism policy in the action plans.

The project will propose specific measures and innovative strategies to adapt markets to the challenges of the 21st century, answering the needs of contemporary neighbourhoods and inhabitants and consumer trends and demand. Establishing and efficiently managing markets is nowadays fundamental for cities, especially in the ages of recession when conflicts between the GDO, professional traders, farmers, social enterprises are growing. Markets could and "should became a key aspect of a socially balanced environmentally sensitive and

socially inclusive planning and through this, of sustainable urban regeneration of European cities" (URBACT Markets, 2015: 11).

The project investigates how city retail markets can become drivers of social, environmental and economic change in our neighbourhoods, focusing on sharing of best practices for creating and managing both street and covered markets (either food or specialist). The established network aims to help partner cities to established a local action plan to their market development link together the three basic aspects of the urban development connected with as much dimensions of the market:

- Economic aspects - through town centre regeneration;
- Sustainable aspects - through low carbon economy;
- Social aspect - through employment and entrepreneurship.

Each dimension have been developed in a Local Action Plan, through a participatory approach and according to the need and capacity of each city, the management arrangements and cultural approaches the market concept. The *Figure 19* represents the graph of the whole market model and ecosystem. As it can be observe in the Figure, markets have a broad impact on the city: they impact the GDP, influencing the tourism, real estate or the logistic sector, as well as the quality of life indicators - sustainability, employment, social development, etc. -, which benefit from the presence of an efficient market.

The partnership is composed by: Attica (Greece), Barcelona (Spain), Dublin (Ireland), London (UK), Pécs (Hungary), Suceava (Romania), Turin (Italy), Toulouse (France) and Wroclaw (Poland). Three cities have been chosen for their expertise, to lead the group on specific dimensions of the market, aforementioned: Barcelona heads the technical working group on markets as motors for urban and social regeneration, London leads the group promoting sustainability policies, both in terms of food distribution and efficient building, and Turin has developed knowledge about how to harness markets to generate economic, employment and entrepreneurship benefits (URBACT Markets, 2014).

Figure 19: The markets model and ecosystem for URBACT Markets

CHAPTER 3

Central Markets Project - Revitalizing and promoting traditional markets in Central Europe

Central Markets Project - Revitalizing and promoting traditional markets in Central Europe is the fourth project about markets, implemented by the City of Venice and its Commerce Office of the Economic Development Directorate. It is the clear example of how policies for markets travelled around European cities and how ideas are imitate, supporting ambitions of the local administration. The deconstruction of the implementation process of the project will be essential to understand the role of covered market in the contemporary urban planning policies.

Central Markets project was funded by the *Central Europe Programme*, which encourages cooperation among central Europe countries in order to improve innovation, accessibility and environment and to enhance the competitiveness and attractiveness of cities and regions. The programme invested 231 million of Euros during the period 2007-13, providing financial support to transnational cooperation projects and involving public and private organizations from Austria, Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Slovak Republic, Slovenia and Ukraine. The priorities identified by *Central Europe* are four:

1. facilitating innovation across central Europe;
2. improving accessibility to and within central Europe;
3. using our environment responsibly;
4. enhancing competitiveness and attractiveness of cities and regions.

Central Markets - Revitalizing and promoting traditional markets in Central Europe refers to the fourth

priority, supporting the idea that new investments and the employment are attracted by European cities with economic opportunities and high quality of life. To improve their attractiveness and competitiveness, cities need to exploit projects under this priority, in order to improve the quality of life of its citizens and promote a sustainable urban development. The *Central Europe* area is characterized by a high degree of urbanization (73% of the population is living in cities or urban areas, few highly populated and numerous small and medium-sized towns, which play a key role as regional economic and cultural centres). Due to a very selective influx of foreign direct investments in urban areas, a mono-centric development at national level have caused a decreasing economic potential in some of the rural regions or peripheral areas. In line with these preliminary remarks, the priority includes the following areas of intervention:

- developing polycentric settlement structures and territorial cooperation;
- addressing the territorial effects of demographic and social change;
- capitalizing on cultural resources, to make cities and regions more attractive.

The first area of intervention is the one engaged by the *Central Markets* project, aimed at achieving a more balanced and complementary territorial development, strengthening functional relations between cities and between cities and their hinterland, enhancing, at the same time, the economic and social development of cities and regions.

Central Markets - Revitalizing and Promoting Traditional Markets in Central Europe, a three-year project (1st of July 2012 - 31st of December 2014) sought to elaborate strategies and measures for the rediscovery of markets as an engine for the development of urban districts. It involved nine organizations from six different countries, constituting a well balanced partnership, focusing their action at local or regional level: four municipalities (City of Venice, Municipality of Turin, City of Bratislava, City of Krakow), two developing agencies (Pécs Development Agency and Maribor Development Agency), one Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Veszprém), one region (Ústí Region) and a private institution (Conservatory of Mediterranean Food from Piedmont). The variety of the organizations included in the project was thought and created in order to benefit from the traversal competences of each partners. As it can be noticed, the IMMB was not included and it was the first project where the city of Barcelona wasn't officially present in the partnership. Still,

the study visits and the best practices promoted in the three-years projects came from the Catalan experience and the Barcelona Market Model.

The general aim was making the eight target cities/regions more competitive and attractive by developing new and innovative market revitalization strategies, revamping in the mean time the relationship between territories and markets. The specific goals were the valorisation, reinforcement and integration of markets of the project partners, by increasing knowledge, designing and developing innovative actions and identifying effective strategies. Based on an active cooperation between partners, benefiting from mutual learning principles, the project focused on:

- the integration of markets in the commercial sector of the city, strengthening the relation between commercial actors (stakeholders, retailers, large retailers) and local activities (restaurant, bars, etc.);
- the recognition of the importance for citizens of services offered by markets, improving and developing the management in order to guarantee good services and quality of products;
- encouraging the local production, fostering the link between rural and urban economy;
- reducing the environmental impact of markets improving the waste and traffic management, in order to improve the sustainability of urban development;
- promoting cultural and entertainment events in the market areas, promoting the city image and encouraging a sustainable tourism.

To achieve these goals, Central Markets carried out four main actions:

1. Research activities on central Europe markets;
2. Planning and implementation of Pilot Actions;
3. Consolidation of networks and capitalization;
4. Political Strategy and commitment.

In the first part, *Central Markets* carried out specific research activities in order to increase knowledge on markets in central Europe. The *Report on the Status of Central Europe Markets* - a quantitative mapping of partners' markets and their governance system, consequently collected and assessed through individual SWOT analyses - and a *Common Comparative Study*

on relevant EU and national legislation policies - which studies the regional and national regulation of markets in the partner countries - derived from the necessity of learning about the current situation of markets Central Europe and their applicable laws and regulations. It was also contemplated an analysis of the implementation and the impacts on the market sector of the Bolkestein Directive in the countries involved in the project. The realization of studies and comprehensive reports, carried out under the leadership of the Conservatory of Mediterranean Food from Piedmont, was aimed to better understand markets functioning, and subsequently to define effective policies for their support and promotion, creating a draft strategy of policy recommendations for the revitalizations of markets. What has emerged from the research phase is that, even though surveyed markets are very different, they all face similar challenges and they share common goals. The main output of the research was to prepare a draft strategy highlighting policy recommendation for the revitalization of traditional markets in the urban context.

This first part of the project had been fundamental for the subsequent project phase, focused on the preparation of structured action plans and the implementation of the pilot actions for the revitalization of traditional markets. In order to test the effectiveness of the proposed policy recommendations, partners set-up eight pilot actions, focused at least on one of the following topics, emerged as well from the research activity during the first phase of the project: market governance systems; infrastructure, services and locational choices (Venice, foreseeing the construction of a new market, dealt with this issue); communication and marketing activities. These three issues are not separate, but there are connections among them, as creating a new market means including and efficient governance model and communication and marketing activities. Moreover, marketing activities cannot be achieved without an efficient governance system, which in turn implies broad participation of the stakeholders and a defined role for the public administration in the decision making process.

In the last phase of the project the pilot actions were compared and evaluated in order to create a validated C*ommon Transitional Strategy*, addressed to policy makers, market operators, potential investors and consumers in order to promote an innovative concept of market, able to boost a more balanced and sustainable urban economic development.

Throughout the whole project, the capitalization and dissemination of the transnational exchange of best practices has received particular attention. The collaboration with other market-related EU projects and the enlargement of the existing networks, has built collective support for market related issues at the EU level.

As a part of the capitalization activities, in January 2014, partners in CENTRAL MARKETS joined forces with URBACT MARKETS and MARAKANDA, to launch the Manifesto for the celebration of the *International Day of Market*. Together with representatives from cities of Barcelona and Florence (lead partners of other projects), partners cities signed the Manifesto for the joint celebration, declaring the commitment of their political representatives to promote and enhance traditional markets as they value the fundamental role of retail markets in local commerce, and their function as catalyst for urban regeneration and social cohesion. Moreover, in order to pursue long-term strategies and stimulate the coordination and connection among the involved cities, the signatory cities express there willingness to revitalized the European Network of Markets, EMPORION, reinforcing the circle of the best markets of Europe.

An important result that has been identified by the partners and explicitly enunciated in the final report is the production of an image of the ideal market, which has the same characteristics over and above the individual local context:

> Ideal market should be safe and clean places, a space for the population to gather. They should be places where tourists can get the dell for life in that city, where local products can be found and information about the origins of and traditions linked to those products given. Markets should provide the possibility of tasting and eating typical dishes prepared with these local products.[…] A market should also be an innovative system, with regards to both services and logistics: markets should maintain elements which distinguish them as traditional places, but at the same time they need to be capable of adapting to the new demands of customers through innovative services and technologies (Central Markets Final Report, 29-31).

The picture that emerge form the pilot actions and the studies carried out in the three years project highlights the differences of each local market and national context; yet, partners identified, through the use of various instruments of analysis, very similar priorities in terms of objective to be reach in the next future and actions to implement in order to revitalize

traditional markets and support at the same time the urban and regional context.
The project was carefully designed in order to meet the criteria of the funding programme Central Europe: It is a well-structured project, which follows the guidelines of the programme and it perfectly responds to the political approach of the European Union about markets as strategies for local development. The final evaluation of the project has demonstrated the success of the overall project and planned activities.

3.1 The role of the City of Venice in the implementation of Central Market

The City of Venice, as the lead partner of the Central Markets Project, was the one in charge of the design of the whole project. The idea to create a project about markets, as a valuable instrument for increasing the liveability of cities and the wellbeing of its citizens, has come to mind directly to Carla Rey, head of the Commerce Office of the Economic Development Directorate of the City of Venice. Rey's attention for European projects as instruments to foster local actions and intervene positively on the urban dimension, had come from her previous work experience, especially since 2011 when she was appointed as the deputy chairman of the AICCRE - Italian Association for the Council of Municipalities and Regions of Europe, the Italian section of the leading European association of Local Authorities, CCRE[8]. The AICCRE association is in charge of contributing to increasing the competitiveness of Italy in accessing and managing European funds, informing its members about European projects and the possible benefits, as well as assisting Local Authorities in the research of partners and funds.

[8] CCRE - the Council of European Municipalities and Regions - is the oldest and broadest European association of local and regional government, bringing together the national associations of local and regional authorities from 41 European countries and represents, through them, all levels of territories – local, intermediate and regional. Since its creation in 1951, CEMR promotes the construction of a united, peaceful and democratic Europe founded on local self-government, respect for the principle of subsidiarity and the participation of citizens. Its work is organized around two main pillars: influencing European policy and legislation in all areas having an impact on municipalities and regions and providing a forum for debate between local and regional authorities via their national representative associations (http://www.ccre.org/en/article/introducing_cemr)

The Deputy Mayor believed in the role of markets as expression of local tradition, as motor of economic development, integration and socialization, and she believed also that markets' potentialities were not fully exploited in the Venetian context. Therefore, from 2010, the Commerce Office under her influence modified the local regulation about markets and use of public land in light of the normative in force (national legislation and European directives), promoting at the same time the development of the local markets and their widespread distribution on the Venetian territory[9].

Furthermore, the popularity of projects about markets, the renovated appreciation of the market as a fundamental element of the liveable and contemporary city, and the well documented and promoted experience of other cities, *in primis* Barcelona, was seductive enough to build up a European project tailored for the Municipality of Venice and the idea of its Commerce Office of the Economic Development Directorate.

Once the topic of the project was identified, in order to start the process of implementation, Rey contacted the municipal EU Office, represented by Paola Ravenna, Manager of the International and European Policies Department.

The development of this department in the City of Venice started in the late 1990s, and it was linked precisely to the participation of the municipality to EU urban regeneration programmes, such as URBAN[10]–. From a very small office with few individuals and consultants, the EU office rapidly evolved in a fully structured and skilled organization, assuming the role of spreading EU policies within the municipality, managing all international and European project the City of Venice is involved and the international relations with partners, cities and bodies (Tedesco: 2010: 191). The municipality staff used

[9] From the summer of 2010 the local administration had taken a long route in order to established new markets (such as the AltraEconomia markets inaugurated in September 2012, in collaboration with the AEres Venezia association), examining the alternative locations, the extensions and the procedures issuing stall spaces for trade in public areas. A new regulation for the commerce on public land was approved with the resolution of the town council n. 3 of 27/01/2014, reviewing the opening hour and the product categories depending on the market typology (organic products, antiques or mixed markets), bureaucratic simplification for operators and improved consumer protection. For an in-depth analysis of the current regulation of the City of Venice, see http://www.comune.venezia.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/83126.

[10] The URBAN program was very important for the urban policies of the city of Venice because it increased the availability at the local level of extraordinary resources, which could be implemented for specific urban policies. Secondly, the EU instrument was used to fund important actions already included in an existing urban level strategy - started in the early 1990s (Mariotto, 2002).

the knowledge acquired within previous experiences[11] to develop a new project, and the framework chosen was the Central Europe programme. The initial idea of the Deputy Mayor was to develop a project within the framework of the MED Programme, but MedEMPORION had been already realized. Therefore, new options and new calls were taken into consideration, evaluating also the possibility of Venice as the lead partner of the new project about markets and the choice fell on the Central Europe programme, for its bureaucratic simplicity and subsequent fast implementation.

Once the EU Office had endorsed Carla Rey and her idea, the decision was presented to Alessandro Martinini, Director of the Economic Development Department the initiative became officially sponsored and supported by the Department. The proposed ideas were in line also with the main goals of the Directorate, which are: manage effectively initiatives focused on the growth of the local economic system, according to principles of sustainable development and through the valorisation of available productive resources and areas, the promotion of new activities and the research of sources for development. The department is in fact involved in the local development process by promoting and fostering economic actors and initiatives and by regulating economic activities of its competence; CENTRAL MARKETS embraces the importance of markets in light of the attractiveness and competitiveness of European cities and regions, stating:

> […] markets can play a fundamental role in sustainable urban regeneration, not only as drivers for economic development, culture and tourism, but also as a means to improve the quality of life of citizens and community cohesion (Central Markets Final Report, 2015: 13)

Hence, it is possible to affirm that CENTRAL MARKETS, more precisely the pilot action, conceived and design by the Commerce Office of the Economic Development Directorate with the help and guidance of the International and European Policies Department. No other Directorates of the City of Venice or other relevant stakeholders – at least in the initial phase of implementation – were involved in the project; it was conceived and

[11] The City of Venice has taken part in around 100 European projects, funded by different programmes: Interreg IVC, SEE, Central Europe, Alpine Space, IPA Adriatic, Italy-Slovenia, Urbact I, Urbact II, FP5, FP6, MED-PACT, Lifelong learning, Civitas, Asia Urbs, Culture 2000, Equal, Life, MEDA.

promoted as policy put into practice by the Commerce Office.

3.2 The pilot action of the City of Venice

The Pilot Action of the City of Venice was already well clear in the mind of the Commerce Office: a new covered marked had to be planned for the centre of Mestre, with well-defined characteristics. As it was conceived, the new marked would have played a key function in the strategic transformation of the city centre. It would not be conceived as just another commercial building but rather as a hub of services and activities and as a neighbourhood booster, inspired to the model of public markets in Barcelona. It has been already proven that the Barcelona Market Model was an outstanding success and it has been promoted as a ready-made product by the EU policies. Therefore, implementing the same building into the city centre of Mestre should have brought the same benefits to the city of Mestre.

The history of Mestre and the current urban dynamics were used to sustain the idea of the Commerce Office and the necessity to implement the planned policy.

The Municipality of Venice has a unique and complex morphology and it is perceived as composed in different and separated parts (as the acceptation of *bipolar city* [12] has synthetically describe). The municipality is basically split in two parts: one part of the town, the well-known and touristic lagoon city, is frozen in its eternal past of historical town, while the other part, the mainland, has been built around the needs of the industry and economy, in constant attempt to find its own identity and redefine itself.

Mestre is thus a part of the City of Venice, incorporated in 1929, and it accommodates the 2/3 of the whole population of the whole municipality. During the post-war period, the

[12] The concept of bipolar city read the Venetian urban structure not as a hierarchical relationship between Venice and its mainland. It was conceived in the half of the 70s but it is only with the new General Urban Development Plan of the City of Venice (PRG) in the 90s that became a founding element of the new urban vision. The city was recomposed as a whole, but with two centres (the lagoon and the mainland). Several structural interventions were planned on the axe Mestre-Venezia (such as Fusina and Tessera Terminals, together with the trans-lagoon bridge). The new vision tried to eliminate/lessen the functional deficiency, combining in a sole integrated urban system different parts of the city. See Benevolo L. (1996), *Venezia. Il nuovo piano urbanistico*, Laterza, and D'Agostino R. (2000), "Venezia anno Duemila: la città bipolare nel nuovo Piano Regolatore", *Insula Quaderni*, 4, pp. 117-125.

mainland experienced a rapid and disorganized urban growth. While the historical city situated into the lagoon and therefore with a particular urban structure, didn't have enough space for new developments, the growth was diverted to the mainland. Mestre rapidly evolved in a few years from 20.000 to 200.000 inhabitants, due to a flow of migrants coming from the countryside and the historical city centre, searching for better life and work conditions.

Throughout the XX century, as a primary consequence of the development of the industrial area of Porto Marghera (in the south of the mainland), the city reached the peak of its population growth in 1975-76, with more than 210.000 inhabitants (Barizza, 2014).

The impressive demographic increase produces in the 1970s a consequential accelerated urbanization, disorganized and outside the local strategic plan, generation new intertwined problems. Mestre developed in a chaotic way, replacing the historical building of the city, with new and voluminous buildings, without sufficient infrastructures and green areas. Nevertheless, the city maintains an historical and environmental tangle, which is not immediately visible as in other cities and it require a deeper understanding: river basins towards the lagoon, the Marzenego and the Salso Canal, and the fort system (Brunello, 1994). However, the historical part of the city is now a fragmented set that lost the original unity.

Mestre also raises social issues, such as lack of integration, poverty and security, not directly derived from its urban development but anyhow interrelated, which also represents opportunities of multiculturalism and social diversity if adequately addressed and exploited.

From the beginning of the 1990s, as we have already mentioned, the municipality has energetically intervened to improve Mestre and its liveability, fostering requalification and revitalization projects. While uncontrolled property speculation is flooding the city, green areas are disappearing and environmental pollution is increasing, the city and the local administration are working in order to divert those tendencies, creating a better urban environment and improving public services. Therefore, the Central Markets' pilot action can be seen within this attempt of Mestre to identify the place, in this case the covered market, in which it could express its specificity, an area in which commerce place also a social and a cultural role.

In addition to the historical framework, there is also a practical reason and premise, which have encouraged the decision to plan a new covered market. The daily market of Via Allegri (*Figure* 22 shows its original location) was relocated during the 70s in Via Fapanni, in order to decongest the area. But the new solution had rapidly taken a problematic direction and, more than 20 years ago, the Municipality of Venice was conscious that it was a temporary solution and the market should have been allocated in a new structure.

Figure 22: Air-vision of Mestre 1970s, without the market of Via Fapanni (Urban Planning Department, City of Venice)

The daily market of Via Fapanni (2000 sq.m), near Piazzale Cialdini, placed in an area delimited by the fork of the Merzenego canal, currently contains 49 stalls, divided into food (cheese, meat, fruit and vegetables, fish) and non-food products (without any restriction related to the commodities sector).

The customers' circulation takes place within the triangular perimeter created by structures (*Figure 23* and *24*).

Figure 23: Image of the daily market of Mestre from above (Photo gallery of the City of Venice, June 2014)

Figure 24: Image of the daily market of Mestre(Photo gallery of the City of Venice, June 2014)

The market, at the current state, does not offer adequate facilities and services to the traders: the space for loading and unloading goods is insufficient, the market area is not easily accessible due to the congested streets and also the garbage collection presents numerous management problems. In addition, the backside of the stalls denies a visual connection with the arcades of Via Fapanni and the canal side (as the red lines in *Figure 25* highlights) – which represent unexploited environmental and urban resources -, strongly disqualifying the surrounding area.

And all these problems worsen when the weekly market takes place (on Wednesday and Friday) in Via Parco Ponci.

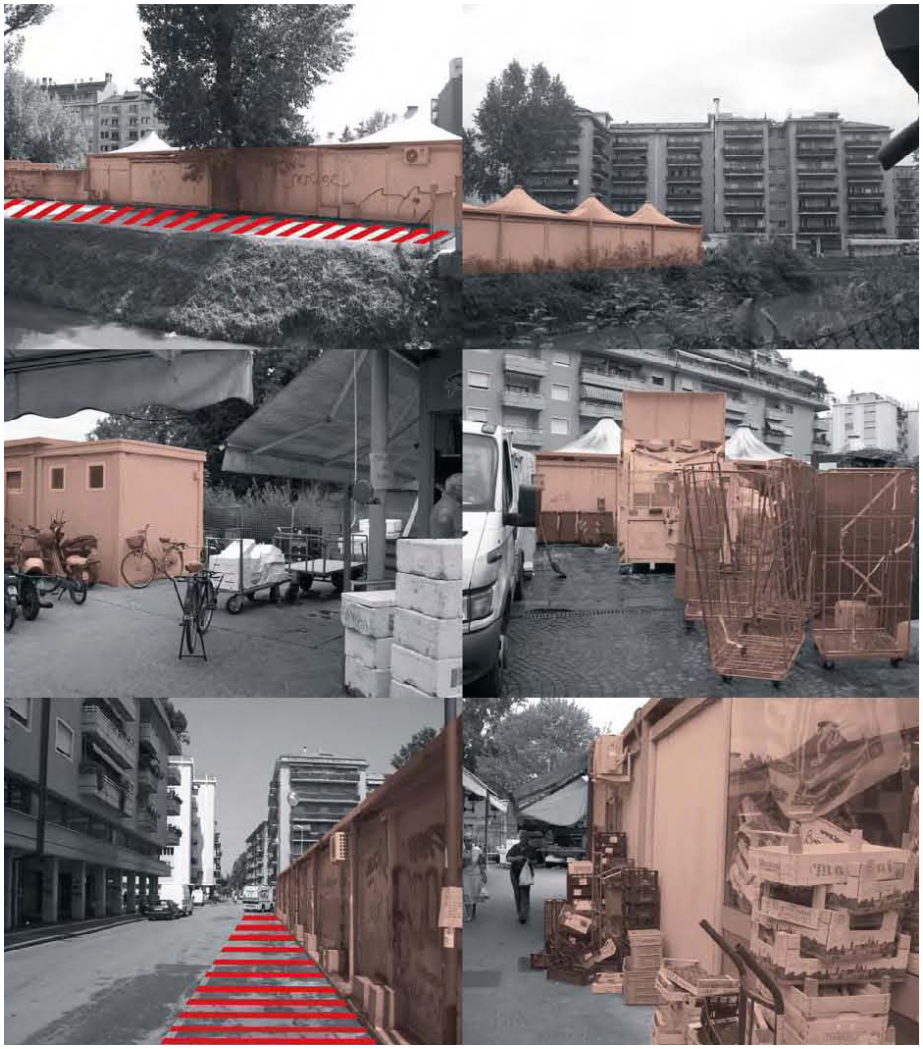

Figure 25: Criticalities of the daily market of Mestre (Urban Planning Office, City of Venice)

The above-mentioned facts legitimized the project supported by the Commerce Office, constituting a solid ground from which a planning decision could be developed through the Pilot Action of the European project.

The Pilot activities planned by the City of Venice are twofold: they include a Study on the role of covered Markets as drivers of local development and urban regeneration and a feasibility study and rendering of a new covered market in the heart of Mestre.

The first study explores the different functions and opportunities offered by a new covered market, conceived as an "innovation hub". The main idea behind this concept is to use commerce, in particular that of basic goods such as food and beverages, as a driving force for urban regeneration and development. The policy study was used as a sort of theoretical guideline for the feasibility study, a document useful for understanding the main features of the new building that have to be reflected in the design of the space. The description of the ideal market in the policy paper is, once again, a narration of the Barcelona Market Model's characteristics, supported by academic references and for the first time connected with Mestre.

The feasibility was the graphical representation of the market depicted in the policy paper, and it was structured as follow:

1. a study on the current state of commerce and markets in Mestre in order to better address the needs and expectations of citizens in the final output;
2. branding of the new market to better promote and communicate (internally and externally) initiatives linked to the new market;
3. LEED certification for the planning, execution and management of sustainable buildings (the new municipal market building will meet energy sustainably requirements)

The Commerce Office, even before the drafting of the pilot action, had already identified the selected area for the construction of the new market, which lingers close where the daily market is today (*Figure 26*), in the triangular-shape parking space (San Leonardo).

In order to obtain the parking area, which is a private property, the IVe[13], in behalf of the

[13] The Immobiliare Veneziana (IVe) is a limited-liability company, owned by 99,52% by the City of Venice,

City of Venice, had to make a deal with the owner: in return of the area, it has been offered the management of the market's underground parking and a certain amount of money, as a disbursement.

The position is still central, but the size of the new market has to be necessarily wider, to absorb new functions – new parking space, logistic and waste management system – and to renew the variety of stalls, products and activities inside the market.

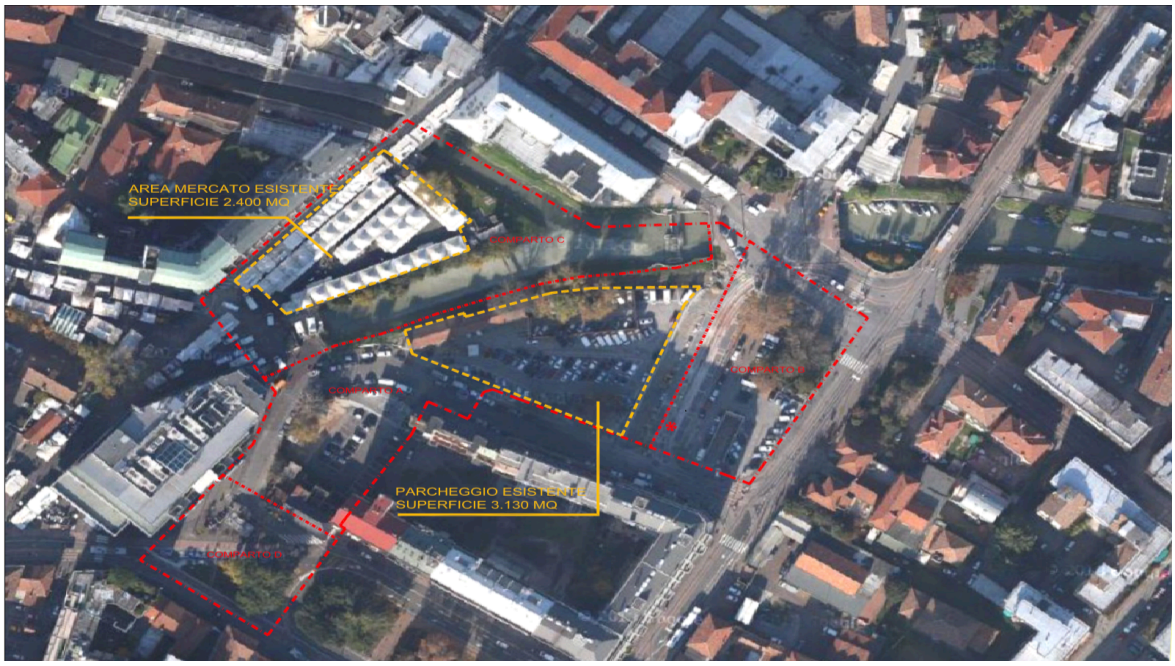

Figure 26: The area of the new market of Mestre (Source: Commerce Office)

The characteristics of the new market

The Policy Paper on *Revitalising and promoting traditional urban market* commissioned to the Ca' Foscari University serves as an instrument for helping the materialization of the idea of a covered market, placing it in the city of Mestre. Supported by the academic research, the

which managed and coordinate IVe, and 0,48% by AVM (Azienda Venezia per la Mobilità). It was established in 1940 to be the "container" of the properties acquired by the City of Venice. IVe is currently involved in regeneration projects, the planning of residential areas and social housing, promotion of interventions in the service sector and brownfield sites. See http://www.immobiliareveneziana.it/index.php.

idea of the Deputy Mayor Rey has been turned subject to a process of *local labelling*, especially important when a certain idea must be fitted into an already existing pattern (Czarniawska, 2005). In order to label the market, the policy paper reinterpreted it through the concept of the *Experience Economy*[14] : *experiences* differ from other products for its unique relationship between the consumer and the product itself: experiences are personal, they are connected to the personal memories of people and they become part of the process of "identity" creation (Pine and Gilmore, 1998).

The market, to all intents and purposes, can be conceived as an experience, either for the range of sensory impressions or human interaction that people can experience just wandering about stalls, and also because markets bring life to a neighbourhood, quality of urban life, sense of belonging to a city and its culture. Thus, the project to create a new covered market in the city of Mestre can be seen as an attempt to exploit the potential of the Experience Economy, to attract knowledge-based activities, and enhance the quality of the urban fabric of Mestre and positively transform its image. And in order to do so, the market cannot be conceived just as another commercial building but rather as a hub of services and activities, and as a neighbourhood booster. The new market will play a key function in the strategic transformation of the centre of Mestre and the design itself will have a deep impact also on the social fabric of the city. The main idea behind the project of the market, intended as a tool for the urban regeneration of the inner city is "integration": integration of dimension of intervention, integration of urban functions and integration of partners and resources.

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[14] The *Experience Economy* has emerged as a concept to define a new economic era – following the agrarian, industrial and service economy - based on the added value of experience, powered the increasing interurban competition and the personal engagement of the consumer. Cities are entitled to take on a special role in the *Experience Economy*, as centres for the consumption of memorable experiences in the everyday life, demanding and spending an increasing amount of resources in leisure activities. Old infrastructures of the industrial production, factories, whorehouses and elements that dominate in the past the visual city landscape have been replaced with service economy, events, entertainment sites and districts (Therkildsen *et al.*, 2009). Places are objects of consumption and many of the best experiences are usually "place-bound" (Lorentzen, 2009; 2015), embedded with the urban, social and economic life, and so, their quality becomes in return a factor of urban development. As Lorenzen (2009: 10) suggested "the role of place in the experience economy is to increase the experience value of the products on the market. The place constituent increases the experience value by means of identity creation and involvement of the consumer". The increased value given by a city, and therefore by an experience, is the "quality of place", which is strictly related to the functional combination of natural environment and buildings, diversity of people and varied activities and events, signs of a vibrant city life, with cultural, exciting and creative content (Florida, 2002).

The new market can thus be seen as an "innovation hub", an opportunity to foster and create intelligent spaces within the city. A "fusion place" where different uses coexist, such as traditional commerce, education and learning, shopping and entertainment, and community functions. In fact, the market as an innovation hub fosters a wide variety of interactions and the appearance of mixed-used environments, blurring the boundaries between physical, digital, economic, social and cultural spaces.

The physical shape of the market was revealed to be a significant factor in a market's success as a social space. Markets are very much about interaction between traders and the public, and design and space must promote and encourage this interaction. Markets that combined indoor and outdoor areas appeared to work well. One of the main reason behind this preference is the fact that in poor weather conditions, shopping outside is not appealing for shoppers and, at the same time, it makes unpleasant working conditions for the traders.

The new market in Mestre must have a captivating design, simple and elegant, different from the huge concrete buildings of the city, but at the same time it needs to be integrated with surroundings. Thus, the market would be the image of a city in evolution, a city that is changing for its citizens' wellbeing.

The architectural design and layout of the New Market of Mestre will also provide a scheme for organizing a range of different uses of the two-level covered space. Uses will include at least:

1. retailing of fresh produce;
2. assembly of produce;
3. wholesaling by farmers and vendors;
4. meat and fish sales;
5. the retailing of other goods such as clothes and utensils;
6. cafes, restaurants and food stands;
7. spaces equipped for co-working;
8. meeting rooms and education spaces;
9. spaces devoted to municipal and community social activities.

In sum, the New Market of Mestre will be a mixed-use space, one that can be described as a true integration of different functions in time and space. This is different from a type of

development that compartmentalizes the various uses within a community or a landscape. For example, implementing multi-functionality within communities creates spaces that have multiple purposes. Due to their access to diverse uses in one place, these spaces can contribute to a community's vitality. As well, these multi-functional amenities often appeal to diverse community members, including activists, artists, academics and social entrepreneurs, allowing them to act as incubators for new ideas, knowledge exchange, shared experience and experimentation. This connection of diverse communities can inspire innovative thinking and provide opportunities for collaboration and partnerships across traditional boundaries.

The planning of the new municipal market of Mestre will devote particular attention to issue of transport, logistics, waste collection and energy co-generation in a sustainable perspective. It will first of all represent a way to further enhance the rural-urban cooperation that has already been promoted in the last few years within the wider municipal market policy. Producers will find in the market the way to the final consumer and for some of them opportunity will open to sell their products directly to the consumer through the Market. Furthermore, the presence of the Market could provide the ideal conditions for the development of "green" and local brands and possibly a traceability system with a quality charter for products from the Venetian countryside. As well as providing end users with better knowledge and information on local products, the presence of the Market will also be beneficial for the strengthening of the links between restaurants, chefs, fishermen and other primary producers in the area and enhancing their market opportunities. Given the links between local food systems and sustainability and the desired role on the New Market of Mestre in the local food system, optimizing the logistics of local producers can raise awareness of the role of the different actors along the products' supply chain and contribute to the reduction of Co2 emissions. Through reducing the distance that food is transported, the Market will decrease "food miles". The distance food takes to travel is directly related to the amount of fossil fuels required to get it there. Since fossil fuels cause pollution and directly impact climate change reducing the distance that food travels translates into environmental (and related socio-economic) benefits.

The functioning of the New Market will also adopt an innovative approach to waste

minimization and management mainly based on the separation of waste for recycling/composting and reduction in the use of packaging and the use of recycled/biodegradable packaging. The New Market will put in place recycling facilities to separate waste so that it can be recycled or disposed of appropriately and technologically ready to convert waste into a resource for future use elsewhere.

Energy efficiency and use of renewables energies will also have to feature the planning of the Market with a methodology for optimal building retrofitting towards zero emissions, developed to ensure cost effectiveness through innovative technologies, material applications and design techniques. The logistics of the Market will be designed in order to achieve effective interactions of energy flows: building to building, building to electrical grid and building to heating and cooling networks and improved methodologies for interconnectivity of smart grids and heating and cooling networks under the control of a building level energy operation system. The Market will be considered as single energy-consumption unit and at the same time, connected to otherbuildings forming high-energy efficient districts prepared to be connected with other districts around. These energy units will be able to provide advanced energy services (electrical and thermal) to other buildings in their district, which will make the building strategies replicable al district level in order to attract investments.

The feasibility study

The project was assigned to the designing studio Sinergo Spa, through a tender notice announced by the City of Venice in March 2014. Given that the physical borders of the aforementioned area were already well delimited, architects immediately put in relation the new market with the other initiatives to redesign the centre (*Figure 27*), such as the reopened of the Marzenego (the canal in Via Poerio, previously interred), the projects of the cultural centre Candiani and the M9 museum.

Figure 27: Overview of the urban area and the regeneration project implemented by the City of Venice (Pre-Feasibility study, Sinergo Spa: 3)

The covered market (the project area is highlighted in blue in *Figure 27*) was design to be a symbol of the Mestre's revitalization and to embody the new city image. It should mark the city with an architectural sign, able to assume an emblematic role for the community and to intervene in the reorganization of a degraded area, concretely engaging issues of environmental social, urban and economic sustainability.

In order to do so, as a preliminary analysis, the Sinergo Spa studied the surrounding area and its commercial offer (represented in *Figure 28*): what emerged from the research is the presence of numerous commercial activities, varied in dimension, typology and offer (banks, cafes, hotels, mall and various shops). Therefore, it is confirmed also from a functional perspective, that the new covered market has to be a hub of services and activities, a driving force for enhancing the neighbourhood and the entire city as well. Another commercial container wouldn't be effective for the requalification of the centre.

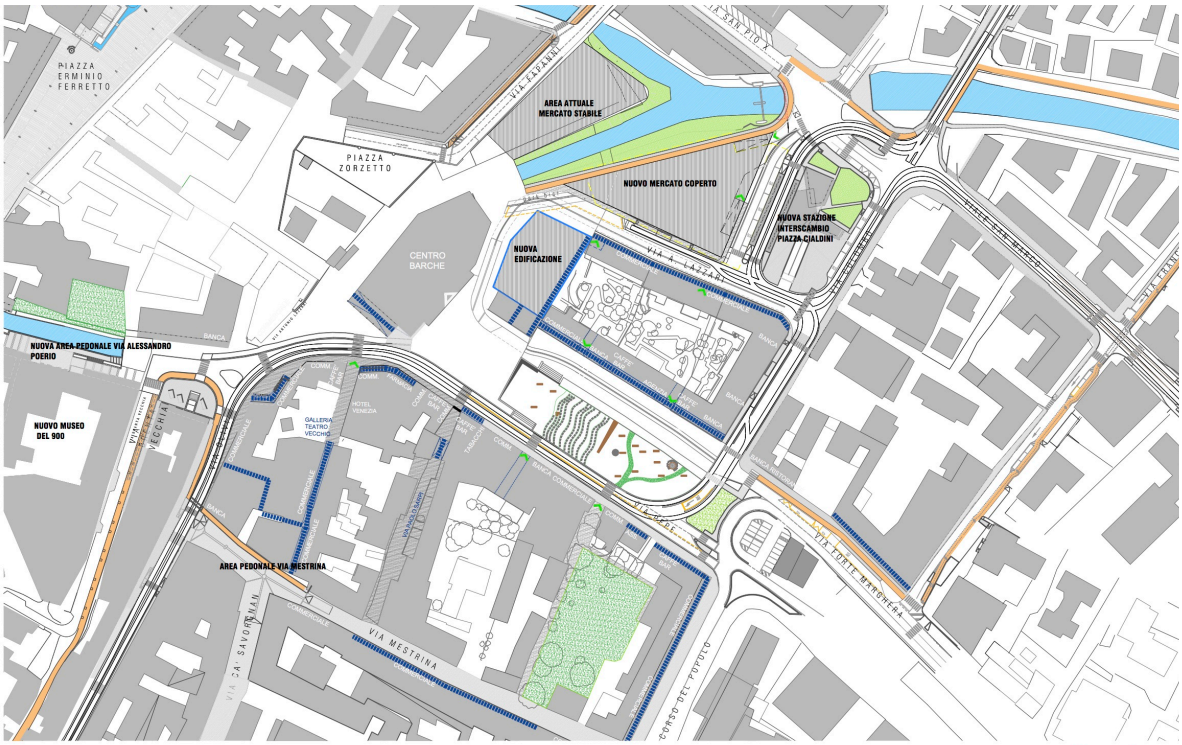


Figure 28: Analysis of the commercial activities nearby the project area (Pre-Feasibility study, Sinergo Spa: 4)

Together with the already selected project area, the architects had precise indications to be included in the design:

- underground level (parking space and loading and unloading area) in order to guarantee the vehicle access to the building and coherently plan with the development of Piazzale Cialdini and the new practicability;
- arrangement of 52 stalls (selling exclusively food products) on the ground level, as much as the number of stalls of the temporary market;
- plan of at least one food stand or cafe on the ground floor;
- big and flexible space (for example a terrace or a court), open to the public, which could be used fro exhibitions, meetings or events;
- second level destined to complete the offer of the market with different functions, high flexibility of spaces and usability

The building has also to be design foreseeing a new pedestrian access on the left side of the

Marzenego, in order to facilitate the access to the market (soft mobility); it is desirable the realization of a cycle-pedestrian path, connecting the area of the project with the area of the daily market, which will be transformed in a public garden.

Coherently with the guidelines expressed in the policy paper about the role of the new market for Mestre, the Sinergo Spa elaborated different planning alternatives in the feasibility study: in a first phase of concept-development, the designing studio defined six different functional layouts.

In the second phase, proposals were elaborated on the basis of the following criteria:

1. accessibility
2. relationship with the context
3. disposition of shared areas
4. stalls disposition
5. management costs
6. first floor disposition flexibility

According to those parameters, three out of the six options were chosen and further elaborated. In the third phase, and last phase, the functional layout C was considered the better interpreter of the vision desired by the Deputy Mayor Rey, and therefore elaborated in a series of three-dimensional visualizations. In all the phases, the architects have been in contact with the Commerce Office and consultants, who have written the policy paper, and also the final layout of the market has been chosen accordingly with them.

The building area is 2400 sq.m, with a triangular plan. The new building will absorb the stalls that are placed in the obsolete daily market, transforming the no longer used area in a canal side green space connected to the new market by a ramp.

In the feasibility study of the layout C, the ground floor (*Figure 30*) is a closed area, accessible through three entrances, southeast facing side in correspondence of the tram station, north in the direction of a cycle-pedestrian itinerary and northwest close to the main square, Piazza Ferretto. Such arrangement allows the closure of the market by gates.

The stalls (about 5x3 m each) face the interior part of the building and they are arrange on the basis of a L plan, clearing some space for a hall open toward the river.

From the ground floor it is possible to have a view of the upper floor, thanks to the light-

wells and use of glass for the staircases; the space, however, can be closed and efficiently air-conditioned.

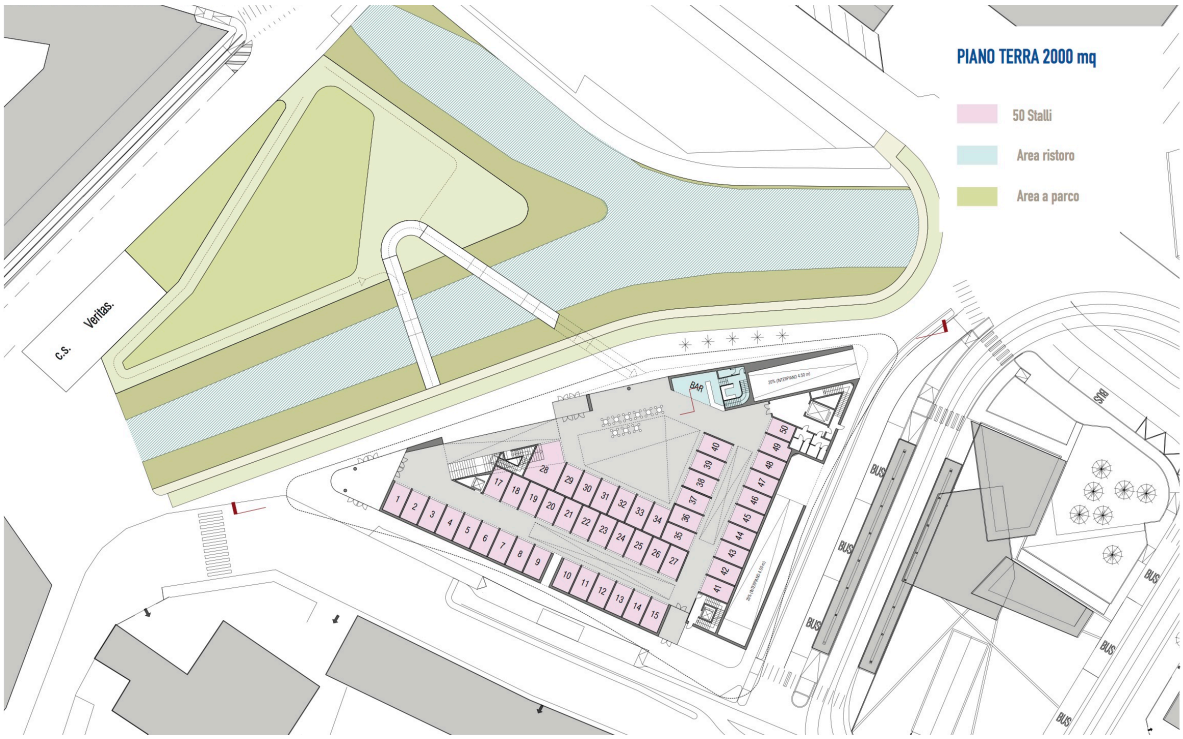


Figure 30: The ground floor of the covered market (Pre-Feasibility study, Sinergo Spa: 26)

The first floor is configured as a big open space, tracing the area of the stalls downstairs, lighted up by skylights and light-wells, combined with the hanging gardens and seating plan. It is organized as a sort of covered terrace, facing out to the city. Several closed but flexible spaces are arranged on this level, such as co-working spaces, meeting rooms or spaces available for municipal and social activities. *Figure 31* illustrates the functional layout of the first floor, which combines an area available for exhibitions and events, together with a restaurant/café, a meeting room for conference or cooking class, a study hall and a co-working space. The conceived layout for the upper floor of the market allows a wide flexibility regarding the organization and the setup of spaces.

The space dedicated to the stalls and the selling of food products has to be necessary wider – 3800 sq.m compared with the 2000 sq.m of the daily market in Via Fapanni – in order to accommodate the additional services (such as elevators, staircases, toilets, etc.) and it has the

same dimension of the underground floor. Whereas the first floor is just 2020 sq.m, including also the light well and glass surfaces.

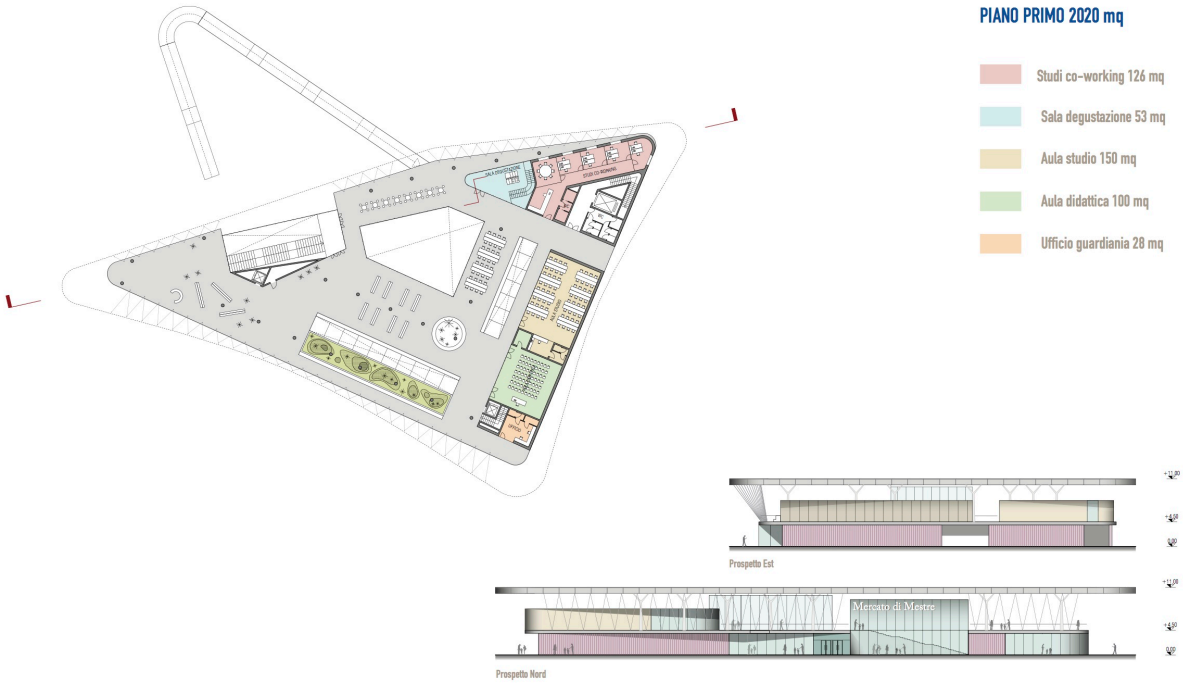


Figure 31: The first floor of the covered market (Pre-Feasibility study, Sinergo Spa: 27)

The estimated cost for the building is 9.756.000,00 Euro; *Figures 32*, *33* and *34* are the rendering of the new market.

Considering the unusual project area, the guidelines provided, and the established requirement of comprising all 52 stalls, the ground floor is well designed. While the first floor layout is in need of further revision: additionally researches about spaces and activities, which are already available in Mestre and citizens and workers really demand, could suggest a better arrangement of uses.

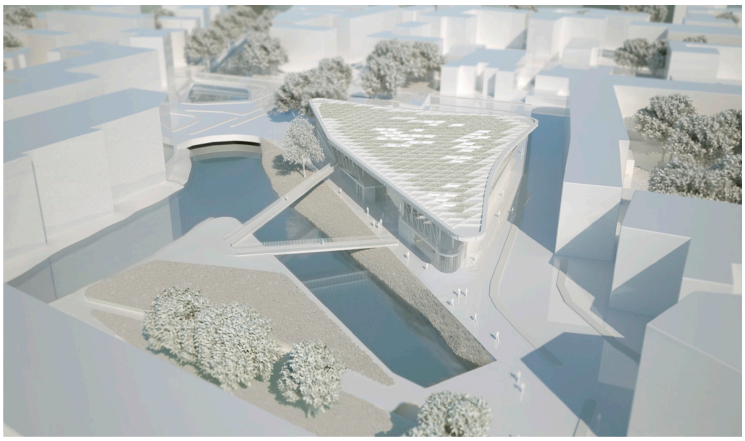


Figure 32: Rendering of the new building and the public park (Pre-Feasibility study, Sinergo Spa: 34)

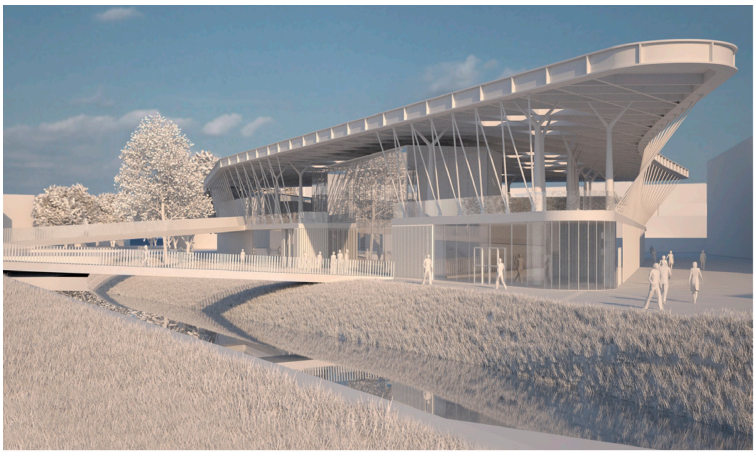


Figure 33: Rendering of the new building seen from the public park (Pre-Feasibility study, Sinergo Spa: 35)

Figure 34: Rendering of the new building seen from the public park (Pre-Feasibility study, Sinergo Spa: 36)

The dissemination of the project and the involvement of the stakeholders

The new covered market was considered the flagship project of the Commerce Office, the symbol of its willing to improve the liveability of Mestre. And as so, it was presented during the public meetings organized in Venice and in the Mestre[15], where the Deputy Mayor Rey promoted her idea, all the possible benefits of this kind of covered market. Images, videos and narratives always recall and show examples of Barcelona's markets, as if the presence of the market with those characteristics would generate the exact same benefits and automatically Mestre in an attractive city.

Apart from the public presentations of the pilot action to the citizens, compulsory requirements of the European project, the project for the covered market was not discussed with other directorates or other relevant stakeholders present in the territory, which could somehow join the debate.

The only association that was indirectly involved in Central Markets and the market project was Confesercenti Venezia[16]. The collaboration was limited to the participation to the third edition of a regional call for proposal with the DGR n. 2741 of 24th December 2012, titled *Progetto strategico regionale per la rivitalizzazione dei centri storici e urbani e la riqualificazione delle attività commerciali*.

The competition financed and encouraged innovative models of public-private partnerships aimed at activate processes of local development, through the implementation of specific Integrated Programs for the revitalization of the city centre and the modernization of the

[15] In addition to dissemination events part of the Central Markets program, such as project meetings (17/09/2012; 22-23/01/2013; 12-13/10/2013; 15-16/05/2014 and the final conference on 11/11/2014), thematic workshops with Marakanda partners to study and exchange practices about historical (27-28/02/2013), transnational event in Ústí (20-21/06/2013) and the official conference of Central Europe (13-16/05/2013), several informal presentation for the general public were organized:

- 20/09/2013 AltroFuturo, The Fair of the degrowth and sustainable cities (Mestre);
- 19/11/2013 Hotel Bologna (Mestre);
- 06/03/2014 Sportello Unico per le Attività Produttive della Terraferma – SUAP (Mestre);
- 29/05/2014 International Day of Markets (Venice and Mestre);
- 26/06/2014 AltroFuturo, The Fair of the degrowth and sustainable cities (Venice).

[16] Confesercenti is a trade association, established in 1971, and it represets the small and medium Italian entreprises in the commerce, turism, services, craft and small businesses sectors. It represents more than 350.000 entreprises and it is artciulated in 70 professional federations, 20 regional and 120 provincial offices. See http://www.confesercenti.it.

commercial offer. Contenders had to constitute a partnership and to select a subject in charge of the coordination and management of the Integrated Program's actions.

Confesercenti Venezia was chosen by the Commerce Office as a partner in this specific task especially because it had already won the first regional call for proposal with the project *Mestre in Vista*, promoting together with the traders several coordinated initiatives to revitalize the city centre and make it more attractive[17]. Confesercenti was also audit for the TOCEMAEurope Quality Mark[18], adopting the French Belgium experiences of Town Center Management [19] and collaborating with Arch. Elena Franco, member of the TOCEMA[20] association. During the first regional competition, Confeserscenti tried to engage the Commerce Office in the implementation of the Integrated Program, but at that time it was not interest in collaborating.

Due to the experience accrued, the 2012 application was entirely written by Confesercenti Venezia, with the principal objective of obtain extra funds. It was strategically included in the *Piano di Assetto del Territorio 2010* and *Contratto di Valorizzazione Urbana per la Rigenerazione Funzionale del Centro Storico di Mestre* - which are going to be discussed thoroughly in the next paragraph -, as a set of already planned interventions for improving the attractiveness of Mestre. The idea was to include the program into the large-scale vision and policies already implemented in the Municipality and employ the regional grant (372.590 Euro), with a specific focus on commerce.

The Integrated Program was titled *Mestre "cuore" della Terraferma* and it was realized by the

[17]For example, among the activities promoted by *Mestre in vista*, there were "Pizza+cinema+parcheggio", a 15 euro coupon for parking the car, eat in affiliated pizzeria and going to watch a movie in the Cineplex of Mestre, or "Giovani coppie al ristorante" which offer a two culinary tasting of local food and wine for the price of one, in selected restaurants of Mestre.

[18] It is a three-level Quality Mark for town centre management (TCM) grant by the TOCEMA association. The initiatives eager to adopt tools to improve and progress and that seek recognition of their quality services. The aim of the Quality Mark aim is to set and maintain throughout Europe high standards of TCM schemes and to provide a good practice framework to interested initiatives.

[19] The Centre Management is a co-ordinated pro-active initiative designed to ensure that towns and city centres are desirable and attractive places. In nearly all instances the initiative is a partnership between the public and private sectors and brings together a wide-range of key interests.

[20] Tocema Europe started as an Interreg IIIC European funded project, which was initiated in March 2005 by the AMCV (Association du Management de Centre-Ville). The formal partnership of equivalent bodies, created during the project, is aimed at value and foster initiative in the Town Center Management sector by creating and developing the TOCEMA Europe Quality Mark, developing new practices and guidelines. For more information, see http://www.tocema-europe.com.

public-private partnership of several stakeholders of the mainland, which constituted the Management Body of the Integrated Program (OGPI): City of Venice (Commerce Office), *Camera di Commercio, Industria, Artigianato e Agricoltura di Venezia*[21], *Venezi@ Opportunità*[22], *Confesercenti Venezia*, *Confcommercio Venezia*[23], CNA[24], AEPE[25]. The group was build around partners and associations highly interested in the competitiveness of Mestre city centre, knowledgeable of complex urban and commercial dynamics of the area and able to effectively intervene. The partnership was considered a fundamental element of the success of the Program and the main objective was to enlarge it, in order to include other subjects (the blue actors indicated in *Figure 35*). The OGPI was responsible for the management, coordination and monitoring of events and initiatives promoted by the Integrated Program, and to do so, strategic and technical meetings were organized in the period 01/06/2013 – 31/05/2015[26]. The management of the OGPI was entrusted to Elena Franco – the former collaborator of Confesercenti in *Mestre in* Vista - through a public announcement. She was in charge of the stakeholders' group and the coordination of all the activities included in the Integrate Program; in particular she had to develop an innovative model of public and private partnership, in order to effectively implement the planed actions.

With regard to the new covered market of Mestre and the Central Markets project, the OGPI had the difficult task of discussing and creating an innovative public-private management model of the structure, taking the cue from the innovative model already

[21] *Camera di Commercio, Industria, Artigianato e Agricoltura di Venezia* is the local organization of businesses of the Venice Municipality, http://www.ve.camcom.it//istituzione/cciaave.

[22] *Venezi@ Opportunità* is an *Agenzia Speciale* of the Camera di Commercio, Industria, Artigianato e Agricoltura di Venezia. It promotes all the services necessary to foster the development of enterprises and to support in general local economy. Training, qualification, re-qualification and refreshing courses for entrepreneurs and their assistants represent its fundamental intervention area. Special attention is paid to training of future entrepreneurs, economic and professional operators. See, http://www.veneziaopportunita.it.

[23] *Confcommercio Venezia* is a confederation of enterprises, professions and self-employment. It protects and represents its members in dealings with institutions, promoting the role of market services, which is, within a services economy, for more information http://www.confcommerciovenezia.it

[24] CNA, *Confederazione Nazionale dell'Artigianato e della Piccola e Media Impresa*, gives value to crafts and small and medium entreprises, serving as thier partner for the promotion of economic and social development, through the offer of integrated and personalized services, assistance, information and innovative solutions, http://www.ve.cna.it/home.html.

[25] AEPE, *Associazione Esercenti Pubblici Esercizi di Venezia*, is a trade union established in 1946 and it represents the businesses active in the food and beverage administration of the Venice municipality, http://www.aepe.it.

[26] 17 sessions were organized during the period in question, almost two years. The attendance was not sufficient to fulfil the initial commitment of meeting at t least twice a month.

operative in the major European cities - with a particular attention for the Barcelona management model.

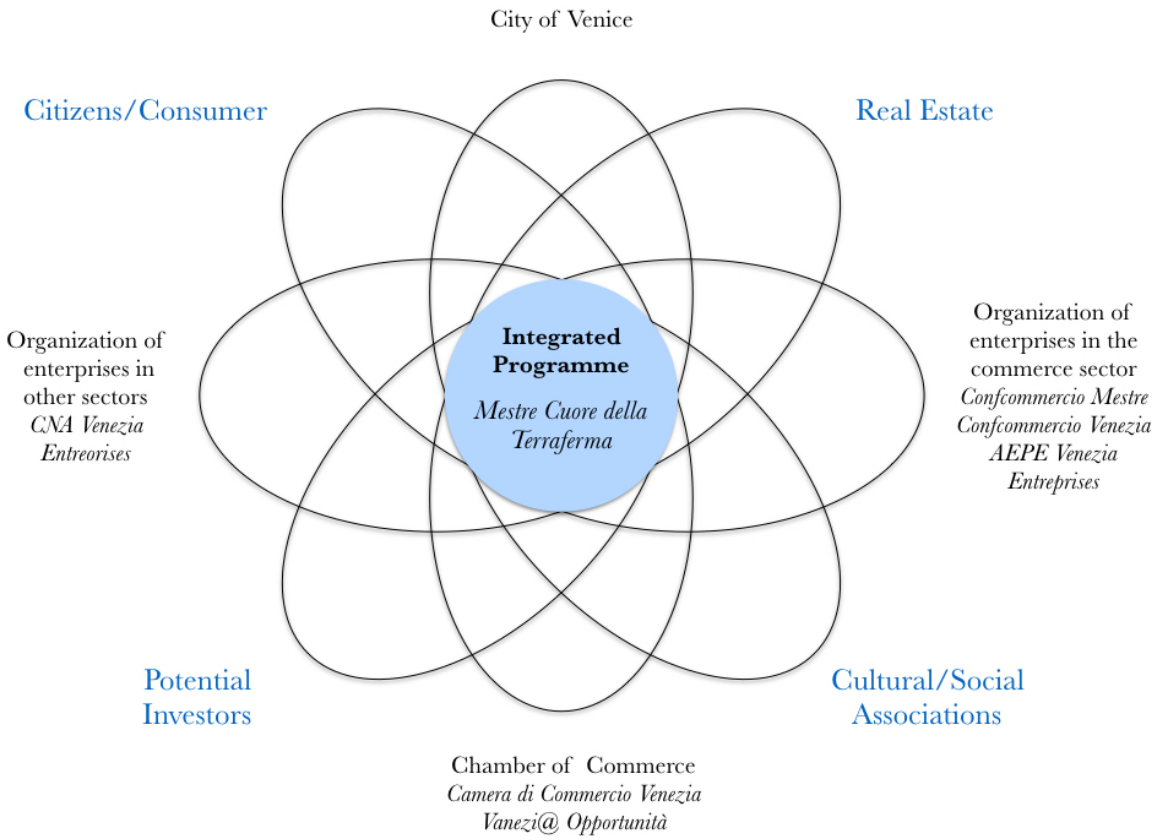


Figure 35: Stakeholders (actual and potential) involved in *Mestre Cuore della Terraferma* (re-elaboration from the application for the Regional Grant)

Despite the hopeful premises, the group of stakeholder did not fulfil the goal regarding the covered market of Mestre, in part also due to political issues in the local government. However, from interview - conducted on the 20th of November 2015 - with the vice director of Confesercenti, Dr. Michele Lacchin, the impossibility of successfully finish the project was ascribed to the centralized Commerce Office, which not allow the OGPI to have efficient instrument to act and deal with the agreed-upon task. Moreover, it has been observed a general lack of transparent communication and sharing of information regarding the city and its condition - the Open Data about commerce were released for the first time in the history of the City of Venice on July 2015, despite repeated demands. This

attitude generates urban planning practices occurs through extemporaneous projects, without a reflexive analysis of the territory and its needs. From the elementary example of the parking price plan decided on the basis of the proximity with the city centre and not on the actual use, to the implementation of far more complex project such as the requalification of the numerous dismissed building of the city centre, all projects are promote only by the individuals who has the instrument to do so, causing an excessive discretionary power in the urban planning decision. A confirmation of this way-of-doing in the City of Venice is that Confesercenti, somehow involved in Central Markets, was not informed about the development of project and it learned of the results of the feasibility study from a personal web search, without any official communication.

3.3 Projects for a new covered market and urban planning instruments

The City of Venice, and especially the mainland, as outlined in the previous chapters, is an urban conglomerate, which had witnessed a rapid and chaotic expansion in order to accommodate the extraordinary growth, without a vision or a general plan of urban development. Thus, the city grew without specific urban connotations and the original urban fabric is hidden in the recent and more invasive projects such as the industrial centre, the highway, the airport or the massive development of the 1960s. Those interventions have characterized the image of Mestre, but in the last decade several urban planning instrument tried to modify the organization and appearance of the city, reconnecting, enhancing and promoting the historical centre of Mestre and its landmarks.

The area identified in the Central Markets project and the feasibility study, and the market, (or at least the relocation of the daily marketplace) as an essential element of the contemporary Mestre, has been at the centre of the public debate for at least 20 years. Since the 70s, when the supposedly temporary market was placed in *Via Fapanni*, that area has been identified as a critical space in need of renovation and a defined allocation. In spite of some uncertainties, it has always been considered an important urban axe that,

once requalified, would improve the city attractiveness and the functionality of its spaces.

Together with the application for the implementation of the OGPI prepared with the help of Confesercenti, discussed in the previous chapter, it is possible to make a taxonomy of other official documents prepared by City of Venice and its Urban Planning Office, which have dealt with the market area and the consequent requalification or relocation of the market activities.

The first General Urban Development Plan of the City of Venice, *Piano Regolatore Generale* (PRG), prepared by the Town Planning Office and approved in the 1962, do not contain a precise identification of the historical centre of Mestre, nor even the survey of the historical heritage of the city (therefore not subjected to any protection).

The general variant of the PRG, adopted in 1991 and approved with DGRV n. 2572/97, drafted a detailed plan only for a limited portion of the city: the area of *Piazza Ferretto*[27]. The rest of the city centre would have been the subject to detailed Revitalization Plans (*Piano di Recupero*), created at a later stage for specific areas.

The variant was proposed in order to overcome the inadequacies of the Development Plan, adapting to the changed and urgent needs of Mestre's city centre. It addressed four fundamental objectives:

1. definition and identification of the historical settlement of Mestre;
2. preservation and development of the centre in its morphological, typological, architectural, environmental and functional assets;
3. rationalization of the practicability in order to create large and pedestrian spaces;
4. preparation of detailed studies and projects of crucial areas of the centre, such as *Piazza Ferretto* and *Piazza Barche*.

With the plans 4.1 "Types of urban intervention and protection" and 4.2 "Appropriate use classification" of the VPRG are clearly listed all the categories of intervention for the city centre. Regarding specifically Piazza Barche, which included also the space occupied by the envisage market, two tables were prepared, illustrating the hypothesis of arrangement

[27] Piazza Ferretto, the main square of Mestre, is one of the most important historic remnants of Mestre's past. The project (1994), designed by the Architect Guido Zordan, was realized between 1995 and 1998 and it was the key project of the requalification of Mestre, together with Via Palazzo and the Tower (1999), both adjacent to the square. The projects represent the heart of the pedestrian zone of Mestre.

(Regulation of uses of space of Piazza Barche, *Scheda Normativa 4*): it was planned to be a large public space, pedestrianized, connected with the Canal Salso and the lagoon, in line with the general aim of the variant. The great environmental potential of the large "square" - now degraded by incongruous buildings and improper use of open spaces - had to be rediscovered and improved. In order to do so, the intervention prescribed the constructions of:

- a public garden between Via Lazzari, Via Colombo, Via Pio X e Via Fapanni, at the canal Marzenego and Osellino's branch
- an underground car park, in Via Colombo, in order to replace the actual outdoor parking (San Leonardo) and rearrange the practicability of the area.

In 2010 the revitalization plan for Piazza Barche was presented (*Piano di recupero di iniziariva pubblica Piazza Barche e Piazza XXVII Ottobre*) and finally approved by the municipal executive committee, on the 22/12/2011. The area subject to the revitalization plan was previously identified and approved by the City Council (n. 18), 25/01/2010: the area (34.300 sq.mt) extended from the shopping centre "Le Barche" up to the Canal Salso (*Figure 36*). The area was - and still is - a big interchange, with large car parks, car lanes, fuel pumps and very limited pedestrian zones, as *Figure 37* represents.

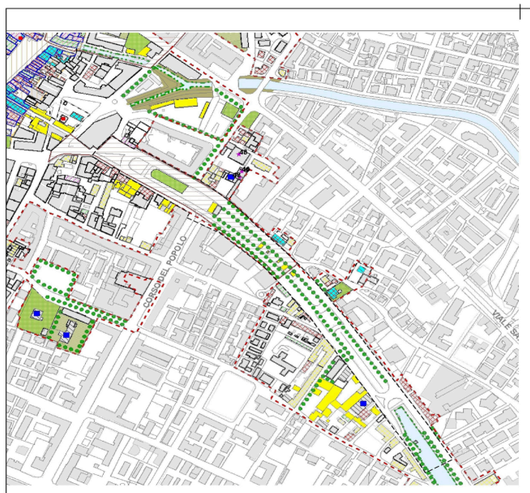
Figure 36: Area of the Revitalization Plan (Piano di recupero di iniziativa pubblica Piazza Barche e Piazza XXVII Ottobre, Urban Planning Office, City of Venice

Figure 37: Images of Piazza Barche (Piano di recupero di iniziativa pubblica Piazza Barche e Piazza XXVII Ottobre, Urban Planning Offie, City of Venice)

The complexity of the urban area, caused by the poor quality of the private buildings located around the square and the centrality of the area, had required a functional reconsideration, derived by a consideration of its urban morphology (*Figura 38* summarize the regulatory framework of the selected area). That's why the Urban Planning Office decided to avail itself of the expertise of the landscape architect Manuel Ruisanchez.

In the Ruisanchez' project, the relocation of the daily market (*Figure 39*) would activates the commercial potential of the area, balancing the morphological elements (such as the canal, green spaces and the square) and adding value to the area. However, the detailed definition of the new daily market layout was destined to a specific project, which would be design at a later time and financed through public funds.

Figure 38: Regulations and limit for the area of Piazza Barche (Piano di recupero di iniziativa pubblica Piazza Barche e Piazza XXVII Ottobre, Urban Planning Office, City of Venice)



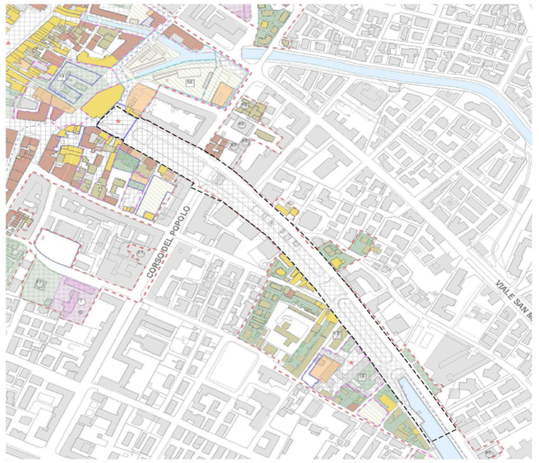
LEGENDA

Carta Tecnica Comunale Numerica
Perimetro Variante
Impianti Militari
Compendi destinati all'uso militare
Impianti Militari e d'uso Governativo
Simbologia
Edificio pubblico con piu' di 50 anni
n.46 - impianti militari (art.42 N.T.A.)
n.47 - compendi destinati all'uso militare (art.42 N.T.A.)
n.48 - patrimonio indisponibile dello Stato:impianti militari e d'uso governativo (art.43 N.T.A.)
Decreto di Vincolo successivo alla variante
Edifici schedati
Sponde da Riqualificare

Alberature da tutelare o di progetto
Zone di tutela
aree verdi e/o pedonali di pertinenza delle attrezzature
argini ed aree di tutela ambientale
verde da tutelare e/o ripristinare
Categorie di intervento
demolizione e ricostruzione
demolizione senza ricostruzione
restauro
risanamento conservativo
risanamento conservativo parziale
ristrutturazione con vincolo parziale
ristrutturazione totale

Vincoli
edifici vincolati ai sensi della L. 1089/39
Aree ed Edifici vincolati ai sensi della Legge 1497/39
Aree Vincolate ai sensi della Legge 1089/39
Ambiti di tutela
Ambito di Piazza Ferretto
Area di controllo archeologico

VPRG VIGENTE CENTRO STORICO DI MESTRE- ESTRATTO TAV.4.1- 93
CATEGORIE DI INTERVENTO E DI TUTELA SCALA 1:4000



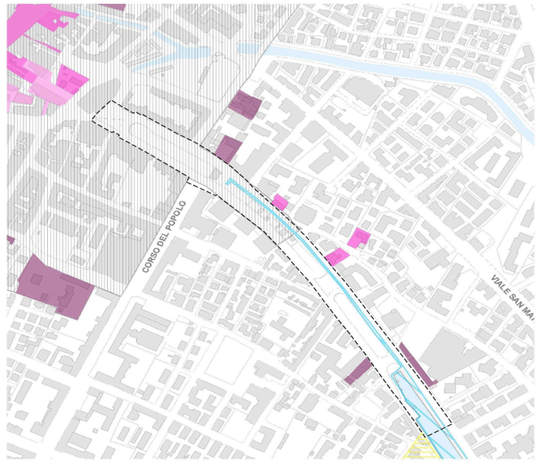
LEGENDA

Carta Tecnica Comunale Numerica
base edi parte
Perimetro Variante
Simbologia
Istituti privati
Piazza
Parcheggi
Percorsi pedonali e/o ciclabili
Viabilita' coperta
Gallerie
Portici
Sottoportico
Codici attrezzature
3) scuola elementare
5) scuola superiore
6) universita'
8) scuola speciale
9) chiesa
(segue)
11) conventi
15) biblioteca
16) centro culturale
17) centro sociale
18) sale riunioni ,mostre,etc.
21) cinema
22) teatro
27) case per anziani
31) servizio sanitario di quartiere
37) municipio
39) uffici pubblici
46) impianti militari (ART.43 N.T.A.)
47) compendi destinati all'uso militare (ART.42 N.T.A.)
48) patrimonio indisponibile dello stato:impianti militari e d'uso governativo (ART. 43 N.T.A.)
52) ufficio postale
54) impianti telefonici
59) mercato
82) area gioco bambini

Nuovi Volumi
Destinazioni d'Uso
Zone F
Aree per l'istruzione
Aree per atrezzature d'interesse comune
Aree atrezzata a parco, giochi e sport
Spazi pubblici o di uso pubblico pedonalizzato
Verde privato
Zone D
Impianti Militari
Compendi destinati all'uso militare
Impianti Militari e d'uso Governativo
83) giardino pubblico
84) impianti sportivi di base
85)
86) parco urbano
93) verde pubblico
98) area per impianti tecnologici-servizi telefonici
Attrezzature
Esistenti
Progetto
Attrezzature
Strumenti Urbanistici Attuativi
Piani di Recupero
Progetti Unitari
Ambiti di intervento Unitario
Destinazioni d'Uso Edifici
Destinazione Residenziale
Edifici a prevalente Destinazione Residenziale
Destinazione Commerciale

VPRG VIGENTE CENTRO STORICO DI MESTRE- ESTRATTO TAV.4.2 - 102
MODALITA' D'INTERVENTO - DESTINAZIONI D'USO SCALA 1:4000

PERIMETRO PIANO DI RECUPERO



VPRG VIGENTE CENTRO STORICO DI MESTRE-
ESTRATTO TAVOLA VINCOLI SCALA 1:4000

LEGENDA

vincolo paesaggistico
Descrizione vincolo
D.Lgs. 42/2004 art. 142 (Beni paesaggistici - 150 mt rispetto fiumi)
D.Lgs. 42/2004 art. 157 (Beni paesaggistici - Notifiche legislazione precedente)Fascia margine fiume Brenta
D.Lgs. 42/2004 art.157 (Beni paesaggistici - Notifiche legislazione precedente)
L. 431/85 art.1 quinquies (Beni paesaggistici - Notevole interesse pubblico)
vincolo monumentale
Descrizione vincolo
D.Lgs. 42/2004 art. 10 comma 1 art. 12 (Beni culturali - Proprietà pubblica : in fase di verifica)
D.Lgs. 42/2004 art.10 comma 3 e 4 (Beni culturali - Nuove notifiche)
D.Lgs. 42/2004 art.10 comma1 (Beni culturali - Proprietà pubblica : verifica gia effettuata)
D.Lgs. 42/2004 art.128 (Beni culturali - Notifiche legislazione precedente)
D.Lgs. 42/2004 art.128 (Tutela indiretta - Notifiche legislazione precedente)
D.Lgs. 42/2004 art.128 (Vincolo parziale - Notifiche legislazione precedente)
L. 171/1973 (Complesso di immobili)
L. 171/1973 (Vincolo singolo - assimilabile a dichiarazione di interesse culturale)
conterminazione lagunare
rischio archeologico
rischio incidente rilevante
Descrizione vincolo
DM 9 Maggio 2001 - Zone a Rischio di incidente rilevante - Compatibile con le classi :ABCDEF
DM 9 Maggio 2001 - Zone a Rischio di incidente rilevante - Compatibile con le classi :BCDEF
DM 9 Maggio 2001 - Zone a Rischio di incidente rilevante - Compatibile con le classi :CDEF
DM 9 Maggio 2001 - Zone a Rischio di incidente rilevante - Compatibile con le classi :DEF
DM 9 Maggio 2001 - Zone a Rischio di incidente rilevante - Compatibile con le classi :EF
DM 9 Maggio 2001 - Zone a Rischio di incidente rilevante - Compatibile con le classi :F
siti interesse comunitario
zone protezione speciale
siti interesse nazionale
Aree di interesse naturalistico (regime salvaguardia)
Aree interesse naturalistico fascia rispetto 50m

CITTA' DI VENEZIA
COMUNE DI VENEZIA
Assessorato all'urbanistica
Direzione Sviluppo del Territorio ed Edilizia
Ufficio Urbanistica Mestre

progetto:
PIANO DI RECUPERO DI INIZIATIVA PUBBLICA
PIAZZA BARCHE E PIAZZA XXVII OTTOBRE

Adottato con delibera di Giunta comunale n° 166 del 28/01/2010
Approvato con delibera di Giunta Comunale n° del

tavola: 1
scala: 1:4000

ASSESSORE ALL'URBANISTICA
prof. Ezio Micelli

DIREZIONE SVILUPPO DEL TERRITORIO ED EDILIZIA
Direttore arch. Oscar Girotto

titolo:
Assetto normativo: Estratti P.R.G. vigente - Vincoli

gruppo di lavoro:
Coordinamento: arch. Luca Barison

Progettazione ed elaborazione grafica:
arch. Nicola Rossi - Coordinamento della progettazione
arch. Alessandro Borsetti
m.d'a. Laura Barbato
arch. Ornella Avagliano
arch. Marica Fusaro
per il Verde pubblico
dott. Alberto Manzoni

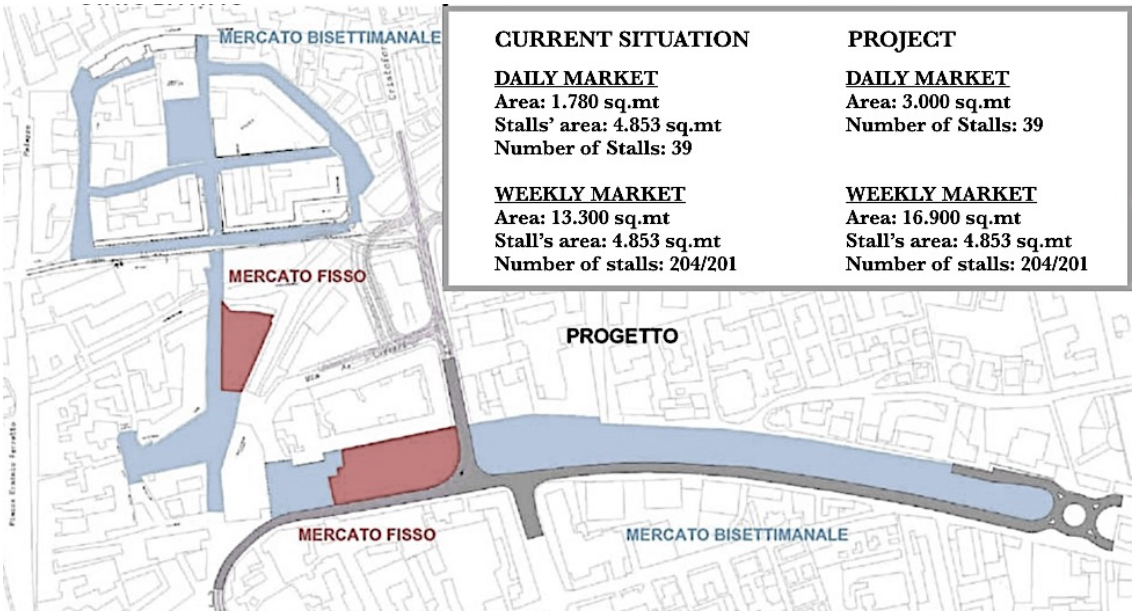


Figure 39: Dimensional comparison between the state of the art of the market and the project prevision for the new market (Piano di Recupero, Urban Planning Office, City of Venice)

In the general view, the new market is articulated in two linear structures placed in two rows, calling into mind the canal banks, with pedestrian passages to enable a North-South permeability of the area. The modular stalls are joinable and arranged in order to avoid that the backside denies the visual connection with public spaces, as it is represented in the project presented by the Urban Planning Office of the City of Venice, shown in *Figures 40, 41, 42*.

Following the adoption of the Revitalization Plan in 2010, a revision of the *Scheda Normativa 4*, which had defined the uses of space in Piazza Barche, was approved the 31/01/2011 (n. 31) by the City Council. The indications have been reinterpreted in the light of the new Revitalization Plan, modifying the dimension of the area and the uses (the proportion between business/commerce and housing was disproportionate for the recent saturation of offices and shops' demand). In addition, the area was divided in four implementation phases, with just as many renovation works. The project area chosen for the construction of the new covered market in the Central Markers project, destined in the new planning tool to be an underground car park, become part of the section A (*Comparto A*), assimilated with *Piazzale Cialdini* and the bus and tram station, and a new green walkable roof. While, the area where the daily market is placed today is part of the section C (*Comparto C*), separate from the other section and destined to be an urban green area, watching over the canal.

Figure 40: Projects for the new daily and weekly markets in Piazza Barche (Tavola 7, Piano di recupero di iniziativa pubblica Piazza Barche e Piazza XXVII Ottobre, 2010, Urban Planning Office, City of Venice)

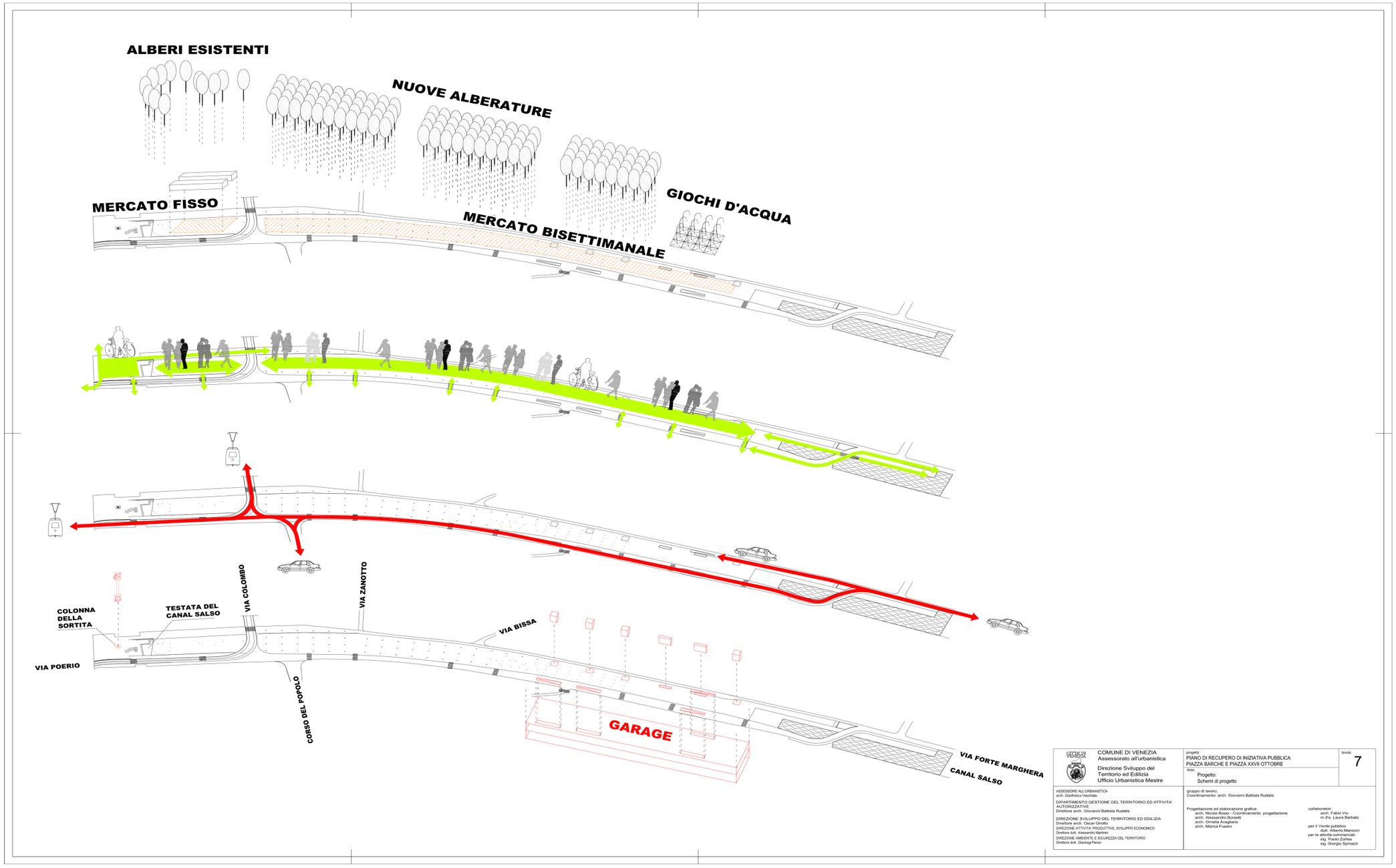
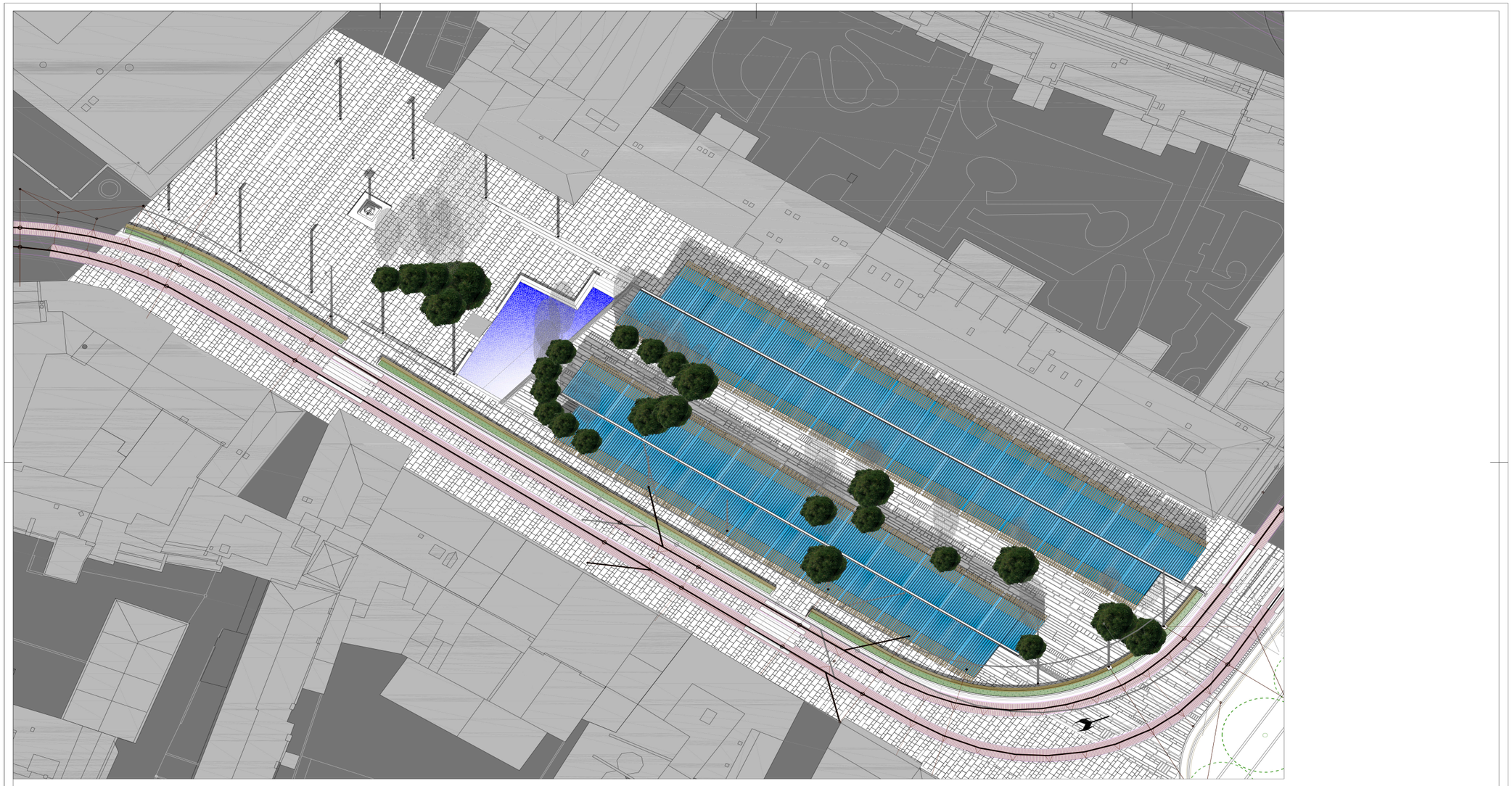


Figure 41: Projects for the new daily market in Piazza Barche (Tavola 8, Piano di recupero di iniziativa pubblica Piazza Barche e Piazza XXVII Ottobre, 2010, Urban Planning Office, City of Venice)



COMUNE DI VENEZIA
Assessorato all'urbanistica

Direzione Sviluppo del Territorio ed Edilizia
Ufficio Urbanistica Mestre

progetto:
PIANO DI RECUPERO DI INIZIATIVA PUBBLICA
PIAZZA BARCHE E PIAZZA XXVII OTTOBRE

tavola: 8

titolo:
Progetto:
Area Mercato fisso - Planivolumetrico

scala: 1:250

ASSESSORE ALL'URBANISTICA
arch. Gianfranco Vecchiato

DIPARTIMENTO GESTIONE DEL TERRITORIO ED ATTIVITA' AUTORIZZATIVE
Direttore arch. Giovanni Battista Rudatis

DIREZIONE SVILUPPO DEL TERRITORIO ED EDILIZIA
Direttore arch. Oscar Girotto

DIREZIONE ATTIVITA' PRODUTTIVE, SVILUPPO ECONOMICO
Direttore dott. Alessandro Martinni

DIREZIONE AMBIENTE E SICUREZZA DEL TERRITORIO
Direttore dott. Gianluigi Penzo

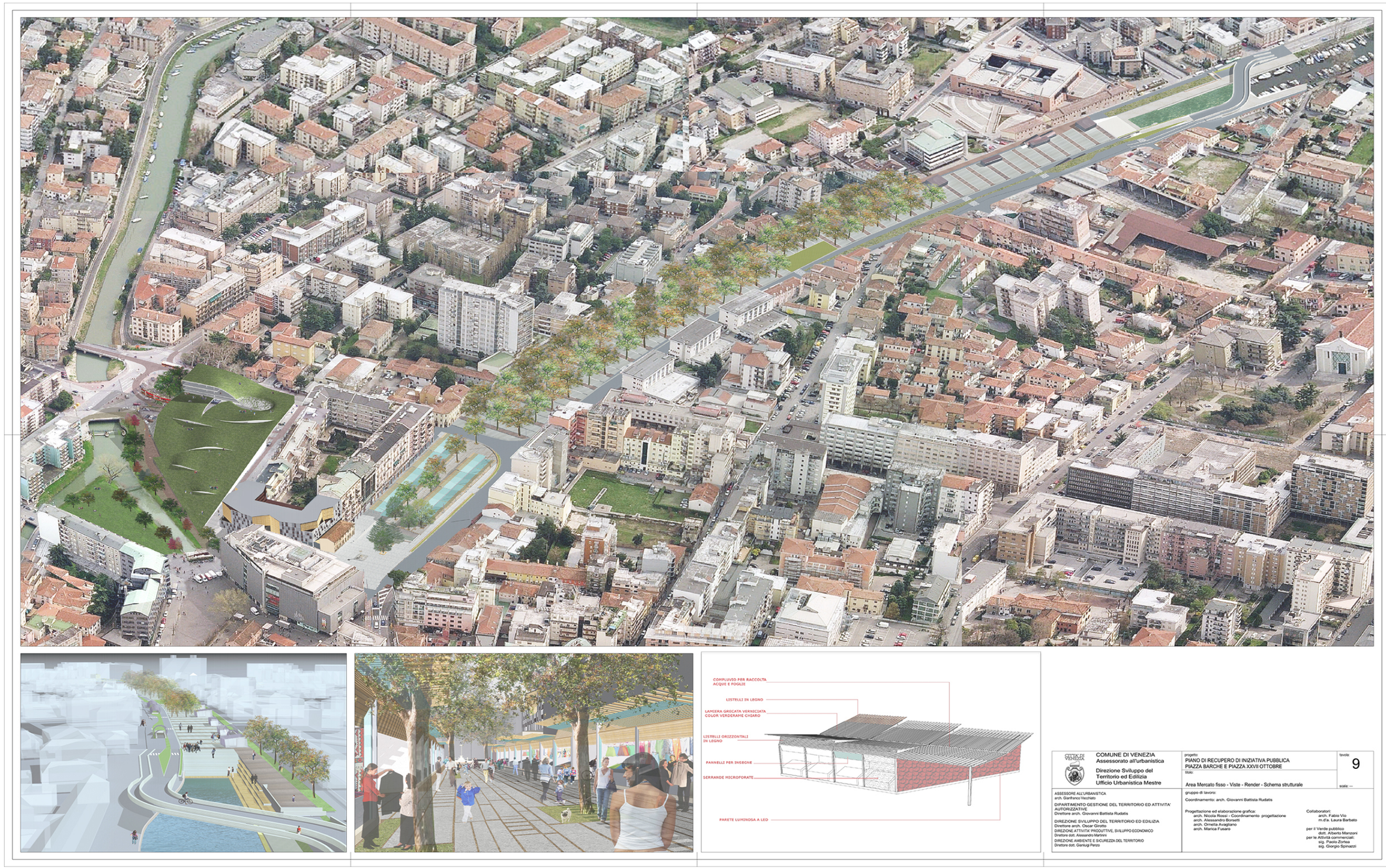
gruppo di lavoro:
Coordinamento Giovanni Battista Rudatis

Progettazione ed elaborazione grafica:
arch. Nicola Rossi - Coordinamento progettazione
arch. Alessandro Borsetti
arch. Ornella Avagliano
arch. Marica Fusaro

collaboratori:
arch. Fabio Vio
m.d'a. Laura Barbato

per il Verde pubblico
dott. Alberto Manzoni
per le attività commerciali:
sig. Paolo Zoppas
sig. Giorgio Spinazzi

Figure 42: Rendering of the project area of Piazza Barche (Tavola 9, Piano di recupero di iniziativa pubblica Piazza Barche e Piazza XXVII Ottobre, 2010, Urban Planning Office, City of Venice)



The last planning instrument that concern the market issue is the *Contratto di Valorizzazione Urbana per la Rigenerazione Funzionale del Centro Stroico di Mestre*, part of the *Piano Nazionale per le Città* - implemented according to the art. 12 D.L. 22nd June 2012 (*Misure urgenti per la crescita del paese)*, n. 83 and modified with the L. 7th August 2012, n. 134. The national financing plan is a new operative instrument aimed at the realization of coordinated and rational actions in urban areas (especially degraded ones), for implementing infrastructures, housing and requalification projects. The Ministry of Infrastructure and Transport selected 28 out of 457 applications, for a total fund of 317.492 million Euros[28].

The application of the City of Venice concerns an area of 31 hectares (*Figure 43*), gathering together several public and private actions, already planned and/or put into operation to transform the city centre. The grant of the Ministry was 9,8 million Euro – in view of more than 500 million Euro value of the proposal[29].

Figure 44: Logo of the application of the City of Venice (Contratto di Valorizzazione Urbana Per la Rigenerazione Funzionale Del Centro Storico di Mestre, 2012

The logo chosen for the application (*Figure 44*) recalls the letter "T". "T" as the initial of *terraferma*, *mainland* in Italian, as it is always seen the expansion of Venice in its hinterland. And "T" as the intersection between the two axes on which the proposed actions are standing on. The first axe includes the plan for Piazza Barche, Fornaci Da Re, Altobello and Piazzale Cialdini. The other one concern the Culture's Kilometre, a route that connects different projects all pertain cultural

[28] The *Piano Nazionale per le Città* was The funding available were 224 millions Euro, plus 94 millions from the EU Cohesion Action Plan and several other funds. The criteria for the projects' selection were: timing for the project implementation, involvement of public and private sponsors and prospect of a multiplier affect regarding private funding, reduction of community tensions (housing, infrastructure, environment, quality of life, etc.). The City of Venice was awarded, together with the project for the regeneration of Mestre, for the extended requalification of the "Vaschette" complex in Marghera.

[29] The City of Venice's proposal had obtained the higher rating in the evaluation made by the journal *Ediliza e Territorio,* about the winning cities. The evaluation parameters used were urban impact, timing for the projects' implementation, innovative social housing, architectural quality, involvement of private investments, level of enactment of the program of interventions, http://www.ediliziaeterritorio.ilsole24ore.com/art/citta/2013-01-25/piano-citta-rating-edilizia-175908.php?uuid=AbdveAOH.

activities: Torre Civica, Multiplex Candiani, Teatro Toniolo, M9 Museum, Villa Erizzo Public Library, represented in *Figure 45*.

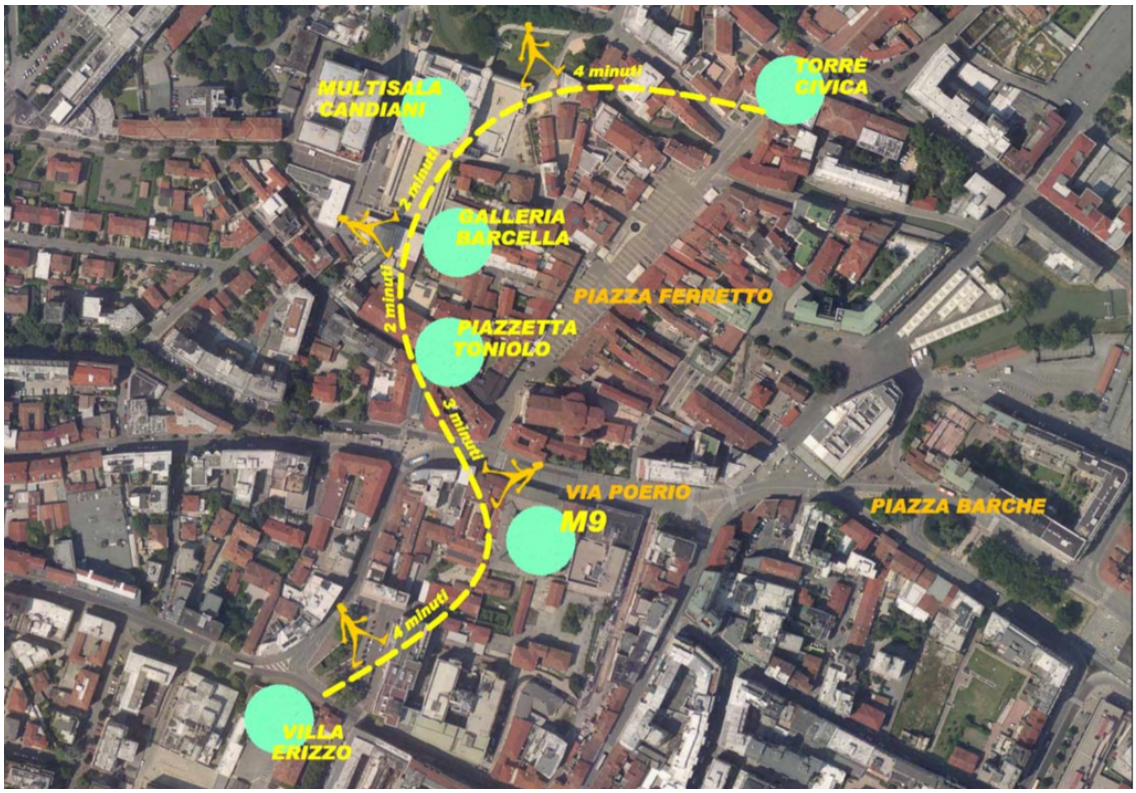


Figure 45: Culture's Kilometre Km in Mestre (extracted from Tavola 2, Contratto di Valorizzazione Urbana Per la Rigenerazione Funzionale Del Centro Storico di Mestre, 2012)

The revitalization of the former hospital Umberto I, the complex denominated Ex Cattapn, Via Poerio and the Altinate garden are also included in the perimeter, linking coherently all the actions envisaged for the transformation of the city centre, graphically represented in *Figure 46*. Those projects aim at potentiate the cultural and leisure offer, while the high urban quality will attract new functions and investments. The improvement of the accessibility, pedestrian areas, public transports and the car parks will be essential for the fulfilment of the established goals. The realization of the aforementioned projects is concrete, inasmuch they are attributable to already approved or underway approval. That's why the market issue returns, here, as part of the Piazza Barche revitalization project. The government grant, however, has conferred to the plan for the city centre of Mestre a forceful validity and legitimization in perusing the vision.

Figure 43: Perimeter of the projects' area (Tavola 1, Contratto di Valorizzazione Urbana per la Rigenerazione Funzionale del Centro Storico di Mestre, Urban Planning Office, 2012)

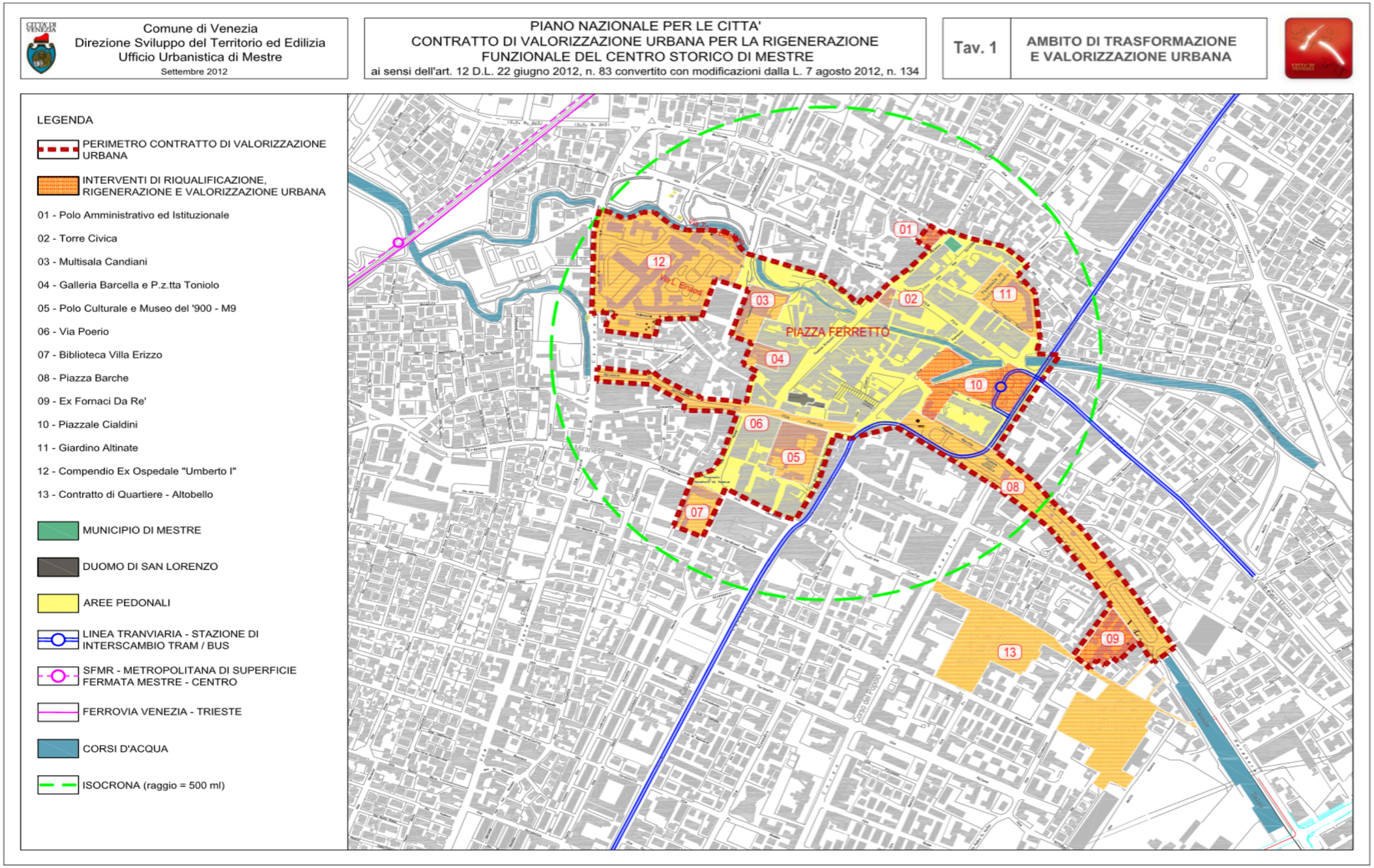
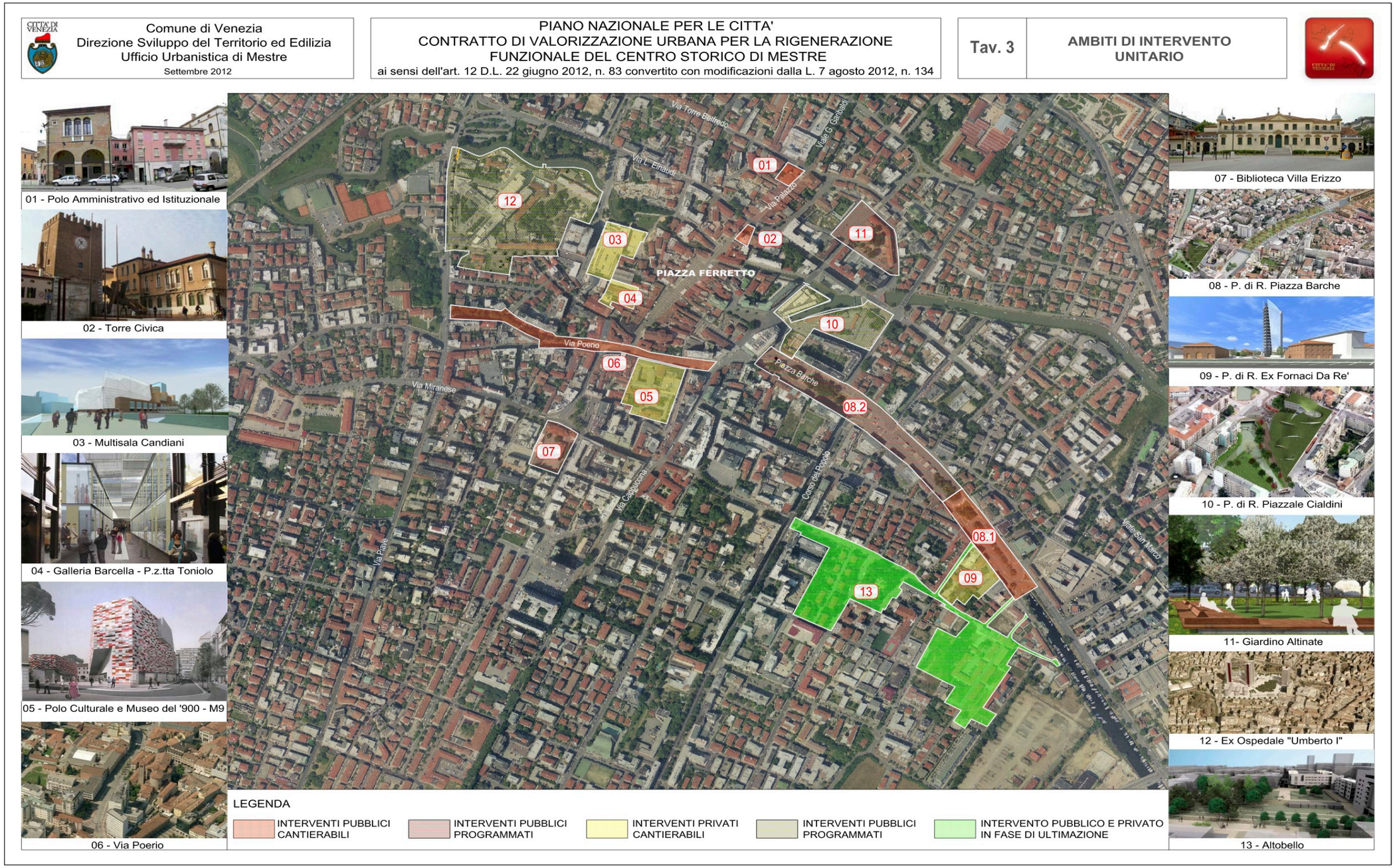


Figure 46: Projects included in the application (Tavola 3, Contratto di Valorizzazione Urbana per la Rigenerazione Funzionale del Centro Storico di Mestre, Urban Planning Office, 2012)



What emerges from the planning instruments supported and proposed by the Urban Planning Office, described in this paragraph, is that the relocation, revitalization and new destination of the daily market in Mestre is an existing issue. There is no doubt that the daily market in Via Fapanni has to find a new and more suitable arrangement, also in view of the transformation of Mestre's image. The general vision for the rearrangement of this market focuses on its relocation in a mainly green and pedestrian area, where the open-air (but permanent) market can benefit from the surrounding environment, and enliven the place in return. The Urban Planning Office does not mention the idea for a new covered market or the design of a building destined to accommodate the already existing stalls. Neither a complete project has been published yet.

From the analysis of the urban planning instruments encompassing the transformation of the daily market of Via Fapanni, and the more recent feasibility study of the European project, it ironically seems that the Commerce Office dribbled the Urban Planning Office. The propos and the feasibility study for the construction of a new building in Mestre, imitating the Barcelona Market Model, have completely overlooked the previous studies and recommendations given by the legitimate department for the implementation of new edifices.

3.4 Private visions for the public covered market in Mestre

Two other documents/general visions about the construction of a covered market were presented in recent years, titled *Mestre: L'isola che c'è* and *L'isola del mercato*, fruit of the work of private architects and studios interested in the transformation of Mestre.

Mestre: L'isola che c'è, the first general vision for the future Mestre was elaborate in September 2012 by four architects: Giovanni Caprioglio (CAPRIOGLIO Associati), Giuseppe Baldo (AEQUA Engineering Srl), Paolo Lucchetta (RETAILDESIGN Srl) and Marco Stevarin (TERRA Srl). It developed planning maps according to four major research areas: landscape, culture, commerce and social capital. It has tried to obviate to the lack of a traditional urban pattern in Mestre, through the embracement of its fragmented nature of public spaces and promoting the vision for a City District, more

open and contemporary (highlighted in *Figure 47*). The requalification of the city has to emerge from its social, cultural and commercial contents, which will give in return and definitive identity to Mestre.

Figure 47: The island in Mestre (http://www.suarchitettura.com)

One of the opportunities envisaged by the Arch. Paolo Lucchetta is the covered market in Mestre, inspired to the Barcelona Market Model (Santa Caterina and La Boqueria are quoted in the document). The market is located in the same area identified by the Urban Planning Office, that is Piazza Barche.

No detailed information are given about the layout of the desired market, because *Mestre. L'isola che c'è* is not a project in itself. Still, it is clearly connected with the Spanish suggestions, as a key element that has to be exploited in order to potentiate the urban liveability[30].

The project *L'isola del mercato fisso* (the island for the permanent market), prepared in June 2013 by the Arch. Luca Battistella, together with the support of *Confesercenti*, planned to build the new market in the island created by the Martzenego (*Figure 48, 49, 50*). The area served as the parking lot of the former Umberto I hospital, which is currently disused and waiting to be requalified. The relation between the market and

[30] It is no coincidence that the Arch. Lucchetta it is currently working of the project of renovation of the covered market in Ravenna, a two leaves building which combined commerce, socio cultural activities and services under one roof. For more information about RetailDesign Srl and recent projects, see http://www.retaildesignweb.it.

the canal/water is still central and the area selected has a triangular shape (as for the Central Markets' feasibility study).

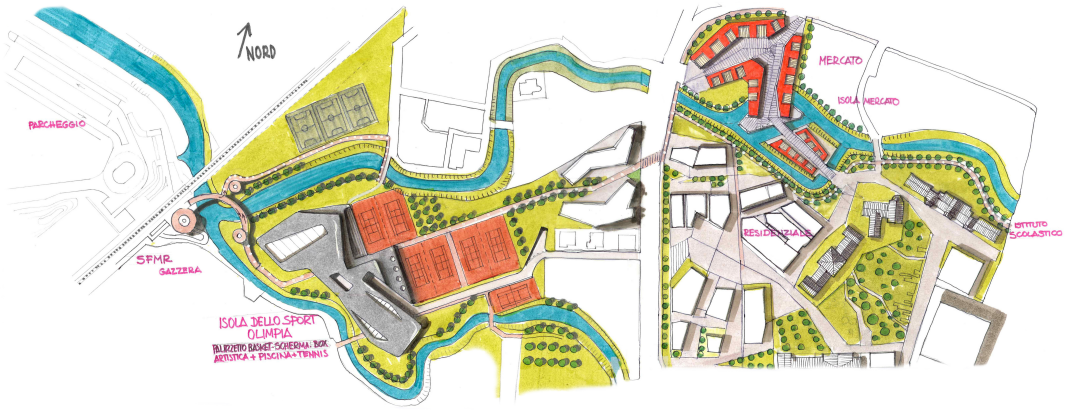


Figure 48: Vision of the project area, which include also the realization of a sport facility (http://www.driocasa.it/progetti/lisola-del-mercato-fisso-il-progetto-dellarchitetto-luca-battistella-2337/)

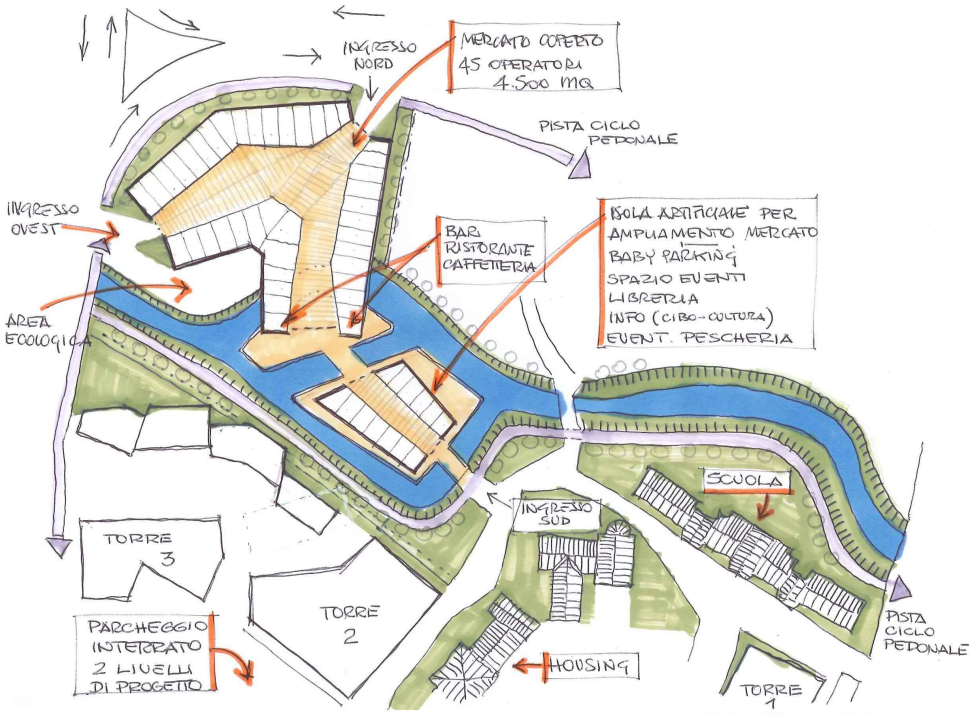


Figure 49: The project for the covered market island (http://www.driocasa.it/progetti/lisola-del-mercato-fisso-il-progetto-dellarchitetto-luca-battistella-2337/)

Figure 50: Perspectives of the covered market (http://www.driocasa.it/progetti/lisola-del-mercato-fisso-il-progetto-dellarchitetto-luca-battistella-2337/)

The architect has affirmed its willingness to create a marked inspired to the XIX covered market, where permanent activities and differentiated functions take place under one roof. And the idea of the island for a market should recall the recent project of fish market in Treviso, surrounded as well by the canal. The area selected was between Via Einaudi and Via Circonvallazione, easily accessible either by car or pedestrians. The area, currently occupied by a parking lot, could accommodate 40 stalls, designs as little houses, distributed in 4.500 sq.mt. The project took its inspiration from the small village and it would be a multilevel space, with several activities: cafes, restaurant or libraries.

The idea was welcomed by the Deputy Mayor Sandro Simionato, but he also expressed some doubt on the feasibility of the project because of the ownership of that area (privates and local health services). It would have take years to obtain the area, and the deviation of the canal planned in the project could be a complicated work. Therefore, it was speculated about the possibility to move the Battistella's project area in the parking space selected also by the Central Markets' pilot action. But as soon as the feasibility

study promoted by Commerce Office was presented, the project for the covered market's island was supplanted.

3.5 Evaluation findings and further development of the new market

In December 2013, the final evaluation of market revitalization actions, named the Pilot Actions implemented in Central Markets – Revitalizing and promoting traditional markets in Central Europe project was prepared by the city of Kracow. The Comprehensive Report on Local Action Plans was developed and delivered by Contenta Consulting, in order to be validated. The overall project was considered to be a success and it was also one of the five projects selected to be performed during the Project Slam "Interreg 25 years" (15th September 2015), in Luxembourg, part of the conference 25 years of Interreg.

According to the evaluation report, the City of Venice implemented all the activities planned in its Pilot Action and they were all completed successfully. It is stated that the targeted group - citizens and market operators - raised their awareness about the opportunity given by the new covered markets and confirmed their interest in using the market facility, proven by the great participation in promotional events. And also, the attention of the local press – evaluated through the analysis of the media coverage - showed that the issue of the market was relevant also in the public debate.

The project for the new covered market has not been implemented; the daily and inefficient market of Via Fapanni is still in place and still operating. The unsuccess could be attributable to the recent political events. While the project was coming to an end, the mayor of Venice, Giorgio Orsoni, resigned in June 2014, after being swept up in a multi-million pound bribery scandal involving the consortium responsible for the MOSE flood barrier. At the end of May, the Mayor, together with the IVe, was negotiating the parking area where it was supposed to be built the new market. The scandal provoked a standstill in what was considered by the Deputy Mayor Rey and her collaborators as a project close to its implementation.

However, the fact that the market has being built or not, it is not fundamental for the conclusions sustained by the present dissertation. In the final evaluation of the project, it has been said that "The strategic documents developed represents *a ready-to-be-financed* project for the search of resources for investment of building a new covered markets (loans/grants)" (Evaluation report, 2014: 27) and in 2013 the City Government voted an act which approved about 100 project ideas for 2014-2020 structural and investment funds, among which there is the realization of the new covered market.

Central Markets and the feasibility study of the Commerce Office has stood out in the multitude and complexity of planning instruments and projects that analysed the market issue, mentioned in the previous paragraphs and graphically represented in Figure 51. The pilot action of the City of Venice, supported and legitimated by European discourses about markets, has activated the mechanism of construction of a public policy, which acquired and extraordinary strength, wiping out other competitors.

Figure 51: General vision of projects for the covered markets and relevant areas (personal elaboration)

1 Piazza Ferretto
2 Daily Market in the 70s
3 Daily Market Via Fapanni
4 Piazzale Cialdini
5 Daily Market Project Area Revitalization plan
6 Weekly Market Project Area Revitalization plan
7 Isola del Mercato Fisso Project
8 Daily Market Project Area Central Markets
9 Via Circonvallazione
10 Via Poerio
11 Via Luigi Einaudi
12 Weekly Market
13 Via Pio X
14 Via Parco Ponci

Concluding remarks

The main objective of the thesis was to analyse the implementation mechanism of a regional policy about covered markets, observing and following its materialization. The aim has been pursued through the investigation of Central Markets – Revitalizing and Promoting Traditional Markets in Central Europe and the pilot action about the planning of a new covered market in the centre of Mestre, promoted by the Commerce Office of the City of Venice.

From the beginning of the 90s the Municipality has energetically intervene to improve Mestre and its liveability, fostering requalification and revitalization actions, infrastructural improvements and rearrangements, all aimed at providing better living conditions for the inhabitants as well as creating a new public image for the city. Despite numerous projects and interventions promoted by the City of Venice, a strategic and shared vision for the future of Mestre is still missing. The case of the market is a perfect example of ongoing dynamics in the city, where a project activates urban planning policies, taking advantage of the void in the strategic vision.

The daily market of Via Fapanni, in the centre of Mestre, represents an important element in the redefinition of the urban fabric. The area, where the market is located, has been identified as strategic axe for the transformation of the city, being at the centre of the urban core of Mestre. However, it is currently underused and in state of abandon. The present market structure does not offer adequate facilities and services, either for marker operators or customers: not easily accessible, congested, decaying, dirty and with management problems. The whole inadequate structure strongly disqualifies the surrounding area. Planning a new market structure is, hence, fundamental for the redefinition of the area, and it could be also a chance to design an innovative urban element, in order to combine different functions in a sole building.

The centrality of the issue has been proved by the proliferation of discussions, deliberations, newspaper articles, visions and projects about the market. The hypothesis of arrangements varies considerably: location, layout and urban functions of the market change very often. The Urban Planning Office wants to move the market in the area of Piazza Barche and create an open air structure (but permanent) in a pedestrian green area; Confesercenti supports the idea of building a covered

market in the area next to the Umberto I, where little house-stalls are set in an artificial village island, while the current location of the market has to be transformed in a urban park. Several offices, architects or associations have speculated on the design of the market and the function of the area.

In the multitude of ideas, the one that has been promoted by the Commerce Office and the Deputy Mayor Carla Rey stands out. As part of the Pilot Action of *Central Market – Revitalizing and Promoting Traditional Markets in Central Europe*, the feasibility study for a new covered market in Mestre has acquired new concreteness. Even before the conclusion of the project, the Commerce Office has obtained the support of the Major, negotiating the purchase agreement for the selected area.

A new covered marked has been planned in the centre of Mestre, with well-defined characteristics, imitating the fashionable model of public markets in Barcelona. The *Barcelona Market Model*, as it is labelled and worldwide known, has already been exported to other cities though a process of Europeanization as the latest urban development policy trend. The travel of the model has lead to the proposal of a-Barcelona-Market in the centre of Mestre. A brand new building, with a contemporary and captivating design, where even roof's tiles are resembling the one in Santa Caterina Market, underground logistic and parking space - even if the proximity with the canal will presumably impede its construction - touristification and gourmatisation of the market and its activities.

The legitimation of the Barcelona Market Model, as the holy grail of how to keep municipal markets and neighbourhood successful, was given directly by the European Union, with the diffusion of market-related projects that institutionalized the supremacy of this specific layout, as a best practice transferred form projects to pilot actions, from pilot actions to the local administrations.

The European authority constitutes an enduring challenge for the administrative and institutional structures of the member states, but it also allows local representatives to be more involved and influential in decision-making processes. European projects are not perceived anymore as a tool for implementing specific political priorities, to learn from other experiences and improve the situation; they are seen as the final purpose of the political action itself. Concomitantly, also the role of the EU Offices is changing: now integrated in the Municipality structure, as one of the essential offices for the ordinary

urban administration, they acquire prestige obtaining funds from the European Union, even if they are not corresponding to pursued policy principles. They become capable technicians, without contents. As well the partnership principle within European projects, by now created in order to obtain funds and without a real necessity, looses its *democratic* value.

The case of Central Markets demonstrates how the decision to build a covered market in the centre of Mestre is understandable within a framework of a European discourse and the promotion of best practices. The idea of a covered market has indeed been circulating by way of uncritical imitation driven by the force of fashion. Fashion inspires policy makers who in turn demand certain type of urban designs to planners and architects that then get realized by developers who changes the built environment. Whereas a real, local and endogenous reflection on the opportunity/necessity to have in the city centre that specific urban element is missing. Public policies appear therefore dependant by fashion trends, success stories and discourse, deprived of the intentionality to respond to a social collective problem. And the travel of planning ideas, and the imitations it fosters, become the key concept to understand how contemporary cities are transformed in the age of globalization.

Planning a market, especially a covered market with a tangible effect on the urban structure, should be bind to issues such as urban requalification and regeneration, development of commercial fabric, urban mobility planning, accessibility and transportation, quality of life, etc. It should consider and involve all the stakeholders that might have an interest in the issue. Moreover, constructing a public policy implies the interrelation with the analysis of major socio-economic urban transformation, changes in peoples' lives, a critical recognition of the political choices and strategies supported by the local administration and the eventual lines of action and future development. The urban planning strategies have to be necessary reconsidered within an integrated, holistic approach, well aware of its urban context and territorial specificities. In Mestre, the promising object of imitation, the Barcelona Market Model, and the attempt to mimetically replicate its success have been able to obfuscate all those essential considerations.

Nowadays it is true more than ever that discussing the commerce in central urban areas is a difficult task for local administrations. The balance between knowledge and

competences is difficult to achieve. The temptation to overcome this complexity searching for a success story, for an iconic and seductive building such as the Barcelona Market Model, to be imitated, is evident in the case of Mestre. Even though, the end of modernity brought an important evolution from the concept of top-down urban planning to a responsible and wise planning rationality, the case of the new covered market in Mestre reveals a regress. The market is not perceived as an element that has to be integrated in the urban dimension, but it is disembedded from the real context, following a fashion trend instead of a need. This is proven by the fact that as soon as the project has come to an end and the direct source of the imitation has disappeared from the sight of the Commerce Office, the whole public policy collapsed.

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