

THE ITALIAN SOCIAL HOUSING MIRACLE POST WORLD WAR II

How QT8 embodies the birth of the modernist Italian neighbourhood through its specific social, economic, and political context.

Claudio Rugarli

6306845

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	01
Introduction	03
Chapter 1: Post WW2 Development	06
1.1 The New Republic	07
1.2 European Recovery Program	08
1.3 INA-Casa	09
Chapter 2: Quartiere Triennale 8°	14
2.1 Triennale di Milano	15
2.2 Planning the QT8	16
2.3 Developing the QT8	17
Conclusion	28
Bibliography	30
Figures	32

ABSTRACT

The Italian Social Housing Miracle Post World War II discusses and investigates the making of the modernist neighbourhood in Italy in the aftermath of WWII and the subsequent economic boom and socio-political reforms. I'll be investigating both the physical and abstract involved in the making of QT8, the model neighbourhood of the time. The thesis begins by exploring the historical context of the country, the destruction war brought on its industry and residential sector, the transition from a Monarchy to a Republic, and how it evolved thanks to major reforms and economic policies; both national and foreign. From an extensive research on time-specific articles and journals, law documents and public discourses, I try to create a coherent narrative that focuses on the public sector and its social housing programme. The thesis also highlights the different level of interventions done by foreign governments to try and steer Italy's path. Once a robust knowledge web is created on the economical and socio-political situation, the thesis dives into analysing the unicorn project that is QT8, located in Milano. An emphasis is placed on the non-linear approach the design and development process took to reach implementation as a parallel to modern-day difficulties in implementing new large-scale investments in the public sector.

INTRODUCTION

In the aftermath of World War II, Italy faced the monumental task of rebuilding a nation devastated by deconstruction. The process of reconstruction involved not only physical and economic recovery but also significant social and political transformations. Italy's journey from a war-torn country to a modern republic represents a remarkable recovery story of post-war Europe.

The country's infrastructure had been severely damaged during the conflict and thus presented enormous economic challenges. Agricultural production had fallen to less than half of pre-war levels⁰¹, causing widespread food shortages and rationing. Transportation networks including railways, roads, and bridges were in ruins, hampering efforts to distribute essential supplies.

Italian authorities faced the daunting duty of addressing these issues with limited resources. The scarcity of raw materials, skilled labour, and capital investment posed significant obstacles. Unemployment rates soared as returning soldiers and displaced civilians struggled to find work in the devastated economy. In heavily bombed urban centers like Napoli, Milano, and Torino, housing shortages created a humanitarian crisis with over 20% of the population living below the poverty line⁰².

The implementation of the European Recovery Program (ERP), commonly known as the Marshall Plan, in 1948 proved instrumental in Italy's reconstruction. This ambitious American aid program provided Italy the equivalent of 2.3 percent of its GDP for five years between 1948 and 1952⁰³. The Marshall Plan aimed not only to foster economic stability but also to combat the growing threat of communism and promote peaceful international relations in post-war Europe. This framework laid out the foundations for much of Italy's development for the next decades.

Italy utilized these funds strategically to address critical needs. Investments were directed toward rebuilding industrial capacity, modernizing agricultural techniques, and restoring vital infrastructure. The aid facilitated the import of essential machinery, raw materials, and technological expertise that Italy could not otherwise access. This infusion of capital and resources catalyzed what would later be coined the 'Italian economic miracle', transforming the country from an agricultural society to an industrial powerhouse within a generation.

Parallel to economic reconstruction, Italy underwent a profound political transformation⁰⁴. The monarchy, closely associated with Mussolini's fascist regime, faced growing public discontent. King Victor Emmanuel III had initially appointed Mussolini as Prime Minister in 1922 and had largely acquiesced to fascist policies until Italy's military situation deteriorated in 1943.

⁰¹ Zamagni, 'The Building of New Foundations, 1946-1952'.

⁰² Treccani, 'Classi e ceti sociali nello spazio urbano'.

⁰³ Bianchi and Giorcelli, 'Reconstruction Aid, Public Infrastructure, and Economic [...] Marshall Plan in Italy'.

⁰⁴ American assistance came with political implications as well. The Marshall Plan strengthened Italy's position within the Western alliance and helped counterbalance the influential Italian Communist Party, which had gained significant support due to its role in the anti-fascist resistance movement.

The birth of the Italian Republic represented more than a mere change in government structure; it symbolized a decisive break with the fascist past and a commitment to democratic principles. The transition to a republic through the constitutional referendum had profound and lasting impacts on post-war Italy. This political transformation created a stable framework for Italy's economic recovery. Democratic institutions fostered international confidence and attracted foreign investment, while ensuring that economic development would proceed alongside social progress⁰⁵.

Milano, just like many of the large urban centres in the north of the country, was seeing a massive population growth as the needs related to wartime destruction and consequent process of industrialization were bringing workers from the even more impoverished Mezzogiorno⁰⁶. To cope with this increase, which also involved the city's hinterland, the construction of new housing projects and entire neighbourhoods was initiated, resulting in a significant expansion of urban space and the formation of new suburbs. It is within this atmosphere of great investments, innovation, and outlook that the pilot social housing project QT8 was unveiled at the VIII Triennale di Milano in 1947. The neighbourhood was designed with the willingness to respond effectively and pragmatically to different housing needs. This pragmatism was also seen through reforms that recognized and protected workers' rights. By introducing measures such as social security and paid holidays the government aimed at improving the living and working conditions of the Italian population.

In 2025 Milano is the booming economic heart of Italy but inflation, lack of housing, and increasing wealth inequality are starting to show signs of strain on society and the greater system at large. Recently new incentives by the European Commission known as the National Recovery and Resilience Plan (NRRP) provides a highly opportune and decisive moment for Italy to once again invest in the economic organization of the country, drawing strong parallels to the Marshall Plan. Through my research I want to dive deeper into what allowed Italy to be a pioneer in social housing construction post WWII by analysing case studies and how policies and architects worked together to push projects not only to the table but to the finish line. Through this thesis I want to analyse the QT8 project from an architectural point of view but also from the social, economic, and political environment that was present at the time and see if there are any parallels that can be drawn to the current day situation.

Italy's post-war reconstruction story demonstrates the resilience of a nation and its people in the face of unprecedented challenges. The successful integration of economic recovery, political reform, and social development created the foundations for modern Italy, whose democratic institutions and economic vitality stand as testaments to this extraordinary period of national renewal.

⁰⁵ The republic also facilitated Italy's integration into emerging European and international organizations, including NATO (1949) and the European Coal and Steel Community (1951), the precursor to the European Union.

⁰⁶ Treccani, 'Classi e ceti sociali nello spazio urbano'.



Fig. i Temporary refugee camps in viale Caterina da Forlì (Unknown, 1947)

Fig. ii Temporary refugee camps in Viale Argonne and Piza Susa (Unknown, 1956)

CITTÀ	1951-61	1961-71	1971-81	1981-91	1991-2001
Bari	16,3	14,5	3,8	-7,7	-7,5
Bologna	30,6	10,3	-6,4	-11,9	-8,2
Catania	21,5	9,9	-4,9	-12,4	-6,0
Firenze	16,5	4,9	-2,1	-10,0	-11,7
Genova	13,9	4,2	-6,6	-11,0	-10,1
Milano	24,2	9,4	-7,3	-14,7	-8,3
Napoli	17,0	3,7	-1,2	-12,0	-5,9
Palermo	19,8	9,3	9,2	-0,5	-1,7
Roma	32,5	27,1	2,1	-3,7	-6,8
Torino	42,6	13,9	-4,4	-13,8	-10,1
Venezia	9,6	4,5	-4,7	-13,8	-9,2

Fig. iii Flux in the resident population in the 11 main Italian cities (ISTAT, 1951-2001)



Fig. iv Temporary refugee camps in the outskirts of Milano (Archivio Rcs, 1945)

CHAPTER 1: POST WW2 DEVELOPMENT

THE REBUILDING OF A NATION

As in other Italian cities, the post-war reconstruction of Milano was not only determined by the urgency of reactivating the economy through construction activities and responding to the significant lack of housing⁰⁷, but it was also an expression of the will to moral and cultural redemption of the country, exhausted by the war. Considering the general framework of the urban regulations in force at the time, the transformations of the city had a particularly destructive impact on the historical fabric⁰⁸. This outcome was certainly enhanced by the 'character' and the peculiar vocation of Milan: the economic and industrial engine of the country, a metropolis ready to set itself as an example also for the ability to renew itself in the name of modernity, and to assert itself not only in the national but also European scene.

According to a survey carried out by the Bank of Italy in the autumn of 1947, wartime destruction had failed to seriously damage Italian industry's productive capacity. Only 8% of industry's capital existing in 1938 had been lost, although with significant differences between one industrial sector and another⁰⁹. Industries were all ready to repair the damage and start up production again as soon as possible but this was made difficult by the extensive damage communications and transport had suffered as a result of the war: only one-sixth of the merchant navy fleet had survived; railway lines had been severely cut and damaged; roads were often unusable, and only about a half of the lorries had got through the war unscathed¹⁰.

If physical destruction was not enough, political problems involved in trying to reorganize and reunite a country that had only just come out of a period of dictatorship followed by civil war, split in two and invaded by foreign military powers added to the overall pressure. The restrictions imposed by the Allied Commission on the Italian government were only lifted in 1946, slowing down the initial recovery. During their short tenure in the transitional period, the coalition governments managed to implement very few measures to help the nation's economy, as on the one hand they were too busy dealing with the emergency and managing the political problems, and on the other they were not homogeneous enough to produce any kind of consistent policy. Furthermore, they were witnessing a very heated debate about Italy's future, which was to result in the country's definitive placement into the Western capitalistic world headed by the USA.

The living standards of Italians continued to suffer from the economic and political situation. The poverty of Italy during the reconstruction period was not wholly due to the destruction, even though over 20% of habitable rooms in the country had been destroyed or seriously dam-

⁰⁷ Milano had about 50% of its infrastructure bombed during the war, one of the worst percentages in Italy due to its high density and number of industries.

⁰⁸ Amore, Pascariello, and Veropalumbo, *Città e Guerra*.

⁰⁹ There are different sets of figures for this period. However, they all support the view that the destruction caused by the war was of a limited nature in the case of Italian industry.

¹⁰ Zamagni, 'The Building of New Foundations, 1946-1952'.

aged¹¹, but this had exacerbated things to such an extent that a parliamentary investigation into poverty was commissioned¹². Radical change, policy, and thinking was needed to turn this chapter of history.

1.1 THE NEW REPUBLIC

July 25, 1943 marked the formal start of the crisis of the fascist regime. On that date the 'Gran Consiglio del Fascismo' voted no confidence against Mussolini and, in an attempt to revitalize the monarchical institution and to guarantee its continuity, it again attributed to the King the ownership of the executive power¹³. The members of the council were intending the return of power to the Monarchy to favour the birth of a rigidly centralized system around the monarchical institution¹⁴. This design, however, never materialized. To the contrary, it started a historical process that, between 1943 and 1947, led Italy from the Monarchy to the Republic and from authoritarianism to democracy.

Those years, known as the transitional period, were characterized by the ability to 'ferry' the Italian legal system from fascism to democracy with original solutions that managed to bring about lasting results, for the transition from the Monarchy to the Republic and for the approval of a new Constitution. This was the catalyst in which a yearning for freedom and progress spread throughout Italy. Fascist laws were abolished which had allowed the liquidation of all parties except the fascist one, the dissolution of socialist and Catholic unions, the suppression of freedom of the press, up to the transformation of the legal system of the Kingdom of Italy into an authoritarian state¹⁵. Once these were repealed, political and trade union organizations resurrected, newspapers multiplied with the creation of new publications, cultural associations came back to life.

During this period the verdict was taken for the commitment to convene by holding free elections to choose the institutional form of the state, Monarchy or Republic. This decision was subsequently modified to an institutional referendum by universal suffrage. The Italians, and for the first time the Italian women, were called to the polls to choose between Republic and Monarchy and to elect the deputies of the 'Assemblea Costituente' who's task would be drafting the new constitutional charter. They were asked to cooperate in the foundation of an idea of republican citizenship that found in the constitution one of the highest expressions. On the 2nd of June 1946 almost 25 million voters, an 89% turnout, casted their vote and, with 54.3% in favour, on the 18th

¹¹ Jacoboni, 'L'industria meccanica italiana'

¹² Braghin, 'Inchiesta sulla miseria in Italia: 1951-1952'

¹³ In the aftermath of Mussolini's fall the Allies intensified their raids to push the King to negotiate the surrender. On the night between August 12th and 13th of 1943, the British Bomber Command mobilized all available aircraft and sent about 500 planes over Milano, aiming to annihilate the city with a huge deployment of forces, according to an attack scheme that had already been tested on German cities. The bombs were released shortly after the alarm and the anti-aircraft defences could not react; for about an hour Milan remained under incessant fire. The aftermath caused hundreds of civilian casualties and enormous damage to the artistic heritage.

¹⁴ This system would have strong veins of authoritarianism and, in any case, devoid of the typical characteristics of parliamentary regimes.

¹⁵ Rolla, 'Lo Stato Italiano. Dalla Monarchia Alla Repubblica'.

of June 1946 the 'Corte di Cassazione' officially proclaimed the birth of the Italian Republic¹⁶.

The transition from Monarchy to the Republic took place in a climate of tension, amid controversy over the regularity of the referendum, accusations of fraud, controversy in the press, appeals and complaints. The fracture of the electorate on the institutional question was radical. The reasons were based on the political and socio-economic unknowns that the Republican choice represented for many; it also linked to the disparities with which the harsh experience of the war had affected the different areas of the country and layers of the population¹⁷.

1.2 EUROPEAN RECOVERY PROGRAM

Contrary to what happened after the Great War, the post-1945 period was marked by a continued American presence in Europe after hostilities had ceased. They maintained a political and military presence in many areas of Europe¹⁸, and continued to supply emergency aid, above all through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). By 1947 the material reconstruction of Europe was well underway, but the USA calculated that this kind of aid was not enough to put Europe back on its own feet¹⁹. European nations' acute lack of dollars with which to pay for raw materials and food supplies on international markets was soon to constitute an obstacle to the continuation of economic recovery. Americans were worried about the possibility of the economic and political collapse of Western Europe, as it would have had profound consequences for the USA.

On the 5th of June 1947, the American Secretary of State, George Marshall, announced the American plan for the reconstruction of Europe. Participation in this plan meant that the economic policies of the European nations had to be co-ordinated, and plans for development had to be drawn up and presented. The European Recovery Programme (ERP), otherwise known as the Marshall Plan, was a plan to transfer goods, not dollars, free of charge from the United States to Europe, based on a yearly request from each European country formulated in accordance with their four-year development plan²⁰.

This was a highly opportune and decisive moment to try and launch Italy's economic reorganization once and for all. The manoeuvre attempted by the Italian government became known as the 'Einaudi line', as it was Luigi Einaudi²¹ who had formulated it. The Einaudi measures marked the end of the emergency and the beginning of a new period in which the foundations for economic development could be laid down.

The philosophy behind the plan was simple: force productive investment, especially in the economic infrastructure and in capital goods, in order to squeeze costs and increase exports; this would then allow im-

¹⁶ Ministero della Difesa, 'Verso Il 2 Giugno: 2 Giugno 1946 Nasce La Repubblica'.

¹⁷ As well as dictated by the roots of an institution that was still identified by many with their own idea of nation.

¹⁸ Most of their presence was concentrated in a Germany that was torn apart and with the absence of a sovereign governance.

¹⁹ Zamagni, 'The Building of New Foundations, 1946-1952'.

²⁰ Marshall Foundation, 'The Marshall Plan - The George C. Marshall Foundation'.

²¹ Italian economist and politician; was president of the Italian Republic from 1948 to 1955.

provement in the balance of payments and would lead to a more competitive economy in view of the imminent liberalization of international markets²². This implied a freezing of consumption, together with a refusal to introduce demand-support Keynesian measures. The saving in currency could then be used either to increase imports, or to build up reserves. Italian governments opted for the latter choice, worried about the Bank of Italy's total lack of reserves.

Unfortunately, the plan's long-term capital-intensive projects could not offer a short-term solution to the problems of unemployment and underemployment which blighted Italy. The Italian government understood the plan's contribution towards creating jobs would only have been visible in the long-term, and that the immediate problem of unemployment could only be solved by emigration and the implementation of government assistance programmes.

American reports on the state of the Italian economy during the first few months of the Marshall Plan reveal an obsession with the severe problem of unemployment. In analysing the plan's long-term investment proposals, the Country Study²³ declared its dissatisfaction with the low rate of employment increase that seemed to result from the plan, and in fact suggested that priority should be given to public works programmes for political reasons²⁴. Although the Italian government continued to stick closely to their original line, they softened some of their positions making certain steps towards regional development in the most backward areas of the country.

Many of the social measures taken at the time were very heterogeneous but resulted in still-standing regulations for the financial security of workers, mostly based on the newly freed Catholic values of the Christian Democrats, once banned by fascist laws. However, one of the boldest plans devised by the government in those early years, in part as a result from the pressure of the USA to boost employment rate, is the INA-Casa project.

1.3 INA-CASA

“Dei quartieri organici autosufficienti si sono iniziati in questi ultimi mesi a Torino, Milano, Roma per merito del piano incremento occupazione operaia. Si tratta di esperienze iniziali di grande interesse. E gli urbanisti italiani non possono non dichiarare il loro compiacimento per la prima attuazione dei loro programmi. Tuttavia permangono ancora insoluti grandi problemi.”²⁵

- Adriano Olivetti, 1951

²² Gilbert, 'European Integration: A Concise History'

²³ U.S. Department of the Army sponsored research branch in the Federal Research Division

²⁴ Zamagni, 'The Building of New Foundations, 1946-1952'.

²⁵ "Self-sufficient organic neighbourhoods have started in recent months in Turin, Milan, and Rome thanks to the plan to increase worker employment. These are initial experiences of great interest. And Italian urban planners cannot but declare their satisfaction for the first implementation of their programs. However, major problems still remain unresolved."

On the 6th of July 1948, in the session of the 'Consiglio dei ministri', Amintore Fanfani, Minister of labour and social security, presented a bill that provided a plan to address the problem of unemployment, through the development of the construction sector, considered an area capable of promoting the economic rebirth of post-war Italy. The law established for the plan to be financed with a mixed system in which the State, employers and employees participated through a deduction on the monthly salary²⁶. This system was proposed by the protagonists of the plan as a national solidarity program. Distrust and fears that a complex, slow and expensive bureaucratic apparatus was being set up were curbed by the establishment of a centralized and streamlined body which was entrusted with the operation of the plan.

The INA-Casa plan represented a moment to broaden not only the reflection of Italian architects, urban planners, and engineers, but also their occupation, in addition to that of the workers. For some middle-aged architects, the INA-Casa projects represented the first opportunity of a certain importance offered to them after the war, and for many young people the first real professional opportunity.

After the initial perplexities, the plan began to appear as a possible catalyst for the massive reconstruction effort. In this vast programme of new districts promoted by the State, the discussion within the technical circles saw the possibility of affecting urban development and the physical and social form of cities. That of the INA-Casa seemed to be the first real opportunity to achieve a great reconstruction, and the neighbourhood unit proved to be a useful material to shape the formless and widespread urban growth that was already expanding Italian cities, dispersing them over large territories. The districts built then represent not only a significant testimony of the Italian twentieth century, but constitute important parts of Italian cities, where they still maintain their precise identity.

The INA-Casa plan was originally set to expire after seven years but, in 1955, the investment was renewed for an additional septennium. By the end of this initiative in 1962, over 20,000 construction sites spread throughout Italy, in large cities as well as in small towns, offering jobs every year to about 40,000 construction workers. Furthermore, thanks to the approximately two million rooms carried out in the fourteen years of activity, over 350,000 Italian families improved their living conditions²⁷.

Buildings, common areas, gardens, kindergartens, schools, churches, neighbourhood units went to compose new urban environments. Parts of self-sufficient and 'complete' cities, or what they aspired to be, from the morphological, functional and even social point of view. The neighbourhoods were expected to train communities of citizens; not only the improvement of the quality of individual life and the family in domestic areas, but also of common life in outdoor spaces and communal equipment. The common areas wanted to facilitate the relations between the new inhabitants and promote the growth of communities. The neighbourhood seemed to want to assume the role of a device for a reconstruction of a social and moral standpoint of post-war Italy.

²⁶ di Biagi, 'Quartieri e Città Nell'Italia Degli Anni Cinquanta. Il Piano Ina Casa 1949-1963'.

²⁷ Treccani, 'Il piano ina-casa: 1949-1963'.

Districts built within this framework and attitude compose today's pages of history for the architecture and urban planning of the Italian twentieth century, articulated between different ideas of the city, space, and community.

The tasks that came from the institution represented in the post-war period an important opportunity for professionals already active before the conflict to resume work and for the youngest to start their professional business. It could be said that the plan represented a tool to expand, not only the workers' employment – as its stated objective – but also that of Italian designers. Out of a total of 17,000 Italian architects and engineers active in those years, about a third was involved in this experience²⁸.

The neighbourhood, the affordable house, and the house for the people were proposed to these designers as themes, not only of a technical nature, but also of a moral one. Working to improve the living space of a clientele that was in some ways 'invisible', made up of thousands of families in need of healthy and dignified housing, presented architects, engineers, and urban planners with the opportunity to measure themselves against the social responsibilities to which the profession called them. The theme of 'a home for all' had helped to characterize theirs as a public role.

The recommendations provided by the dossiers to the designers highlighted the need to pay attention to the characteristics of the landscape and the pre-existing historical centers, the inhabitants' lifestyle, the climate, the building materials, the local handicraft products, the construction systems of the place and more. This reveals the will, more evident with the first seven years of implementation of the plan, to root the new interventions in the environment and to attribute to them a precise local and contextual identity. The decision to discard prefabrication methods was also justified by the aim of respecting the different local building traditions and the character of the built environment, as well as the priority of increasing working-class employment. The choice of low mechanization and high use of labour had the effect of preserving the 'artisan' building site and 'traditional' construction. This choice, according to some critics, contributed to maintaining a backward character of the Italian construction sector²⁹.

In the outskirts of Milano, one of few unique projects around Italy during this period of reconstruction was breaking from 'traditionalism' and asserting itself as an experimental neighbourhood for Italian architects, as well as international, to study and test new methods. This is the QT8.

²⁸ Cecchinato, 'Il Piano INA-Casa 1949-1963: La Ricostruzione Postbellica Attraverso l'Edilizia Sovvenzionata Dallo Stato'

²⁹ Treccani, 'Il piano ina-casa: 1949-1963'.



Fig. 1.1 Graffiti on the walls of Milan against the Allies (Archivio RCS, 1943)

Anno 71 - N. 27 (sesta serie) - Una copia L. 5

IL NUOVO

CORRIERE DELLA SERA

Milano, Giovedì, 8 giugno 1946

E' nata la Repubblica italiana

Umberto partirà sabato dopo la consegna dei poteri a De Gasperi, Capo provvisorio del nuovo Stato - Volontà di cooperazione di tutti i partiti per la distensione e la concordia

TREGUA NAZIONALE

La Repubblica ha visto il suo primo anniversario con la pace. In questi giorni, mentre si celebra il centenario della nascita di Giuseppe Garibaldi, si è consumata la distensione e la concordia tra tutti i partiti. La distensione e la concordia sono il frutto di una cooperazione di tutti i partiti per la distensione e la concordia.

I RISULTATI DEL "REFERENDUM"

REPUBBLICA 12.718.019 MONARCHIA 10.709.423

La grande giornata a Roma

I risultati della votazione commentati da Romita - Un colloquio del Presidente del Consiglio col Re - Riunioni di ministri e capi di partito a梵蒂冈 e a palazzo Chigi - La proclamazione della Repubblica fissata per sabato a Montecitorio

La Costituente

Democristiani 7.878.874; socialisti 4.698.539; comunisti 4.252.741; minoranze 1.898.277

Seggi da assegnare: 576

Democristiani: 320; Socialisti: 170; Comunisti: 150; Minoranze: 76

Chi sarà il Presidente?

Si parla di Orlando, ma i comunisti preferirebbero Nenni - Anche De Gasperi e Sturzo candidati - Verso un Governo di centro-sinistra

La grande giornata a Roma

I risultati della votazione commentati da Romita - Un colloquio del Presidente del Consiglio col Re - Riunioni di ministri e capi di partito a梵蒂冈 e a palazzo Chigi - La proclamazione della Repubblica fissata per sabato a Montecitorio

La Costituente

Democristiani 7.878.874; socialisti 4.698.539; comunisti 4.252.741; minoranze 1.898.277

Seggi da assegnare: 576

Democristiani: 320; Socialisti: 170; Comunisti: 150; Minoranze: 76



Fig. 1.3 Decauville used for the removal of rubble (Unknown, 1945)

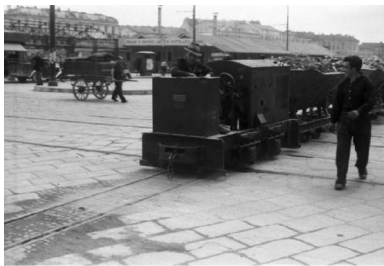


Fig. 1.2 Newspaper front page declaring the birth of the Italian Republic (Corriere della Sera, 1946)



Fig. 1.4 Viaduct and tunnel Massa (Archivio Storico Autostrade per l'Italia, 1962)



Fig. 1.5 Collapsed building in the center of Milano (Archivio Gianfranco Ucelli, 1943)



Fig. 1.6 Displaced fleeing from Milano with their belongings (Publifoto/Olycom, 1943)

Fig. 1.7 Rubble has been cleared from the streets to allow public transport to function (Archivio RCS, 1945)

Fig. 1.8 Volunteers clear the rubble of the Ospedale Maggiore (Publifoto/Olycom, 1945)



CHAPTER 2: QUARTIERE TRIENNALE 8°

THE MODEL NEIGHBOURHOOD

The idea of creating an experimental district was born at the end of the V Triennale di Milano (1933) when designer Piero Bottoni and Giuseppe Pagano agreed that the construction and subsequent demolition of experimental prototypes for the house built in Parco Sempione³⁰ were to be considered a waste of economic resources and energy³¹. The two engaged in the project, drafted together with Mario Pucci, for a first district to be built on the occasion of the VI Triennale (1936). Due to the immaturity of the times and tense political environment, the idea could only materialize in 1945 when Bottoni became part of the organizing committee of the eighth edition of the exhibition alongside a new hunger for rapid innovation in the sector.

This appetite for advancements, however, was not in perfect alignment with the government's direction at the time. The discussions taking place, of which the INA-Casa plan was birthed out of, identified the construction of houses for workers as the means to increase worker employment even above the objective of satisfying the need for houses for workers. Hence the need to impose a way of building houses that was low in mechanization and high in labour use, effectively setting aside any prospect of technological innovation. This solution is far from those assumed by the rest of Europe for the post-war reconstruction.

The type of construction indicated at the time of the INA-Casa Plan was a model precisely determined in the general specifications and applied in a timely manner in the realizations. It consisted of a system in which masonry elements and reinforced concrete elements were combined and mainly made on site³². Despite the differences between the geographical areas and the construction times, a certain homogeneity can be recognized in the construction process, which was simply the path of least resistance in Italy after the war.

All this took place in compliance with the regulatory dossiers produced by the INA-Casa Management, which defined the fundamental grammatical and syntactic rules to guide design behaviours. This left the adaptation of the scheme to the specific situation and context to the designers, while maintaining the principles of exposure and spatial relationships between the different house rooms. With other specific performance rules, an attempt was made to deal with issues relating to urban composition according to the law where examples were used to overcome the inevitable vagueness of the solutions indicated³³. It is within this flexibility that a more radical approach was able to be taken.

The project for the QT8, an acronym for 'Quartiere della Triennale Ottava' meaning 'Neighbourhood of the Eight Triennale', stems from the firm will of a group of designers, led by Bottoni, to give life to a full-

³⁰ Parco Sempione is a large English garden in the heart of Milano with the Triennale building located at its boundary.

³¹ Lombardia Beni Culturali, 'Quartiere Sperimentale Della Triennale Di Milano'.

³² This model, seemingly simple and ordinary, is the result of the combination of the traditional masonry system and the reinforced concrete elements.

³³ Magni, 'Abitare in Alto a Milano 1920-1960'.

scale model of the possibilities offered by modern urban planning, inspired both by the work of Le Corbusier and the concept of the city-garden. The peculiarity of the project lies not so much in the proposal of new construction techniques, living models or modern furnishings but rather in the new conception of urban space, which guides the development of all the elements of which the district is composed. To safeguard this aspect, Bottoni implemented various strategies that would pass not only from the drafting of an urban and architectural plan, but also from the establishment of a specific building regulation and a commission for the evaluation of proposed projects.

In its alternative thinking, the role of connection, rather than falling on the shoulders of a car-centric road system, would instead be entrusted to the green, conceived as a significant element of the urban space and able to absorb the differences between the design approaches of the numerous architects that would later be involved in the construction: public and private gardens, tree-lined avenues, parks for play and leisure and, above all, the famed Monte Stella.

2.1 TRIENNALE DI MILANO

The Triennale di Milano, the International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts and Modern Architecture, the eighth edition of which was held in 1947, took the initiative of creating an experimental model district in the outskirts of Milan. This would be a permanent and progressive exhibition of new construction methods and materials, the latest architectural solutions, and the most modern conceptions of urban planning applied to residential districts in terms of hygiene, community, and aesthetics.

“La funzione della Triennale è puramente quella di organo propulsore dell’idea e coordinatore delle iniziative che ad essa si legano e che evidentemente, data la mole dell’impresa, non possono derivare che da una collaborazione di molti altri enti e persone singole.”³⁴

- Metron, QT8: un quartiere modello, 1946

A public competition was announced less than a year before the exhibition for the design of the buildings in the center of the district. The QT8 district plan was to be framed in the new City Masterplan and to be built on land owned by the Municipality of Milano to avoid, even indirectly, any speculation on the ownership or use of land³⁵. Furthermore, a regulatory plan of the QT8 had been studied to serve as a framework for the various initiatives. This way urban unity for the residential district would be kept given the proposed strategy for individuals to send design initiatives.

To give the enterprise the guarantees of a scientific experiment that was truly worth marking the directives of the new architecture for the

³⁴ “The function of the Triennale is purely that of a driving force behind the idea and coordinator of the initiatives that are linked to it and which, given the size of the company, can only derive from a collaboration of many other institutions and individuals.”

³⁵ Metron, ‘QT8: Un Quartiere Modello’.

purposes of national reconstruction, the Triennale requested the direct intervention of the National Research Council³⁶. The latter, accepting the invitation, offered to organize and finance an office that would supervise the experimentation of the new construction methods and new materials used in the QT8 district, both in the procedures and in the results.

Since the experimentation that was to be attempted in the new model district embraced as far as possible all the fields of architecture, urban planning, and technology, there were many categories of people who would be able to contribute to the creation of this new city district. A particular aspect of QT8 was that of hosting examples of houses built by foreigners with different procedures from Italian ones. The knowledge of these different forms and the comparison with national procedures would have been exceptionally interesting as globalization was yet to be a concept. Unfortunately, the difficulties related to imports and the economy prevented a large foreign participation.

Another aspect of the utility of an experimental district such as QT8 was the possibility of carrying out certain experiments concerning programs of a national character, such as that of furnishing in public housing and tested in the INA-Casa plan³⁷. This theme was more deeply explored during the IX Triennale, of which it should be considered in the context of the 1950-1951 period, even if the related programs date back to previous years. This was the period when the INA-Casa construction plan began to be approved in the neighbourhood³⁸.

2.2 PLANNING THE QT8

“Il nuovo Quartiere, destinato a restare l’esempio di quanto di meglio di triennio in triennio si andrà maturando nel campo dell’architettura moderna e delle arti decorative, sarà una unità architettonicamente armonica, economicamente equilibrata ed urbanisticamente autonoma nei limiti di quella entità numerica di popolazione che è definita dall’urbanistica moderna. Il nuovo quartiere sarà una mostra permanente, sperimentale, vivente, dell’architettura moderna.”³⁹

- Metron, Il Quartiere sperimentale modello QT8, 1948

The charter for QT8 outlined a framework for the whole neighbourhood to follow. Regulations included keeping the unitary architectural character in harmony with the environment and the QT8 plan itself; the height of the buildings to not exceed 30 meters; buildings intended for

³⁶ Metron, ‘QT8: Un Quartiere Modello’.

³⁷ Alongside the progressive work carried out by INA-Casa in the morphological field of housing, an example of how to furnish the home in accordance with the needs of life in a modern dwelling of limited size and for modest economical classes was implemented in QT8, at least in experimental form.

³⁸ Metron, ‘Il Quartiere Sperimentale Della Triennale Di Milano’.

³⁹ “The new district, destined to remain example of the best development in the field of modern architecture and decorative arts every three years, will be an architecturally harmonious, economically balanced and urbanistically autonomous unit within the limits of that numerical entity of population which is defined by modern. The new district will be a permanent, experimental, and living exhibition of modern architecture.”

residential use to have mutual locations and distances so that their shadows cannot be projected on any windowed surface of a living room, between certain hours; restricted the use of shafts as the only source of light and ventilation only for movement spaces; regularized the minimum ceiling heights; among many others improvements that we today take for granted⁴⁰.

Given the experimental purposes of QT8, in the field of urban planning, housing and building-hygiene techniques, all rules could have been waived by the QT8 Building Committee, with a favourable proposal to the Building Commission of the Municipality of Milan, if the project in question presented particularly interesting requirements and intentions from an experimental point of view.

The criteria set out was not intended as restrictive measures but, given the experimental nature of the district, they constituted guiding principles to which studies, proposals and projects could refer to, which may envisage and suggest different associative and distributive solutions. In particular, the experimentation took on four aspects: physical-technical, constructive, hygienic and economic. The physical-technical aspect for the experimentation of construction elements for efficiency data. The constructive aspect for the testing of the buildings during the assembly and finishing phase. The hygienic aspect for the verification of the health characteristics of the buildings and for their possible classification according to their hygienic requirements. The economic aspect for the control from the industrial production cycle to the assembly and operation phase, as well as for the comparison with the usual type of constructions. Based on the results of the tests conducted under these four aspects, special certificates of approval were to be issued⁴¹.

2.3 DEVELOPING THE QT8

As a result of the experimental nature, QT8 hosted both successful and unsuccessful experiences, the latter also being very useful as to know what should be done and what to be avoided elsewhere. For the time, the QT8 was an example, in Italian and in some respects even foreign, of a neighbourhood that is free, even if only in part, from regulatory codifications that bind other districts of the city, the only one that in Milano presents the urban conditions ideal for modern architecture.

At QT8 a program of prefabrication and assembly trials of 4-storey houses was carried out in 1948 and a larger second phase 6 years later. These, among other buildings within the neighbourhood, are the only official experiments made in Italy by the Ministero dei Lavori Pubblici, together with the more limited ones made in Naples, which were moreover a direct consequence of those of Milan⁴².

The 11-storey INA-Casa house with the ballast and external staircase, the only kind that existed in Milano and in Italy back then, was born at the QT8. The first specialized playground for children in Milano was born at QT8, a field that was, among other things, the driving force of

⁴⁰ Metron, 'Il Quartiere Sperimentale Modello QT8'.

⁴¹ Metron, 'Il Quartiere Sperimentale Modello QT8'.

⁴² Bottoni, Zetti, and Spreafico, 'Q.T.8 Il quartiere sperimentale della Triennale di Milano'.

the initiative of the other city playgrounds. These formations of green areas for the recreation of children and adults aimed to solve the problem of the lack of gardens attached to the houses with minimum area.

These projects, as innovative as they were, are rare unicorns. Even with so many stakeholders and interest behind the project, much of the planned phases never managed to take off and remain to this day as vacant lots and abandoned structures. The municipality was faced with the criticism of the insufficient interest in carrying out the works, and to those relating to certain incomplete or negative results of the construction. It is necessary to remember the complexity of the problems that arise in the realization of such a vast city district; the difficulties of obtaining unitary and progressive results is not a defect of the QT8 program but the mirror of an economic and social situation that was typical of the time. However, the positive results of the work, which are the only ones that matter, are the urban ones. It can be said that in no other district of Milano was there, and still is, such a liveable "environment" as in QT8, where greenery and landscape are composed with and for houses, and where the thousands of trees planted guarantee a continuous improvement, and not a worsening, of the environmental situation.

A residential district plan that affects an area as important as that of QT8 does not take place, in the economic climate of the time, in such a short time as to escape the need for subsequent adaptations to ensuing urban needs. Nevertheless, the Triennale experimental district maintained a constant line of development since the place where it was to be built was chosen. This development is exhibited in essentially three successive plans for the QT8 They roughly corresponding to the periods of the subsequent Triennali. What we see today can be considered the final plan, with much of the original designed infrastructure never built.

The first urban composition was essentially of four residential areas built up of low-rise buildings woven within greenery and surrounded by a rhythm of large linear buildings, oriented in 'asse eliotèrmico'⁴³ converging to a central piazza. The second plan made the switch from mostly 4 storey tall houses to the use of a denser construction with condominiums of 11 floors as required by the Municipality for a greater exploitation of the areas. A small lake was planned and the idea for a hill takes on a more determined configuration. The final plan is the sign of an inclusion of QT8 in the broader urban problems. Without making changes to the general layout, the large hill shifts, from a local element completing the neighbourhood, to an integral part of the green equipment and the urban landscape of the city⁴⁴.

A large public park was also implemented in the QT8. It was planned to occupy an area of approximately 375,000 square meters and was arranged with a meandering pattern until reaching the large area occupied by the hill. Its layout, from east to west, allowed the crossing of the neighbourhood, from the city to the countryside without interfering with

⁴³ Meaning the direction of maximum sun exposure, that is, the most advantageous average of the benefits of light and heat that can be used during the year by a building, for which it is, as a rule, built perpendicular to that direction.

⁴⁴ Bottoni, Zetti, and Spreafico, 'Q.T.8 Il quartiere sperimentale della Triennale di Milano'.

the houses. Today this connection is completely lost as the expansion of the city and infrastructure upgrades have mostly isolated the park and the parks has shifted more towards the north of the neighbourhood where buildings had been planned in the past.

The hill, named Monte Stella after Bottoni's late wife, has a history whose different aspects deserve to be known. It can be considered as the expression of the Milanese spirit of resourcefulness toward practical things and civic interest, combined with the spirit of poetry and plastic research typical of the architect. The first embryo of the hill arose from the tragic need to dump the rubble of war, first by filling the old quarries, then by dumping above them. It was then designed within the plan of the neighbourhood and was realized through the constant influx of excavated materials for new buildings; acting as a public dump.

The planned height was 100 meters, with a cable car that connected it to the neighbourhood below and a completion time frame of 15 years. However, for technical reasons, the construction stopped at the current 50 meters and no cable car was ever built. Conceived in 1947 and defined in 1953, the Montagnetta⁴⁵ was only completed at the end of the 1960s. This was due to endless difficulties and struggles, often in the indifference of the various municipal administrations. The mass of the material is composed for the first ten meters by the rubble of the bombings, for the following layers by the resulting land and debris of buildings demolished after the end of the war, and from 1949 onward by excavation materials of the new construction sites. Only after 1967, with the closure of the landfill, the finishing works of the hill began. Roads and paths were created, the sowing of the turf and the planting were completed⁴⁶.

⁴⁵ Meaning 'little mountain' in Italian.

⁴⁶ Puecher, 'Una notte sul Monte Stella'.

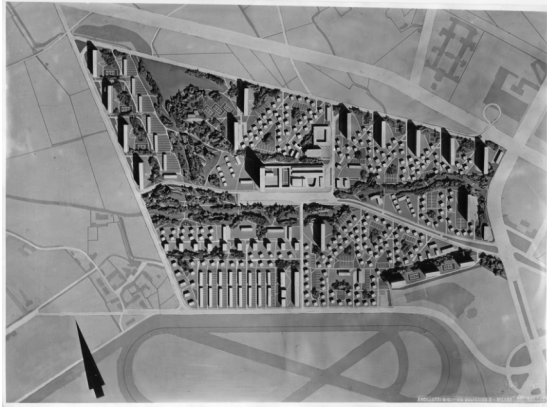


Fig. 2.1 First maquette of the QT8 during the exhibition at the Triennale (Triennale, 1946)



Fig. 2.2 Current day QT8 (Google, 2024)

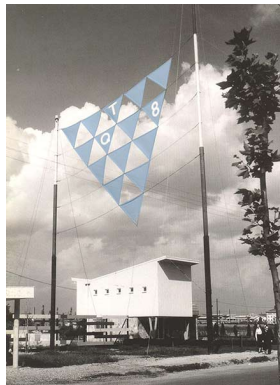


Fig. 2.3 Entrance banner to the QT8 (Triennale, 1946)

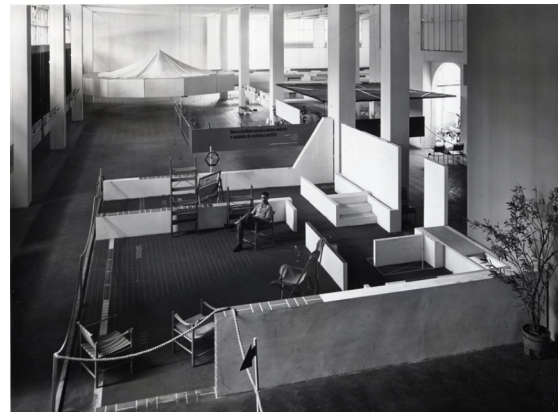


Fig. 2.5 Suspended walkway for the elevated view of the QT8 scale model (Triennale, 1946)



Fig. 2.4 Graphic design for the eight Triennale di Milano (Triennale, 1946)

Fig. 2.6 House with a wall structure with unified and modulated measures to be built in the QT8 (Triennale, 1946)



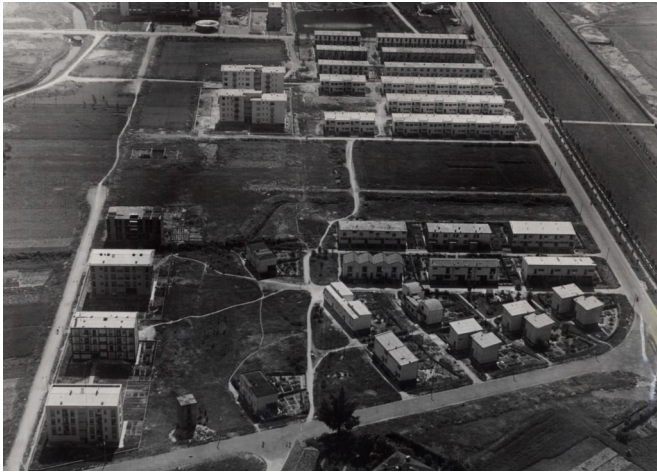


Fig. 2.7 Aerial view of the QT8 area (Unknown, 1951)

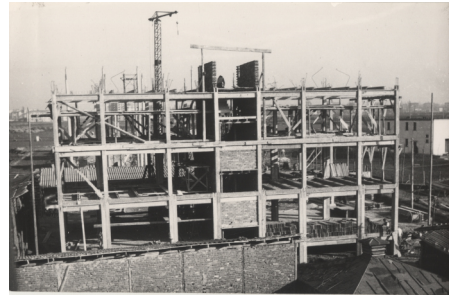


Fig. 2.8 Structure of the four-story house with Gaburri system (Triennale, 1947-50)



Fig. 2.9 INA-Casa 11 storey tall condominium (Foto Casali SEM, 1951)



Fig. 2.10 Aerial view of the QT8 area under construction (Archivio Piero Bottoni, 1948)



Fig. 2.11 Working site for the Monte Stella (Archivio Piero Bottoni, 1948)

Fig. 2.12 INA-Casa 11 storey tall condominium (Foto Casali SEM, 1951)





Fig. 2.13 From the left, a view of the 11-story house and the row of 4-story prefabricated houses (Metron, 1953)

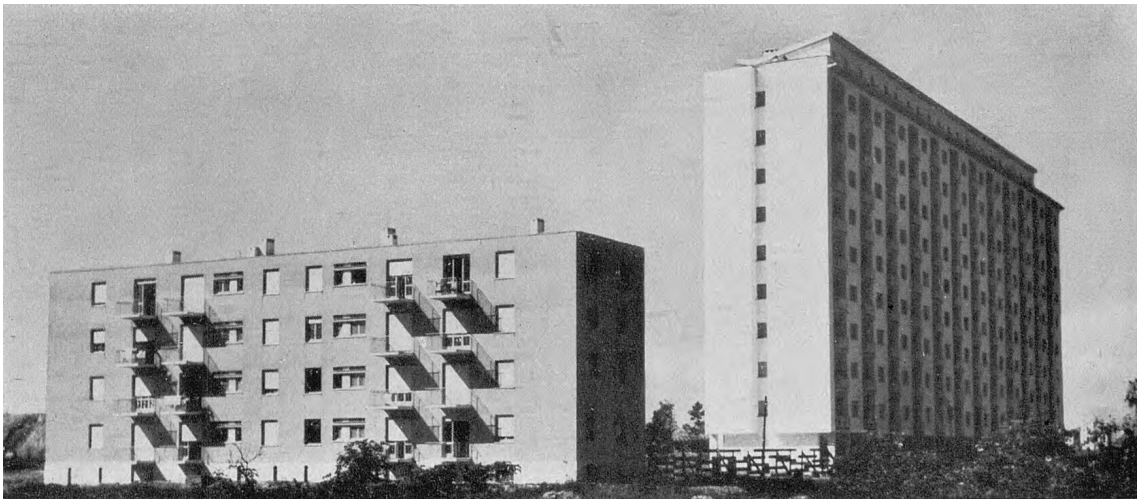


Fig. 2.14 From the left, a view of the 4-storey house and the 11-storey house (Metron, 1953)



Fig. 2.15 11-story house and the exhibition pavilion (Metron, 1953)



Fig. 2.16 Municipality of Milano's 8-story house (Metron, 1953)

Fig. 2.17 Various progress pictures of the construction of Monte Stella (Archivio Piero Bottoni, 1951-57)

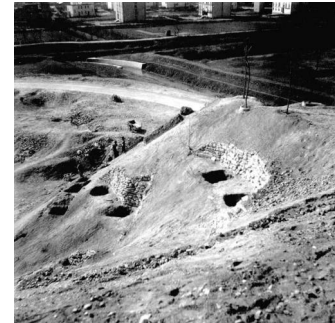
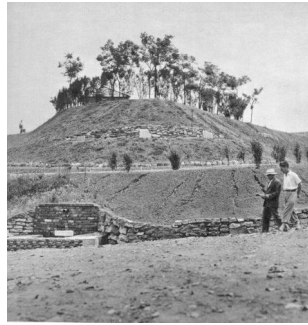
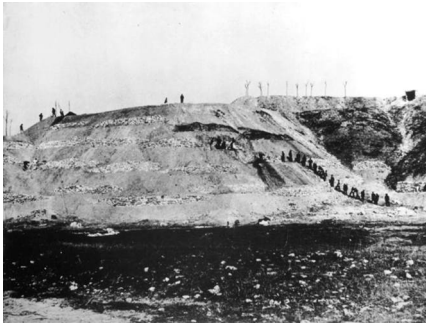


Fig. 2.18 Completed Monte Stella its final 50m height (Corriere della Sera, 1960s)





Fig. 2.19 INA-Casa 11
storey tall condominium
(Unknown, 1951)



Fig. 2.20 View of the QT8 and
its church from Monte Stella
(BEIC, 1950-60)





Fig. 2.22 4-story prefabricated house (Domus, 2022)



Fig. 2.23 4-story prefabricated house (Triennale, 1947-50)

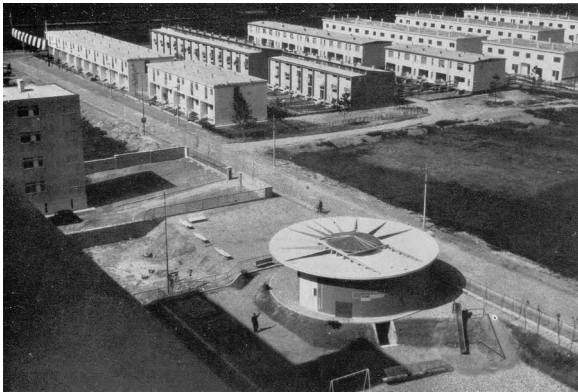


Fig. 2.24 view from the 10-story house towards the terraced houses built by INA-Casa (Metron, 1953)



Fig. 2.25 view from the 10-story house towards the terraced houses built by INA-Casa (Ordine Architetti Milano, 2011)



Fig. 2.26 4-story prefabricated house (Domus, 2022)



Fig. 2.27 Pedestrian road crossing the neighbourhood (Domus, 2022)



Fig. 2.28 View from the top of Monte Stella (Domus, 2022)

Fig. 2.29 INA-Casa
11 storey tall
condominium
(Google, 2023)





Fig. 2.30 Municipality of Milano's 8-story house
(Google, 2023)



Fig. 2.31 QT8 residential buildings
(Domus, 2022)

CONCLUSION

As my grandparents tell me, after the war and almost a decade under fascist repression, Italy was ready to move forward. I am told stories of streets and avenues being completely depleted of their trees for firewood, families keeping chickens in the basements to have daily eggs, and meat being a luxury. There was a great deal of social energy to rebuild and innovate in every sector. Many of the great Italian brands in the technology, industrial, and design sector were born in the years following the end of WW2 as innovation boomed in the following decades.

It is only within this atmosphere of rapid innovation and out-of-the-box thinking that a plan so extensive yet so streamlined could be successfully implemented. The initiative appeared to the technicians as the first real and consistent opportunity for Italy to carry out a great reconstruction and for the neighbourhood unit to act as a great urban 'material' necessary to counter the uncontrolled, shapeless, and fragmentary growth of cities at the time. The neighbourhood, with its houses, services, open spaces, and gardens, was interpreted as something more than a simple urban addition: it was a social unit, a sphere of education and community life for citizens. The districts built then represent not only a significant testimony of the Italian twentieth century, but constitute important parts of Italian cities, where they still maintain their precise identity.

On the 6th of May 2021, in response to the devastating effects the Covid-19 pandemic had not only on society but also on the economy, Italy was granted a multi-billion package as part of the NRRP by the European Union. As the Ministry of Economy and Finance put it:

"The Plan is developed around three strategic axes shared at a European level: digitisation and innovation, ecological transition, and social inclusion. It is an intervention that aims at repairing the economic and social damage caused by the pandemic crisis, contributing to addressing the structural weaknesses of the Italian economy, and leading the country along a path of ecological and environmental transition. The NRRP will substantially contribute to reducing territorial, generational and gender gaps.⁴⁷"

- Ministero dell'Economia e delle Finanze, 2021

It is the single largest investment since the Marshall Plan and yet, having been over 4 years, much of what was promised was either scrapped or ended up tangled in infinite bureaucracy. The news and media have portrayed this endeavour, to some degree correctly, as a failure with huge, missed opportunities to just-start the Italian economy once again. I see much of this discourse equivalent to what was being discussed in the post-war period. While I concentrated on the decisions that allowed for the construction sector to be re-birthed, many reforms and investments never managed to be passed or were never properly implemented.

By establishing a centralized and streamlined body with full entrust over the operation of the plan, the INA-Casa initiative was able to literally rebuild Italy's residential sector in just under two decades. Building nowadays has become a lot slower and more costly due in part to more rigid regulations and their enforcement but also a lack of will from the government. The flexibility that the QT8 masterplan offered throughout its development and subsequent redesigns allowed it to remain adaptable and competitive to new needs, decreasing the likelihood of the entire project from being cancelled. As large ambitious projects like the Scalo di Porta Romana in Milano echo the forward-thinking sentiment of the QT8, it is my hope that lessons from the past can be used rather than forgotten to help these ambitious projects reach the finish line.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aiello, Lucia. '2.1.2 QT8 e Gallaratese'. MilanoAttraverso (blog), 23 March 2020. <https://www.milanoattraverso.it/qt8-e-gallaratese/>.

Amore, Raffaele, Maria Ines Pascariello, and Alessandra Veropalumbo. Città e Guerra. Federico II University Press, 2023.

Biagi, Paola di. 'Quartieri e Città Nell'Italia Degli Anni Cinquanta. Il Piano Ina Casa 1949-1963'. In *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée*, 2003.

Bianchi, Nicola, and Michela Giorcelli. 'Reconstruction Aid, Public Infrastructure, and Economic Development: The Case of the Marshall Plan in Italy'. Cambridge University Press, 2 May 2023.

Bottoni, Piero, Zetti, and Spreafico. 'Q.T.8 Il quartiere sperimentale della Triennale di Milano'. Editoriale Domus, 1954. <https://www.cittaconquistatrice.it/q-t-8-il-quartiere-sperimentale-della-triennale-di-milano-1954/>.

Caldi, Federica. 'La Costruzione Nel Secondo Dopoguerra'. 2020.

Comune di Milano. 'Zona Speciale Scalo Romana - Programma Integrato d'Intervento'. Accessed 18 March 2025. <https://www.comune.milano.it/aree-tematiche/rigenerazione-urbana-e-urbanistica/attuazione-pgt/zona-speciale-romana-piano-attuativo>.

Italy Chronicles. 'Post-War Italy: Reconstruction, the Marshall Plan, and the Transformation into a Republic.' Accessed 18 March 2025. <https://italychronicles.com/post-war-italy-reconstruction-the-marshall-plan-and-the-transformation-into-a-republic/>.

'I Paesaggi Dell'Edilizia Sociale a Milano'. Università Cardinale Giovanni Colombo, n.d.

'Italy's Recovery and Resilience Plan - European Commission'. Accessed 18 March 2025. https://commission.europa.eu/business-economy-euro/economic-recovery/recovery-and-resilience-facility/country-pages/italys-recovery-and-resilience-plan_en.

'L'architettura e Le Sue Fonti: Il Novecento a Milano e in Lombardia - Percorsi Tematici - Lombardia Beni Culturali'. Accessed 18 March 2025. <https://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/percorsi/archivi-architetti/5.3/>.

Magni, Susanna. 'Abitare in Alto a Milano 1920-1960'. Politecnico di Milano, 2014.

Martinez Oliva, Juan Carlos. 'The Italian Stabilization of 1947: Domestic and International Factors', n.d.

MEF. 'The National Recovery and Resilience Plan (NRRP)'. Accessed 18 March 2025. <https://www.mef.gov.it/en/focus/The-National-Recovery-and-Resilience-Plan-NRRP/>.

Metron. 'Il Quartiere Sperimentale Della Triennale Di Milano'. 1953.

Metron. 'Il Quartiere Sperimentale Modello QT8'. 1948.

Metron. 'QT8: Un Quartiere Modello'. 1946.

Olivetti, Adriano. 'Discorso Del Presidente All'apertura Del Convegno'. *Urbanistica*, 1951.

Puecher, Orsola. 'Una notte sul Monte Stella'. *NAZIONE INDIANA*, 1 November 2015. <https://www.nazioneindiana.com/2015/11/01/una-notte-sul-monte-stella/>.

'QT8, un tour nel quartiere ideale della Milano del dopoguerra'. Accessed 18 March 2025. <https://www.domusweb.it/it/architettura/2022/06/23/qt8-il-quartiere-ideale-della-milano-del-dopoguerra.html>.

'Quartiere Sperimentale Della Triennale Di Milano - Complesso - Milano (MI) | Architettura in Lombardia Dal 1945 Ad Oggi'. Accessed 18 March 2025. https://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/architetture900/schede/p4010-00241/?periodo_id=&tipologia_id=.

Rolla, Giancarlo. 'Lo Stato Italiano. Dalla Monarchia Alla Repubblica'. In *Manuale Di Diritto Costituzionale*, 512. Giappichelli, 2024.

'The Marshall Plan - The George C. Marshall Foundation', 1 December 2021. <https://www.marshallfoundation.org/the-marshall-plan/>, <https://www.marshallfoundation.org/the-marshall-plan/>.

Treccani. 'Classi e ceti sociali nello spazio urbano: 1945-2001 - Enciclopedia'. Accessed 18 March 2025. [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/classi-e-ceti-sociali-nello-spazio-urbano-1945-2001_\(L'Italia-e-le-sue-Regioni\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/classi-e-ceti-sociali-nello-spazio-urbano-1945-2001_(L'Italia-e-le-sue-Regioni)/).

Treccani. 'Il piano ina-casa: 1949-1963 - Treccani'. Accessed 18 March 2025. [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/il-piano-ina-casa-1949-1963_\(Il-Contributo-italiano-alla-storia-del-Pensiero:-Tecnica\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/il-piano-ina-casa-1949-1963_(Il-Contributo-italiano-alla-storia-del-Pensiero:-Tecnica)/).

'Triennale Milano 8'. Accessed 18 March 2025. <https://archivi.triennale.org/archive/archivi-triennale/8>.

'Triennale Milano 9'. Accessed 23 March 2025. <https://www.triennale.org/archivi-triennale/9>.

'Verso Il 2 Giugno: 2 Giugno 1946 Nasce La Repubblica'. Accessed 18 March 2025. <https://www.difesa.it/primopiano/verso-il-2-giugno-2-giugno-1946-nasce-la-repubblica/50281.html>.

Zamagni, Vera. 'The Building of New Foundations, 1946-1952'. In *The Economic History of Italy 1860-1990*. Clarendon Press Oxford, 1993.

Braghin, Paolo. *Inchiesta sulla miseria in Italia: [1951-1952]: [materiale della Commissione parlamentare]*. Einaudi, 1978.

Gilbert, Mark. *European Integration: A Concise History*. Rev. and Updated ed., Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012.

Einaudi, Fondazione Luigi. 'Homepage IT'. Fondazione Luigi Einaudi, <https://www.fondazioneeinaudi.it/>. Accessed 11 Apr. 2025.

'The National Recovery and Resilience Plan (NRRP)'. MEF, <https://www.mef.gov.it/en/focus/The-National-Recovery-and-Resilience-Plan-NRRP/>. Accessed 17 Apr. 2025.

'Settanta anni dopo il QT8 è ancora un quartiere ideale'. *la Repubblica*, 5 July 2019, https://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2019/07/05/news/settanta_anni_dopo_il_qt8_e_ancora_un_quartiere_ideale-300893396/.

FIGURES

'Expo riporta lo sci a Milano, le piste artificiali nell'album amarcord'. la Repubblica, 26 Sept. 2016, https://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2016/09/26/foto/milano_neve-148576771/1/.

Foto Casali - S.E.M. - Fotografie - Lombardia Beni Culturali. <https://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/fotografie/autori/27523/?current=2>. Accessed 16 Apr. 2025.

Itinerari Di Architettura | Ordine Architetti Milano. <https://ordinearchitetti.mi.it/it/cultura/itinerari-di-architettura/20-la-casa-popolare/opere/653-quartiere-sperimentale-viii-triennale/galleria>. Accessed 16 Apr. 2025.

Itinerari Di Architettura | Ordine Architetti Milano. <https://ordinearchitetti.mi.it/en/cultura/itinerari-di-architettura/40-piero-bottoni-la-dimensione-civile-della-bellezza/opere/560-monte-stella/galleria>. Accessed 16 Apr. 2025.

'MILANO | Storia Dei Trasporti Pubblici'. SkyscraperCity Forum, 30 June 2009, <https://www.skyscrapercity.com/threads/milano-storia-dei-trasporti-pubblici.1553988/>.

'Milano, dai bombardamenti alla ricostruzione: storia di una rinascita'. la Repubblica, 9 Nov. 2016, https://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2016/11/09/foto/milano_dopo_bombardamenti-151612619/1/.

Serie Fotografica. https://preserver.beic.it/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE8978661. Accessed 16 Apr. 2025.

'20 aprile: Milano sotto le bombe'. Corriere della Sera, 18 Apr. 2015, https://www.corriere.it/foto-gallery/cultura/25-aprile-1945-festa-liberazione-milano/15_aprile_17/25-aprile-2015-1945-70-anni-liberazione-milano-bombardamenti-duomo-scala-galleria-6e8888dc-e523-11e4-845e-5bcd794907be.shtml.

La storia dell'Autostrada del Sole, un'infrastruttura italiana d'eccezione. <https://www.domusweb.it/it/architettura/gallery/2021/07/16/lautostrada-del-sole-ha-65-anni-breve-storia-di-uninfrastruttura-decezione.html>. Accessed 16 Apr. 2025.

QT8, a Tour in the Ideal Neighborhood of Postwar Milan. <https://www.domusweb.it/en/architecture/2022/06/23/qt8-the-ideal-neighbourhood-of-the-post-war-milan.html>. Accessed 17 Apr. 2025.

