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The smart city. Critical reading of a multiform phenomenon

Abstract

Sempre più frequentemente la smart city è al centro dei discorsi delle differenti discipline. Cosa s'intende, però, con l'espressione "città intelligente"? A quali ambiti si riferisce l'intelligenza annunciata? In questo elaborato ci si sofferma specificamente sullo studio della smart city declinata secondo i suoi principali obiettivi sociali, al fine di individuare e sottoporre ad analisi critica le variabili costituenti il rapporto tra città intelligente e intenti annunciati. Come coniugare, cioè, i molteplici obiettivi della smart city? All'interno di quali categorie pensare la relazione tra città intelligente e obiettivi quali l'inclusione e lo sviluppo sociale? Attraverso che tipo di misure raggiungere tali finalità? Ci si sofferma, quindi, sul criterio dell'efficienza come cifra fondamentale della rappresentazione della città intelligente e sulle criticità che l'equazione smart city=efficienza comporta in termini di coesione del tessuto sociale. L'analisi si focalizza, inoltre, sui criteri del bene comune e della relazionalità come possibili categorie in grado di coadiuvare le dinamiche del processo inclusivo.

Introduction

The smart city represents a phenomenon in constant expansion and, at the same time, a new conceptual category, which simultaneously involves the fields of architecture, engineering, of public policies and social sciences, which can no longer escape the analysis of the dynamics of proceedings and the possible different outcomes relating to this reality.

The intelligent city has the objective of turning the urban space into a space characterized by sustainability, cultural development, innovation and inclusion, based on the constant use of avant-garde technologies, also and especially following directions coming from the European framework on the development of partnerships aimed at meeting the major urban challenges of European cities.

It is possible to notice how the implementation of projects related to the introduction of forms of smart city inside the existing urban contexts involves many difficulties, both at the institutional (the poor capacity for renewal of the culture of urban planning, characterized by the idea of zoning and from a regulatory approach-authoritarian plan¹), and social level. where we often clash with the presence of many barriers of various kinds: cultural, economic, identity and technological ones. The concretization of forms of intelligent city implies, in fact, the involvement of multiple identities, from individual inhabitants of the city and the groups present within it, to its institutions and facilities. Identity which, through a joint contribution, greatly contribute to shaping the image of the city as a whole, to say its visual identity.

We wonder which element has the priority in the implementation of smart city. Is it sustainability, innovation or inclusion? Which subjects must be included? Through what instruments?

¹ R.G. DE PAOLI, *Compatibilità e sostenibilità. Il fattore antropico nelle scelte ambientali*, FrancoAngeli, Milano 2012.

Considering identity as the outcome of a relational process, as inter-subjective and as dialectic between the psychic structure - internal to the subject - and the social structure - external to the subject - here the emphasis is on the phenomenon of smart city as closely linked to the theme of the collective identity². Identity will be understood not as coercive entity in respect of the entities, but as a result of an intricate process aimed at marking borders and building symbols, through a development which is dialectical and never deterministic, neither in the biological nor in the cultural sense. Action and feedback act as the fundamental variables of the construction of identity of smart city which, for its progress, cannot prescind from the action of confrontation and from relationality.

The construction and the modification of the borders that the formation of collective identity involves, implies the development of inclusion process of some subjects and then automatically, the simultaneous exclusion of others, of distinction between “us” and “them”. In the context of smart city this phenomenon becomes clearer than ever.

The smart city and its identity

The need to establish criteria, to identify the priorities for the implementation of smart city very often turns into the intentional choice by public policy makers to foster certain groups rather than others, as they are deemed as most in need in a particular historical moment. In so doing, behavioral modes which are competitive among the territories and the different groups they are made up of are easily created (just consider the differences in the implementation of smart city in the north and the south of Italy).

The smart policies focusing on inclusion do not always clearly identify the categories they will address. Indeed, the smart city is often invoked as a possible solution to the multiple and long - standing urban problems, but in practice the manners by which its intent will be made effective are not easy to detect. When talking about inclusion we hardly ever specify whether the policies to achieve it should be directed to the generality of the most disadvantaged categories – thus making its concretization impossible upstream - or to certain categories, either women, children, the elderly, people with disabilities, foreigners and so on.

The themes related to the implementation of smart city are often discussed using utilitarian criteria which refer mainly to the economic concept of efficiency and to the idea of subjects who act solely from a purely economic policy. Dimensions such as collective identity, although indispensable within the city context, are hardly ever considered as an integral part of the smart city topic.

So we see that practical measures to make the inhabitants of the cities virtuous, for example from an energy point of view, are mostly based on the idea of financial incentives and rarely consider the subject pushed to act virtuously on the basis of reasons different from the purely economic which refer to the desire to make a commitment to his sense of social identity, to his need of involvement and to self-expectations he has³. This occurs despite the analysis of behavioral economics. From this point of view, we have repeatedly highlighted as the desire to

² L. SCIOLLA, *Identità personale e collettiva*, in “Enciclopedia delle scienze sociali”, Treccani, Roma 1994.

³ See, in particular, W. ABRAHAMSE, L. STEG, *Factors related to household energy use and intention to reduce it: The role of psychological and Socio-Demographic Variables*, in «Human Ecology Review», vol. 18, n. 1, 2011, pp. 30-40; M. BELLOC, *Economia comportamentale*, in «Dizionario di Economia e Finanza», Treccani, Roma 2012; S. BERRY, D. WHALEY, K. DAVIDSON, W. SAMAN, *Near zero energy homes - What do users think?*, in «Energy Policy», vol. 73, 2014, pp. 127-137; I. SIMONSON, *Get closer to your customers by understanding how they make choices*, in «California Management Review», n. 35, 1993, pp. 68-84.

feel concretely committed, the need for an acknowledgment of the social approval and the simple routine⁴, often motivate people more than simple financial incentives-tax.

There is a fundamental relational context within which the actions of individuals and groups lie. Such context cannot be underestimated when talking about smart city, as if we do not consider such actions, the actual intelligence of the city is undermined. Social sciences and economy share this point of view, as according to both disciplines human decisions under conditions of uncertainty, are influenced not only by the rationality, but also by social and relational elements. Decisions tend to follow the simple heuristic rules, rather than the probability laws already established by the classical economy. The subjects tend to act according to rules based on intuition, on contingent circumstances, based on the capacity to imagine a certain event and return it to its own lived or giving more weight to the losses rather than to a gain of parts entity.

The decisions also consider the processes leading to certain results. The focus is not only on the result as such, but also on the ways in which we come to that result, preferring to reach it mainly through honesty and sincerity⁵. Sharing is also a fundamental element in the act of the subject ideally become a model of inhabitant of smart city, the so-called *prosumer*⁶.

Nevertheless, the city is often interpreted as a physical space in which the various groups, intended as interest groups, can find answer to their needs linked to the scarcity of resources. The city is occasionally traced back to a space as social representation, a space not only built but co-constructed, in which the groups are not seen as mere interest groups, but as a reality bearer of a specific collective identity which can recognize themselves in a wider urban identity in a territory that is not as Roman says, “a mere agglomeration of houses, offices, roads, industries, traffic lights, vehicles, etc.”, but “above all an ‘identity’ concept, a space at the same time physical and symbolic, able to generate a sense of belonging in the people who live there and an attraction for the others”⁷.

⁴ Habits play a very important role in the decision-making process. They contribute to simplify the tasks of life but are much more difficult to change as more frequently they are repeated and the larger are the rewards arising from them (the cigarette, for example, provides an immediate satisfaction). For this reason, in the embodiment of forms of smart city you cannot help considering the barriers that habits generate and combating it, therefore, through incentives that are larger than the rewards obtained from the routine. For the city of Padua, for example a model of smart city was designed that envisages the use of a virtual currency that is accumulated whenever you make smart actions for the environment and for the Community. The currency can be used to earn vitality point which will be used for activities such as gym, travels and so on. The user, through a personal profile, can experience their level of smartness. This is sort of a reinforcement, an immediate reward which serves to reinforce certain behaviors. The important thing, however, is that these reinforcements are not only economic, because otherwise the risk of generating moral effects such as loss of motivation rises. For more information, see document available to link http://www.eambiente.it/sites/default/files/Padova%20Soft%20City%20_tav_introduttiva_A3.pdf.

⁵ M. BELLOC, *quote*. In this regard, see, in particular, studies of social psychology that bring to light as the decisional modalities by subjects take account of numerous socio-psychological elements. Among these there are, for example, affiliation, i.e. the social nature of the human being, as being-with-others; the attachment, the fundamental need of the man to be able to count on the other and lean on them; the attraction, the emotional dimension that appears in the contact with the other, i.e. the expression of positive attitudes, as the sympathy, which translates into the desire to approach the other; imitation, a frequent mechanism of behavior that manifests the desire to imitate the behavior of the other. G.-N. FISCHER, *I concetti fondamentali della psicologia sociale*, Borla, Roma 1994.

⁶ For a thorough study of the concept of the *prosumer* see studies of P. DEGLI ESPOSTI, *Essere prosumer nella società digitale: produzione e consumo tra atomi e bit*, FrancoAngeli, Milano 2015; W. GERHARDT, *Prosumers: A New Growth Opportunity*, Cisco, San Jose 2008; G. RITZER, N. JURGENSON, *Production, consumption, prosumption: the nature of capitalism in the age of the digital prosumer*, in «Journal of Consumer Cultures», vol. 10, n. 1, 2010, pp. 13-36; G. RITZER, *Prosumer capitalism*, in «The Sociological Quarterly», vol. 56, 2015, pp. 413-455; A. TOFFLER, *The third wave*, William Morrow & Company, New York 1980; C. XIE, R.P. BAGOZZI, S.V. TROYE, *Trying to prosume: toward a theory of consumers as co-creators of value*, in «Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science», n. 36, 2008, pp. 109-122.

⁷ A. ROMANO, *Disegnare le città: il caso di Roma*, Text available to link <http://www.socialdesignzine.aiap.it/notizie/10390>, (25/05/2018).

Focusing on the individual as the subject starting by which an appropriate interest in opposition with other subjects can be pursued, the relational context is seen as an obstacle to the concrete implementation of individual advantage. By so doing, however, we might forget that only if the relational context in which the individual is located is smart, his act will be smart as well. Smartness, therefore, may be the result of the actions of individuals but cannot relate only to the individual, without considering the relational environment that surrounds it. Nor can it be generated only by the structural context, according to an approach typically top-down.

Even the strategy of the *nudging*, the so-called “gentle boost”, is ineffective if pursued alone without the proper consideration of relational dynamics within which it works. In addition to the critical challenges that this strategy can cause in terms of personal freedom - the State encourages or discourages behaviors considered beneficial or harmful to the subject as they orient them in a way which is unconscious - alone it does not generate sufficient intelligent practices and does not seem to fully involve the subject, since, whilst leaving them formally free to decide their own conduct, it makes them less autonomous.

The nudging is therefore different, both from the legal norm and from simple incentive – no matter if economic or non-economic – and seems to lie in a sort of halfway ground between strategies aiming at satisfying the individual advantage of single and those which exploit the capacity of taxation of the State. While escaping, therefore, the individual – structural categorization, it does not invoke the relational context, which however remains in a secondary position⁸.

Are the satisfaction of individual interest or clear and well delineated idea about the territory identity by administrations enough for the development of smart city urban identity? To make this identity positively competitive the various collective identity of which the territory is made up must *recognize* the identity and *identify themselves* in it, identify, i.e., to say create a link of membership⁹.

Thinking about how to actively implement the smart city, account of the fact that the social fabric of the city is not spontaneously homogeneous, but rather articulated and made up of conflicting dimensions of identity is hardly taken. Indeed, far from being overcome, conflicts between center and periphery, between global powers and local identities, between subjects included and excluded, continue to be a part of the reality of more virtuous towns¹⁰. Moreover, this dialectic of identity often appears instrumentalized to highlight how the presence of ethnic, cultural or, more simply class differences can cause injury to the practical realization of intelligent forms of city. From this point of view, the identity conflict is considered as a pathology of the urban context, a destructive element that should be deleted and, if this is not possible - as is in most of the cases in which the conflict develops as a natural consequence of the process of construction of a collective identity - it is relegated to a position of marginalization and lack of influence and rarely understood as a fertile ground for the cooperative reality.

However, if the collective identity on the one hand connects and on the other divides - if aimed at shaping up it includes and excludes by strengthening the “us” and increasing diversity with “them” -it shows us how precisely comparison with other identity and, especially, the evaluation deriving from this comparison, constitutes, in the last instance, its essence. For the formation of the collective identity of a group, the specific content of the group (culture,

⁸ For further consideration on the concept of *nudging* see in particular R. THALER, C.R. SUNSTEIN, *Nudge. La spinta gentile*, Feltrinelli, Milano 2014.

⁹ S. ANHOLT, *L'identità competitiva*, EGEA, Milano 2007.

¹⁰ E. SCANDURRA, *I conflitti urbani all'epoca della globalizzazione e della ricerca di identità*, in «Riflessioni Sistemiche», n. 4, 2011.

language, etc.) does not appear to be as important as the estimation emerging from a comparison with the other¹¹.

Therefore, in the context of smart city, the question is whether it is appropriate to consider conflict identity, as well as the rising cooperation between different identities, as one of the possible variables and to recognize the foundation for affirmation in the comparison and the growth of smart reality, because from this point of view, the utilitarian model proves ineffective in explaining the mechanisms of participation in the collective identity and the co-operative modes of the act.

On what basis, then, if not even in the identity ones, can one activate the forms of cooperation between urban groups and individual citizens, aimed at facilitating the implementation of concretely sustainable, innovative and inclusive smart cities?

Technology as a digit of smartness

Technology is often shown in this context as a basic instrument for the change of the way of acting by people oriented towards greater awareness and participation. The so-called digital economy contributes, in fact, to change the perception surrounding reality individual have and, consequently, to change their own behavior. The awareness of the scarcity of resources seems to give way to the idea, typical of the technological operation of bits, of infinite possibilities. The web becomes a true and proper system of values of 'self - made', based on the principles of sharing and participation¹². It might happen, however, that technology is often unhooked from the real conditions of life of the subjects involved, being less to its objective of fulfilment of the largest possible number of people.

Despite the technological element represents today the digit of smart city and can make changes that were unthinkable before now, as known, it alone cannot resolve issues that affect the deepest layers of social life such as those linked to inclusion. From this point of view, many projects fail to involve the recipients, do not include them, do not let them participate, despite they are their addressee¹³. This is likely to happen even due to the fact that the modalities through which technological developments are communicated often prove to be inadequate to target those intended to receive them. If Luhmann's statement by which everything that is not communicated produces no social effect is true, *the way in which* an element is communicated¹⁴ is

¹¹ H. TAJFEL, C. FRASER (curated by), *Introduzione alla psicologia sociale*, il Mulino, Bologna 1984.

¹² P. DEGLI ESPOSTI, *quote.*, pp. 83-89.

¹³ I. BERETTA (curated by), *L'umanesimo della smart city: inclusione, innovazione, formazionehumanism of smart city*: Pensa multimedia, Lecce 2015. It refers here in particular to the phenomenon of the so-called *digital divide*, i.e. the gap between those who have the real possibility of access to ICT and those who, instead, are partially or totally excluded.

¹⁴ N. LUHMANN, *Comunicazione ecologica*, FrancoAngeli, Milano 1989. The environmental communication, from this point of view, is often made in the form of simple information. Awareness campaigns have often generated information overload, addressing in a unilateral manner to a target indistinct and without possessing a temporal continuity. They made the difference for their prescriptive character aiming at highlighting not so much of the processes, because of symptoms of a certain phenomenon and generating frequently guilt and fear in the recipients of messages. Attention to symptom rather than to the existing process upstream of the problem, often helped to give rise to a reading aesthetics of environmental issues, through which the concern is directed to what aesthetically appears visibly as ugly and damaged but does not turn into an effective capacity to change the situation. The awareness about the reasons that have led to a certain phenomenon does not turn into a concrete possibility to make a real change, thereby helping to feed a sense of impotence already strongly present in recipients of environmental communication. J.A. CORRALIZA, *Atteggiamenti ambientali e sostenibilità: implicazioni psicosociali per la gestione ambientale*, FrancoAngeli, Milano 2003; E. BALZARETTI, B. GARGIULO, *La comunicazione ambientale: sistemi, scenari e prospettive. Buone pratiche per una comunicazione efficace*, FrancoAngeli, Milano 2009.

crucial as well. Just think of how the advertising with which technology is communicated pushes aside sections of the population that are different from the ones of the millennials, especially among elderly subjects, generating not a few difficulties as regards the inclusion, which however is presented as one of the objectives of the intelligent city as well as technological innovation. Technology then seems to turn into an obstacle if not adequately supported by a project for training and education that does not face simply appeal to the good will of the subjects or seek to convince them by means of economic support, but tries to involve them through their identity by focusing, in particular, to interact with their collective identity, since it has been noted that the effectiveness of most of the programs of smart city is not linked to the individual size of the man but relationally speaking, to the inter subjective sphere of comparison.

To do this, however, the smart city must be present to society with a well-defined identity. So, what is the conveyed identity? Which are the dynamics at the base of the imagination of the identity of the smart city?

Smart city: an efficient paradigm?

The central element around which the identity of smart city acts is represented by the character of the efficiency. The smart city is efficient, otherwise it could not be called smart. The intelligence of the city is, therefore, closely connected to the efficiency, indeed, according to this way of seeing things, it derives directly from it.

This is therefore an efficiency which, upstream, takes for granted the presence of conditions which are essential for the implementation of smart practices (inclusion, sustainability, cultural development, etc.), downstream, is itself a guarantee for the development of these conditions. We are in the presence of a true and proper automatism as far as effectiveness is concerned. It is automatically, and as such, warranty of inclusion, sustainability and cultural development. In practice, however, this automatism shows all its weakness, whenever it becomes clear that the mere application of efficiencies criteria is not able to make any solution to problems relating, for example, to the compactness and the cohesion of the social fabric.

Thinking about intelligent city only in terms of contracts means, on the one hand, affecting upstream the attempt to find a solution to problems, such as for example the conflicts identity, which cannot be resolved through contracts or purely economic criteria purely; on the other hand, excluding all those forms of human, social and civic capital, fundamental for the cultural and economic development of a territory, thus compromising the achievement of the same efficiency that it pursues.

If on the one hand, the presence of financial incentives or tax relief can undoubtedly bring benefits in the direction of the energy efficiency, comfort, security and even of sustainability, from the other side we see how hardly these measures are able to respond to issues associated with the inclusion and then sharing and joint participation, without counting the effects the negative moral linked to loss of motivation that these measures generate¹⁵. Moreover, these tools, if disconnected from the dimension of identity and values are likely to produce adverse effects with respect to the inclusive intent, helping hypostatizing the existing social stratification and ensuring that latent opposition between urban groups turn in real conflicts identity.

The lesson by Durkheim reminds us in this regard, that it is not possible to get to a social order based only on the mutual interests of the individual, an order founded solely on contractual

¹⁵ M. BELLOC, *quote*.

dimension as an expression of that consensus characteristic of complex society to organic solidarity, typical of modernity¹⁶. As for the operation of this type of society and - and above all, we might say - for that of our society in which laboriously can be seen still forms of solidarity, the presence of a strong social integration in order to maintain the cohesive existing social fabric is required¹⁷. This integration cannot be ensured by the mere application of criteria of efficiency and, as Durkheim states, social justice alone is not enough: “Coexistence must be rooted in thing which have the power to mobilize energies in the event of disasters, wars, and to curb the interests of individual and the corporate ones of groups and social classes”¹⁸.

At the same time, technology alone, while being capable of generating efficiency cannot be considered as an automatic synonym of cultural development or inclusion, unless you fall into a sort of technological determinism or “smart mentalization”, the elimination, of any critical position connected to everything that relates to technological development, understood automatically as progress, and the consequent liabilities that it generates¹⁹.

The role of relationality and the common good

The limit of considering the smart city only in terms of efficiency is, therefore, precisely in the relegation to marginality elements that constitutively may not hold a position negligible if not causing a fragmentation of social fabric; elements which, if placed in a corner, overbearingly return to the center of the scene in a manner explosive by altering the social order²⁰. We are wondering if this road leaves, therefore, outside the different needs from single efficiency and if both exhaustive a reflection on the theme of intelligent city that does not consider the reports inter - subjective as the true heart of the matter and that intends to the subject as a mere bearer of interests and not as the expression of a specific identity to protect²¹.

In the reflection about the smart city the criteria of relationality²² and of the common good are often expelled to make space for the technological policy as a means to obtain benefits that, although may be not only personal, but also collective, according to this logic however are expressible solely in terms of efficiency. Thus, objectives of smart city such as sustainability and technological innovation are declined according to the idea of good total, concept that more than every other exemplifies the criterion of efficiency.

As Zamagni reminds, while the total good presupposes the sum between the parties, wherein the addenda represent the good of the individual, the common good requires, instead, the product between the individual parts. While, therefore, to reach the total good, the good of the individual part can be sacrificed because if some of the addenda will cancel the total sum is still positive, to achieve the common good, it should look to the good of every single part because the cancellation of even a single factor resets the entire product. In other words, the logic of the

¹⁶ É. DURKHEIM, *De la division du travail social*, Felix Alcan Editeur, Paris 1893; Italian translation *La divisione del lavoro sociale*, Comunità, Milano 1999.

¹⁷ E. RUTIGLIANO, *Teorie sociologiche classiche. Comte, Marx, Durkheim, Simmel, Weber, Pareto, Parsons*, Bollati Boringhieri, Torino 2001.

¹⁸ *Ivi*, p. 115.

¹⁹ I. BERETTA, *quote*.

²⁰ C. MONGARDINI, *Economia come ideologia. Sul ruolo dell'economia nella cultura moderna*, FrancoAngeli, Milano 1997.

²¹ L. BRUNI, S. ZAMAGNI, *Dizionario di economia civile*, Città Nuova, Roma 2009.

²² See in particular the following works of P. DONATI: *Introduzione alla sociologia relazionale*, FrancoAngeli, Milano 1986; *Teoria relazionale della società: i concetti di base*, FrancoAngeli, Milano 2009; *L'enigma della relazione*, Mimesis, Milano 2015.

common good, unlike that of the total well, admits of no substitutability because it recognizes each part as the bearer of a specific identity²³.

If the logic to be applied in the smart city is mainly, therefore, the efficiency, it may happen that, if the objective is to maximize the total well, sacrificing the good of one of the parties is convenient. If the criterion is the efficiency, the subject cannot help being considered other than a particular utility function, an “entitled”²⁴. In this sense, the promises of inclusion and cultural development are dashed upstream from a logical approach that does not leave them any type of space or the forcibly declines in terms of efficiency not respecting the constitutive characteristics.

Why not talk about *efficiency city*, rather than *smart city*? Obviously, the size of the intelligence to which reference is made cannot be understood as mere efficiency but is a smartness that is addressed first to the human element, an *intelligence* not only artificial, but at the same time *social, collective* and *connective*.

The social intelligence binds to the capability to build good relations with the other²⁵. In the context of smart city, however, on the basis of the considerations hitherto carried out, it is not enough that this capacity translates into the ability to relate with others in an efficient manner if you do not also recognize the empathic element which can combine the different subjects. The concept of collective intelligence²⁶, as different both from individual cognition and from group thinking, reminds us of what has already been expressed by Durkheim in stating that the company is a superior intelligence capable of transcending the individual in space and in time, i.e. not simply the result of a contract between individuals free and equal, but *sui generis* reality, ahead of individuals, makes it possible the agreements between them²⁷. The risk connected to an excessive emphasis on the collective intelligence is, in this sense, in believing automatically sharing synonymous with social order or a guarantee of a future with fewer problems which are, economic, environmental and so on. Finally, even in the case of the connective intelligence²⁸ - that develops through relationships and connections via the telematic network -, there is the risk of incurring the technological determinism previously mentioned.

If you prefer speaking of a smart city, then it will refer to *something more than* just efficiency. Not only. Precisely to obtain the efficiency that the smart city pursues it cannot prescind from that of more. For example, the presence of a solid trust capital in terms of economic results in terms of increased efficiency and its absence or lack in a decrease in the efficiency thereof. *There is no efficiency, in fact, without the full exploitation of all forms of capital. If no such ground efficiency will not be reached and the intelligence hoped for will not be unchanged.*

We wonder, therefore, if the idea of the common good may emerge at this point as a possible instrument for the implementation of smart city more suitable, with respect to the criterion of good total to achieve the objectives of the intelligent city, especially in terms of inclusion. The common good, in fact, does not concern the single person nor the community, but it is the good that emerges from the relationship between the subjects and that, therefore, they share.

In this direction, unlike the exchange value and the value in use, the value of binding seems to constitute, in the last instance, the principle that better reflects the aims of the smart city as a

²³ S. ZAMAGNI, *Bene comune e fraternità*, in «Il Contributo italiano alla storia del Pensiero - Economia», Treccani, Roma 2012.

²⁴ C. MONGARDINI, *Elementi di sociologia. Temi e idee per il XXI secolo*, McGraw-Hill, Milano 2011.

²⁵ D. GOLEMAN, *Intelligenza sociale*, Rizzoli, Milano 2006.

²⁶ P. LÉVY, *L'intelligenza collettiva. Per un'antropologia del cyberspazio*. Feltrinelli, Milano 1996.

²⁷ É. DURKHEIM, *Le forme elementari della vita religiosa. Le système totémique en Australie*, Felix Alcan Editeur, Paris 1912; Italian translation *Le forme elementari della vita religiosa. Il sistema totemico in Australia*, Comunità, Milano 1971.

²⁸ D. DE KERKHOVE, *Architettura dell'intelligenza*, Testo & Immagine, Torino 2001.

whole. Just think of projects like the one known as “Smart City Laguna”²⁹, designated as the first social smart city in the world to produce Pecém, one of the most economically prosperous regions of Brazil, but with living deficits.

Conclusions

The complexity of the issues relating to smart city binds, then, to the extreme difficulty linked to the need to combine aspects and objectives of the same reality very distant between them and often at odds with each other. For this reason, you often end up with the emphasis on only the efficient aspect and for nothing on the relational, more on the size of the technological innovation and less on that of inclusion, forgetting that there can be no understanding without the full exploitation of all needs. In these few lines we attempted to shed light on how the theme of smart city is too often declined in terms of automatism of the efficiency and how this vision does not consider sufficiently the social problems that may exist upstream and downstream of the efficiency thereof. Although representing a concept from the thousand potential and being a phenomenon can actually generate effects which are real and positive for society, the smart city will be the only in the measure in which we are able not to guide to mere the criterion of efficiency, but will recognize space to relationality, identity as a relationship to the value of a bond. It will be really smart only when, mindful of the lesson of Durkheim, it will be declined not only in terms of consensus, but real integration. Only then, the promises of intelligence announced will not be betrayed.

²⁹ More information available at <http://smartcitylaguna.com.br/empreendimento/> link.

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