

Chapter 7: Constantinos Doxiadis and Adriano Olivetti's role in reshaping the relationship between politics and urban planning

The chapter is developed around the following axes: firstly, it focuses on the examination of Constantinos A. Doxiadis and Adriano Olivetti's respective understanding of democracy; secondly, it presents their respective reconstruction models; thirdly, it analyses their respective stance vis-à-vis centralized and decentralized models of governing; finally, it examines their respective involvement in the European Recovery Program (ERP). The objective of the chapter is to shed light on how Doxiadis and Olivetti contributed to societal transformation, on the one hand, and the formation of national identity within the Greek and Italian post-war context respectively, on the other hand.

Important for grasping the Marshall Plan's impact on Greece is Doxiadis's role as undersecretary and director-general of the Ministry of Housing and Reconstruction between 1945 and 1948, as coordinator of the Greek Recovery Program and as undersecretary of the Ministry of Coordination between 1948 and 1950. Pivotal for understanding the Marshall Plan's impact on Italy is Olivetti's role within the study center of the UNRRA-CASAS housing committee, which was responsible for the development settlement schemes based on the model of the communitarian aggregation¹. In many cases, renowned architects, who worked outside the agency's technical staff, were invited to design these settlement schemes.

The chapter aims to add the comparative layer, which is missing in existing studies. Additionally, it aims to clarify how Doxiadis and Olivetti conceptualized technocracy and its relation to politics in different ways. Among the existing studies on Doxiadis, I could mention Lefteris Theodosios' PhD dissertation *Victory over Chaos? Constantinos A. Doxiadis and Ekistics 1945–1975*², which is a monographic study on Doxiadis, while among the existing studies on Olivetti,

I could refer to Davide Cadeddu's *Reimagining Democracy: On the Political Project of Adriano Olivetti*³ and AnnMarie Brennan's PhD dissertation *Olivetti: A Working Model of Utopia*⁴. The chapter is developed along an axis at the intersection between urban planning and politics. Among books devoted to similar questions are the volume *Architecture and the Welfare State*, edited by Mark Swenarton, Tom Avermaete and Dirk van den Heuvel⁵, Kenny Cupers's *The Social Project: Housing Postwar France*⁶, as well as the volume *Re-humanizing Architecture: New Forms of Community, 1950–1970 (East West Central: Re-Building Europe, 1950–1990)*, edited by Ákos Moravánszky, Judith Hopfengartner and Karl Kegler⁷. The first and the third are anthologies grouping together essays – each of them focused on a different national context – while the second is centered on the French context. Most of the existing books on this topic concern one national context or are edited volumes gathering chapters by various authors on different national contexts.

To the present there has been no comprehensive research placing the reconstruction efforts in Italy and in Greece within a comparative framework, in relation to the European Recovery Program (ERP). However, there are certain scholarly works focusing on Italo-American exchanges during the post-war period, with special emphasis on both the UNRRA-CASAS and Ina-Casa programs as well as on the role of Adriano Olivetti. One could refer, for instance, to Paolo Scrivano's *Building Transatlantic Italy: Architectural Dialogues with Postwar America*⁸ and Stephanie Zeier Pilat's *Reconstructing Italy: The Ina-Casa Neighborhoods of the Postwar Era*⁹. Regarding Doxiadis, there are no comprehensive studies on his role as director-general of the Ministry of Housing and Reconstruction, and most of the scholarly articles analyzing his work do not focus on his political agenda and construction program, with the exception of Andreas Kakridis's "Rebuilding the Future: C. A. Doxiadis and the Greek Reconstruction Effort (1945–1950)"¹⁰.

The main objective of this chapter is to provide a terrain of investigation situated at their intersection with architectural design and town planning, taking into account the interaction between social history, political history, economic history and transnational studies. Despite the fact that it mainly examines Doxiadis and Olivetti's agendas, the way it is developed aims to provide an understanding of the dominant models of urban design and town planning, during the post-war years, both in Greece and in Italy, thus challenging the monographic interest for the above-mentioned figures. The fact that both Doxiadis and Olivetti were important public figures and held significant political positions provides two case-studies allowing us to decipher what was at

stake in the political sphere in relation to the impact of the European Recovery Program (ERP) in Greece and Italy.

The reflections developed in this chapter come to fill this gap for Italy and Greece, suggesting a comparative point of view. More specifically, the chapter aims to contribute to the scholarship regarding the impact of the Americanization processes on European post-war architecture, placing the Greek and the Italian contexts in a comparative or relational frame. The choice to focus this comparative study on Greece and Italy is based on the fact that in both contexts, during the post-war years, the effort to reconceptualize national identity was very present, for different reasons in each of them since different political models were at stake. The chapter intends to examine the consequences that these models had upon urban design and architecture in Greece and Italy. This explains why as key players for this study have been chosen Doxiadis, for the case of Greece, and Olivetti, for the case of Italy.

The choice to analyze Doxiadis's vision of the reconstruction is based on the fact that he is one of the very rare cases in post-war Europe of a figure simultaneously involved institutionally in politics, urban design and architecture, simultaneously occupying important political positions and suggesting such concrete urban and architectural plans for the reconstruction. In other words, a significant point of convergence between Doxiadis and Olivetti is their overall perspective within the post-war era. Both, instead of framing their practice and theory within the frontiers of specific disciplines, tried to reflect on strategies of reconstruction beyond conventional models. Their way of thinking at the intersection of different domains of practice explains why the examination of their activities is essential for understanding the interrelation between the question of national identity and the post-war reconstruction.

7.1 Constantinos A. Doxiadis and Adriano Olivetti and the formation of national identity in post-war Greece and Italy

To better grasp the differences and similarities between the political approach of the Greek architect town planner Constantinos A. Doxiadis and that of the Italian industrialist Adriano Olivetti, one should compare the directions that the reconstruction projects took after WWII in Italy and Greece. Greece was one of the countries most devastated by WWII, while Italy was selected because, in order to counter the debates on communism, America was very much

interested in influencing the fictions and agendas that accompanied the Italian post-WWII reconstruction. For these reasons, the formation of national identity in post-war Greece and Italy was a significant issue in various domains including architecture, urban design and cinema. For the aforementioned reasons the question of the formation of national identity in the post-war years in Greece and Italy was very present in various domains including architecture, urban design and cinema. The former exemplifies the post-war Greek technocratic élite, while the latter encapsulates the spirit of the post-war Italian entrepreneurial bourgeoisie. According to Andreas Kakridis, Doxiadis's stance should be understood within the context of the post-war apolitical technocratic élite¹¹.

To better grasp Doxiadis and Olivetti's visions, it is useful to examine Doxiadis's five-year mandate at the Ministry of Reconstruction, on the one hand, and on Olivetti's role as president of the Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica (INU) from 1950 and vice-president of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA)-CASAS program from 1959, on the other. The UNRRA-CASAS program, developed under the aegis of the United Nations, was a bi-national agency whose mission was to make use of funds from the European Recovery Program (ERP).

7.2 Adriano Olivetti's political agenda and the UNRRA-CASAS program

Adriano Olivetti's political agenda was based on his intention to think beyond the schism between the Social Democrats and the Communists, which dominated the post-war Italian political context. At the center of Olivetti's vision was the search for the elaboration of new models of civil cohabitation¹². Of great significance for understanding Olivetti's political agenda is the way he conceived the relationship between democracy and community. Olivetti gave much importance to the relationship of citizens to institutions. Four seminal works for understanding Olivetti's vision are *Ordine politico delle comunità*¹³, *Per un'economia e politica comunitaria*¹⁴, *Città dell'uomo*¹⁵, and *Società, Stato, Comunità*¹⁶. As Franco Ferrarotti has underscored, in *La concreta utopia di Adriano Olivetti*, Olivetti's utopian vision could be characterised as "concrete utopia"¹⁷ in the sense that his understanding of communities as concrete goes hand in hand with his conviction that communities are determined by geography and history¹⁸.

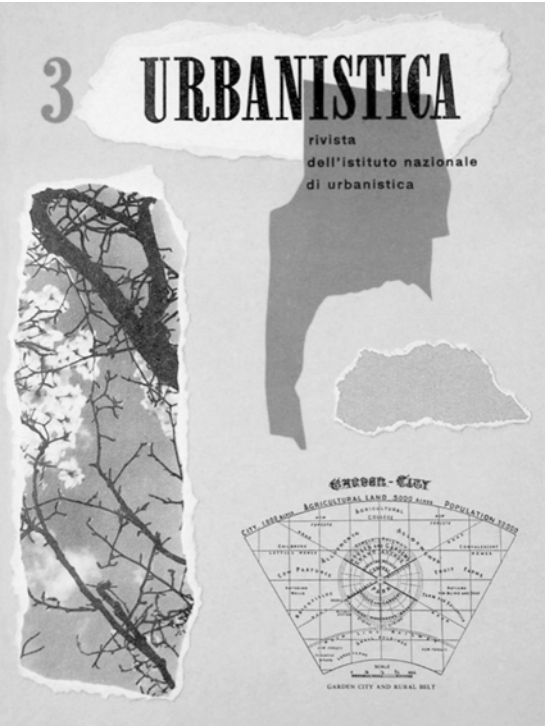
Adriano Olivetti played an important role in Italo-American exchanges as a member of the UNRRA-CASAS program's housing committee from 1951. His ideas had a significant impact on urbanistic approaches within the post-war Italian context. For him, urban planning was part of a broader political project. Since 1933, Olivetti was general manager of the typewriter factory founded by his father outside the Italian town of Ivrea. In 1947, he founded "Movimento Comunità". Giovanni Astengo, a graduate architect of the Politecnico di Torino, who was associated with the "Movimento Comunità", helped Olivetti reorganize *Urbanistica* (Figure 7.1) and became vice-president of the Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica (INU) in 1950. In early 1952, Olivetti formed the Gruppo Tecnico Coordinamento Urbanistico del Canavese, which included the architects Ludovico Quaroni, Nello Renacco, and Annibale Fiocchi and the engineer Enrico Ranieri. Due to the projects initiated by Olivetti, Ivrea's population roughly doubled between the 1930s and 1960s. Olivetti was elected mayor of Ivrea in 1956 and became a member of parliament in the national government in 1958.

In April 1948, the Marshall Plan was authorized to offer economic assistance to reconstruction efforts in Western European economies decimated by WWII. UNRRA-CASAS operated from 1947 through 1963, when it became ISES, Istituto per lo Sviluppo dell'Edilizia Sociale [Institute for the Development of Social Housing]. For the Italian context, three programs that are related to the large-scale transformations of the post-war period are the European Recovery Program (ERP) and especially the UNRRA-CASAS program and the two Ina-Casa programs (1949–1956 and 1956–1963). The UNRRA-CASAS program was responsible for the construction of more than a thousand villages all over Italy. The mythologies that accompanied the conception of these villages are significant for unfolding the transformations of architecture's scope within the post-war Italian context.

The European Recovery Program (ERP) gave funds to UNRRA-CASAS for SVIMEZ (Associazione per lo Sviluppo dell'Industria nel Mezzogiorno) and then for the Casa per il Mezzogiorno, the Italian state agency for the development of the south, founded in 1950¹⁹. Significant for understanding the aesthetics related to post-war Southern Italy or "Mezzogiorno" are the photographs by American photojournalist Marjory Collins, especially those accompanying the "Viaggio ai 'Sassi' di Matera"²⁰, published in 1950 in *Comunità*, the journal that Adriano Olivetti founded in 1946 and which was published until 1960. Matera, which is in the Basilicata region, is related to the concept of "meridionalismo", which was elaborated to refer to the study of social, eco-

conomic and cultural problems in the South. A large part of its population still lived in the “sassi”, which are a type of primitive houses. Olivetti’s involvement in a detailed study of Matera will thus be carefully scrutinized. It included proposals for the requalification of its “sassi” and the new town of La Martella, directed by a group of American-based scholars, such as Federico G. Friedmann²¹. The team that worked on the requalification of Matera’s “sassi” and La Martella consisted of Ludovico Quaroni, Federico Gorio, Michele Valori, Piero Maria Lugli and Luigi Agati thanks to funding granted by Olivetti.

Figure 7.1. The cover of the third issue of *Urbanistica*.



7.3 The Marshall Plan and the transatlantic exchanges in architecture, urban planning and the arts

Between 1948 and 1952, as Michael Holm remarks, in *The Marshall Plan: A New Deal for Europe*, due to the European Recovery Program (ERP), the United States were the principal benefactor of Western Europe's post-WWII recovery²². Some studies exist on the relationship of the Marshall Plan, with cinema, but there are no comprehensive analyses of the impact of the Marshall Plan on architectural and urban design methods in Europe. Regarding the studies on cinema, important are Maria Fritsche's *The American Marshall Plan Film Campaign and the Europeans: A Captivated Audience?*²³ and *Homemade Men in Postwar Austrian Cinema: Nationhood, Genre and Masculinity*²⁴. Among the studies that have been centered on the analysis of the impact of the Marshall plan on Italian cinema are Paola Bonifazio's *Schooling in Modernity: The Politics of Sponsored Films in Postwar Italy*²⁵, Regina M. Longo's "Between Documentary and Neorealism: Marshall Plan Films in Italy (1948–1955)"²⁶ and Daniela Treveri Gennari's *Post-War Italian Cinema: American Intervention, Vatican Interests*²⁷.

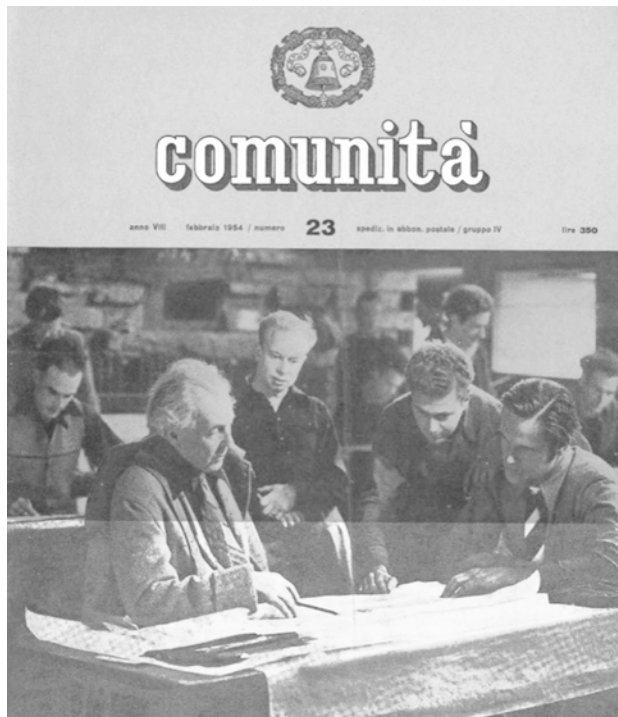
A number of studies address the role of design, painting, music and the media during the Cold War, but the domain of architecture has led to far fewer publications. However, some aspects related to architecture are addressed in *Cold War Modern: Design 1945–1970* edited by David Crowley and Jane Pavitt²⁸. Creg Castillo, in *Cold War on the Home Front: The Soft Power of Midcentury Design*, examines how domestic environments were exploited to promote the superiority of either capitalism or socialism on both sides of the Iron Curtain, during the Cold War years²⁹, while *Music, Art and Diplomacy: East-West Cultural Interactions and the Cold War*, edited by Simo Mikkonen and Pekka Suutari, covers episodes involving art, classical music, theatre, dance and film during the decades following WWII³⁰.

At the center of Olivetti's vision was the search for an elaboration of a new civil cohabitation, on the one hand, and of models promoting democracy beyond political parties, on the other hand³¹. More specifically, he intended to bring into being ways that would permit to overcome both Marxism and capitalism. For this purpose, he established the political-cultural movement "Movimento Comunità" in 1947 in Ivrea, which dissolved in 1961, after his death³² (Figure 7.2). Five years before its dissolution, in 1956, Olivetti was elected mayor of Ivrea, while in 1958 he became a member of parliament in the national government³³. Adriano Olivetti's *Movimento di Comunità* was trying to shape new tools

intending to enhance social awareness and to promote the interaction between technology, sociology and political sciences³⁴.

To understand his political vision, one should take into account Olivetti's activities during the fall of 1957, when the Italian Republic was in the midst of its "economic boom" ("miracolo economico") and was part of a newly developed European economic community. Informative for understanding the magnitude of the Italian economic boom is Paolo Scrivano's remark that "[i]n the 15 years following the end of the war, Italy underwent dramatic social and economic change"³⁵.

Figure 7.2. The cover of the 23rd issue of *Comunità*.



Following Scrivano's approach in *Building Transatlantic Italy: Architectural Dialogues with Postwar America*, the role of Olivetti in the Italo-American exchanges should be situated within the larger realm of studies on Americanization³⁶. Antonio Gramsci's "Americanism and Fordism" is useful in order to decipher the mechanisms involved in the "economic boom" of the 1960s in Italy and the way in which the process of Americanization is linked to the process of modernization during post-war reconstruction within the Italian context³⁷. Another question that is worth mentioning is the extent to which the reinvention of the concept of the city by post-war Italian architects, and especially in relation to Olivetti's role as president of the Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica (INU) and vice-president of the UNRRA-CASAS program, is linked to the hybridization of imported American models to Italy.

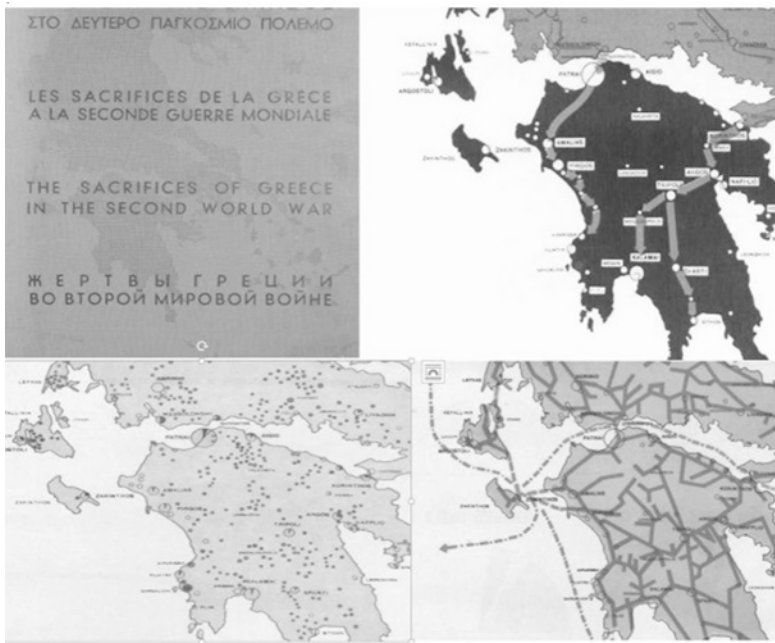
Worth-mentioning is the impact of The Joint Center for Urban Studies for the Italo-American exchanges concerning urban planning strategies during the post-war period³⁸. The Joint Center for Urban Studies was a combined research center between Harvard and MIT established in Boston in 1959 in conjunction with the conference "The Historian and the City" and was supported by the Ford Foundation. It played an important role in the Italo-American exchanges, addressing intellectual and policy issues confronting a nation experiencing widespread demographic, economic and social changes, with dramatic and far-reaching effects on cities in particular.

7.4 Constantinos A. Doxiadis's political agenda and The Plan for the Survival of the Greek Nation

Important for understanding Doxiadis's political agenda is his role as undersecretary and director-general of the Ministry of Housing and Reconstruction between 1945 and 1948, as coordinator of the Greek Recovery Program and as undersecretary of the Ministry of Coordination between 1948 and 1950. In order to grasp the amplitude of the research that was led during the period when Doxiadis served as director-general of the Ministry of housing and Reconstruction, one must consider that 30 different research monographs on issues of rural housing, urban design, economic development and administrative reform were developed under Doxiadis's supervision. In parallel, around 35,000 new houses were constructed and 153,000 buildings were repaired. Amongst the tables included in a Report of the Ministry of Reconstruction published in 1948 is an estimate of the number of rooms repaired or built for

Civil War refugees by 30 June 1948, which totalled 36,272³⁹. These numbers cover the period between 1948 and 1951 omitting data from the first years of the ministry's operation. Only completed houses are counted. Another 12,000 new houses and 32,000 repairs were in progress when the report was drafted in 1952.

Figure 7.3. Maps that were included in the exhibition “Such Was the War in Greece” curated by Constantinos A. Doxiadis.



Credits: Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation

Figure 7.4. Map that shows the destructions of the railway network in Greece during WW II. This map was included in the exhibition “Such Was the War in Greece” curated by Constantinos A. Doxiadis.



Credits: Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation

In order to better grasp the significance of Doxiadis's reconstruction efforts, one should bear in mind that Greece was among the most devastated countries to emerge from WWII. Doxiadis's efforts during the post-war years constitute an important component of development theory and planning in post-war Greece. According to Doxiadis's claims in "Ekistic Policy for the Reconstruction of Greece and a Twenty-year Plan", Greece lost 23 per cent of its

buildings during WWII, a higher percentage than any other European country⁴⁰.

Figure 7.5. Map that shows the destructions of the villages in Greece that were burnt during WWII. This map was included in the exhibition “Such Was the War in Greece” curated by Constantinos A. Doxiadis.

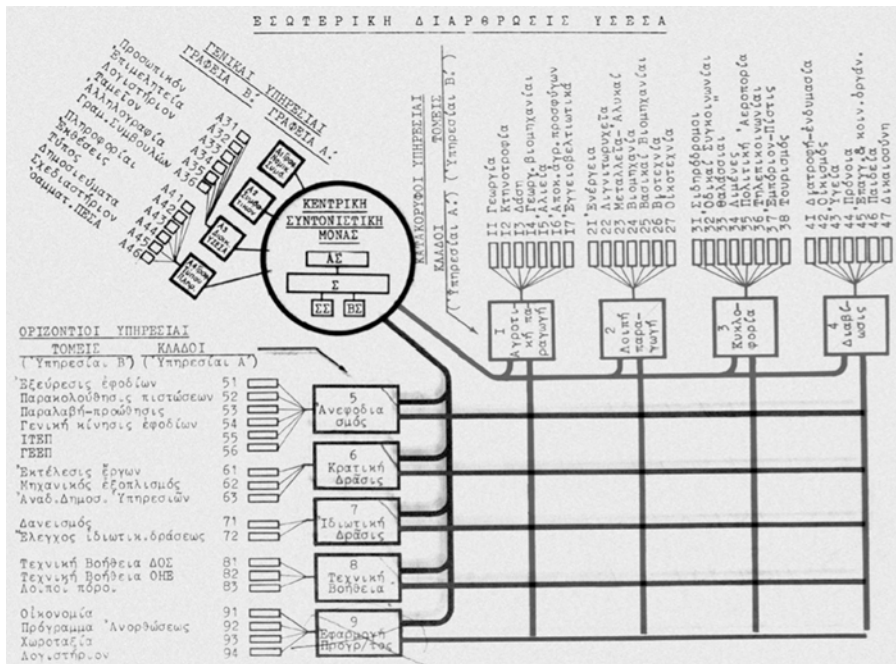


Credits: Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation

In 1947, Doxiadis mounted a statistical exhibition entitled “Such Was the War in Greece”⁴¹ (Figure 7.3, Figure 7.4, Figure 7.5). This exhibition displayed Greece’s wartime depredations with thorough maps and photographs a few weeks after the Nazi withdrawal from Athens. Doxiadis was appointed under-secretary and director-general of the Ministry of Housing and Reconstruction between 1945 and 1948, coordinator of the Greek Recovery Program and under-secretary of the Ministry of Coordination between 1948 and 1950. During the

plan is Doxiadis's own theory of social evolution, which is based on a biological analogy between nations and living organisms. Characteristically, Doxiadis remarked somewhere between 1946 and 1947, in the *Plan for the Survival of the Greek Nation*: "nations are living organisms, evolving from primary and rudimentary forms to more integrated ones. As all living organisms, peoples go through various stages of development."⁴² Of great importance for understanding the relationship between urban planning and politics in Doxiadis's thought is *Architecture in Transition*⁴³.

Figure 7.7. Organization chart of the Greek Recovery Program Coordinating office (ΥΣΕΣΑ) at the Ministry of Coordination.



Credits: Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation

The holistic and interdisciplinary view behind a handwritten sketch of an organization chart for the New Greek Recovery Programme by Doxiadis (Figure 7.6) and an internal organization chart of the Greek Recovery Program Coordinating office (ΥΣΕΣΑ) at the Ministry of Coordination (Figure 7.7) should be understood in relation to Doxiadis's concept of "ekistics", which Doxiadis coined in *Ekistic Analysis*⁴⁴, and was further developed in *Ekistics: An Introduction to the Science of Human Settlements*⁴⁵, "Ekistics, the Science of Human Settlements"⁴⁶, and *Ekistic policy for the reconstruction of Greece and a twenty-year plan*⁴⁷. In Doxiadis's thought, ekistics operated at three levels: firstly, general ekistics; secondly, urban planning, and thirdly, building design and construction. Both holism and interdisciplinarity lie at the heart of Doxiadis's approach to the understanding of human progress. Doxiadis also drew a distinction between interdisciplinary and condisciplinary science. In "Ekistics, the Science of Human Settlements", Doxiadis underscored: "To achieve the needed knowledge and develop the science of human settlements we must move from an interdisciplinary to a condisciplinary science"⁴⁸.

7.5 Towards a conclusion or juxtaposing centralized and decentralized political apparatuses

Constantinos A. Doxiadis believed in the necessity of centralized state coordination. On the contrary, Olivetti considered a government of decentralized authority as the true expression of democracy, as becomes evident in *L'ordine politico delle comunità*, first published in 1945⁴⁹. The objective of the chapter was to shed light on the tension between Doxiadis's preference for a centralized political apparatus and Olivetti's predilection for a decentralized one. More specifically, in 1945, Doxiadis, upon invitation by Prime Minister Nikolaos Plastiras, worked on the creation of a centralized state agency in charge of reconstruction. Doxiadis's reflection on centralized models of governing reflects his desire for complete control, which becomes evident in the following words, written during his first years of service at the Ministry of Reconstruction: "for such a colossal project to work, there can be only one competent Authority. This Authority was named the State Ekistic Authority because: (a) its power must emanate from the state, (b) the concept of ekistics, as a broader term of the science and policy of all housing problems, embraces all its competences, not just those of city-planning and building"⁵⁰.

What I tried to render explicit in this chapter is that centralized control and planning had for Constantinos A. Doxiadis a theoretical justification, which can also be found in *Η πορεία των λαών* [*The March of the Peoples*]⁵¹. Adriano Olivetti, on the other hand, as becomes evident in *L'ordine politico delle comunità*, supported political decentralization, which, for him, referred to the implementation of urban and economic plans by the territorial communities and their organic coordination⁵². He believed that political decentralization could prevent both elitism and bureaucracy, which he understood as inherent to the two types of rationalization most discussed during post-war years, namely the scientific rationalization of industrial processes and the centralized planning favored by socialist countries. Their vision of politics is related to their agendas regarding urban planning strategies within the context of the post-war reconstruction.

Doxiadis had an image of scientific and economic progress as capable of rendering class and ideology irrelevant, while Olivetti was persuaded that the establishment of conditions that would provide the citizens with the sense of community relied on “expert technicians, politicians and scientists, who would work principally for the good of the people in the communities”⁵³. For Olivetti, the communitarian dimension was the antidote against problems between citizens and governmental institutions. His strategy aimed to help men overcome the effects of depersonalization and alienation related to modernization and bureaucratization.

On the one hand, at the center of Olivetti's thought was his intention to reconcile men with technology. On the other hand, Doxiadis's vision was characterized by an image of science and economic progress as capable of rendering class and ideology irrelevant. Despite the fact that the vision of each was characterized by the so-called “technocratic fundamentalism”⁵⁴, their way of incorporating managerial and technocratic thought in the political apparatus differs a lot. More specifically, Doxiadis's vision regarding post-war reconstruction was characterized by top-down interventionism *par excellence*, while at the heart of Olivetti's humanistic socialism as the search for socialization without nationalization.

Notes

- 1 United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, *UNRRA: The History of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950).
- 2 Lefteris Theodosis, *Victory over Chaos? Constantinos A. Doxiadis and Ekistics 1945–1975*, PhD dissertation (Barcelona: Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, 2016).
- 3 Davide Cadeddu, *Reimagining Democracy: On the Political Project of Adriano Olivetti* (New York: Springer, 2012); Cadeddu, “Il valore della politica in Adriano Olivetti”, *Quaderni della Fondazione Adriano Olivetti*, 56 (2007).
- 4 AnnMarie Brennan, *Olivetti: A Working Model of Utopia*, PhD Dissertation (Princeton: Princeton University, 2011).
- 5 Mark Swenarton, Tom Avermaete, Dirk van den Heuvel, eds., *Architecture and the Welfare State* (London; New York: Routledge, 2014).
- 6 Kenny Cupers, *The Social Project: Housing Postwar France* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).
- 7 Ákos Moravánszky, Judith Hopfengartner, Karl Kegler, eds. *Re-humanizing Architecture: New Forms of Community, 1950–1970 (East West Central: Re-Building Europe, 1950–1990)* (Basel; Berlin; Boston: Birkhauser, 2017).
- 8 Paolo Scrivano, *Building Transatlantic Italy: Architectural Dialogues with Postwar America* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013).
- 9 Stephanie Zeier Pilat, *Reconstructing Italy: The Ina-Casa Neighborhoods of the Postwar Era* (London; New York: Routledge, 2016).
- 10 Andreas Kakridis, “Rebuilding the Future: C. A. Doxiadis and the Greek Reconstruction Effort (1945–1950)”, *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique*, 10 (2013): 135–160.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Paulo Radogna, “Adriano Olivetti: Some Notes on His Contribution to Planning”, *The Town Planning Review*, 31(3) (1960): 182–186.
- 13 Adriano Olivetti, *L'ordine politico delle comunità: dello stato secondo le leggi dello spirito* (Rome: Edizioni di Comunità, 1945).
- 14 Olivetti, *Per un'economia e politica comunitaria* (Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 1952).
- 15 Olivetti, *Città dell'uomo* (Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 1952).
- 16 Olivetti, *Società, Stato, Comunità* (Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 1960).
- 17 Franco Ferrarotti, *La concreta utopia di Adriano Olivetti* (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane, 2013).

- 18 Eleanor L. Brilliant, "Theory and reality in the vision of Adriano Olivetti", *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 4(1) (1993): 95–114.
- 19 Pier Paolo D'Attorre, *Italian Reconstruction and 'Depressed Areas': The Marshall Plan in the 'Mezzogiorno'*, *Working Paper Series* 11 (Boston: Center for European Studies, 1988).
- 20 Riccardo Musatti, "Viaggio ai 'Sassi' di Matera", *Comunità*, 4(9) (1950): 40–43.
- 21 Musatti, Federico G. Friedmann, Giuseppe Isnardi, *Matera. Saggi introduttivi* (Rome: UNRRA Casas/Prima Giunta, 1956).
- 22 Michael Holm, *The Marshall Plan: A New Deal for Europe* (London; New York: Routledge, 2017).
- 23 Maria Fritsche, *The American Marshall Plan Film Campaign and the Europeans: A Captivated Audience?* (London; New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018).
- 24 Fritsche, *Homemade Men in Postwar Austrian. Cinema: Nationhood, Genre, and Masculinity* (New York: Berghahn, 2013).
- 25 Paola Bonifazio, *Schooling in Modernity: The Politics of Sponsored Films in Post-war Italy* (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 2014).
- 26 Regina M. Longo, "Between Documentary and Neorealism: Marshall Plan Films in Italy (1948–1955)", *California Italian Studies*, 3(2) (2012): 1–45.
- 27 Daniela Treveri Gennari, *Post-War Italian Cinema: American Intervention, Vatican Interests* (London; New York: Routledge, 2009).
- 28 David Crowley, Jane Pavitt, eds., *Cold War Modern: Design 1945–1970* (London: V & A, 2008).
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- 30 Simo Mikkonen, Pekka Suutari, eds., *Music, Art and Diplomacy: East-West Cultural Interactions and the Cold War* (London; New York: Routledge, 2017).
- 31 Carlo Olmo, ed., *Costruire la città dell'uomo: Adriano Olivetti e l'urbanistica* (Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 2001).
- 32 Giuseppe Iglieri, *Storia del Movimento Comunità* (Rome; Ivrea: Edizioni di Comunità, 2019).
- 33 Paola Bonifazio, Paolo Scrivano, *Olivetti Builds: Modern Architecture in Ivrea* (Milan: Skira, 2001).
- 34 Umberto Serafini, *Adriano Olivetti e il Movimento Comunità* (Rome; Ivrea: Edizioni di Comunità, 2015).

- 35 Paolo Scrivano, "Signs of Americanization in Italian Domestic Life: Italy's Postwar Conversion to Consumerism", *Journal of Contemporary History*, 40(2) (2005): 317–340.
- 36 Scrivano, *Building Transatlantic Italy: Architectural Dialogues with Postwar America* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013).
- 37 Antonio Gramsci, "Americanism and Fordism", *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, edited by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1978), 279–322.
- 38 Eugenie L. Birch, "Making Urban Research Intellectually Respectable: Martin Meyerson and the Joint Center for Urban Studies of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University, 1959–1964", *Journal of Planning History*, 10 (2011): 219–238.
- 39 Doxiadis, *Κείμενον απολογισμού του Υπουργείου Ανοικοδομήσεως* [Report of the Ministry of Reconstruction] (Athens: Ministry of Reconstruction, 1948), Doxiadis Archives 8509, Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation, Athens.
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