

# EU Programmes and Urban Public Spaces: some Italian Results

## Abstract

We walk, we breath... we run and our heartbeat goes faster. Just like our body, also the body of the European cities in the last decades has trembled following the rhythm of the EU investments programmes as LIFE, URBACT or similar. Because public spaces are the mirror of a society and follow its rules, the new generation of EU urban programmes have been trying to involve citizens more and more in their planning phase. This article will focus on their development in Italy, presenting some examples where participation, public administration and designers well collaborated during the process, creating or renovating urban spaces devoted to the pedestrians.

Keywords: participation, pedestrian environment, urban policy

## Introduction

Walking is up to us. We are not able to decide when, how and why, but most people learn to walk gradually, while growing up. We learn by seen how other people make the movements and coping them. Our brain takes the knowledge in our ancestral memory, recalling the process made thousands of years ago passing from 4 to 2 legs. The process was not so simple and it must have required false steps, successes and errors in order to open the way to a life of movement. When we become adults, walking seems as natural as breathing because we cannot remember when and how we reached the goal.

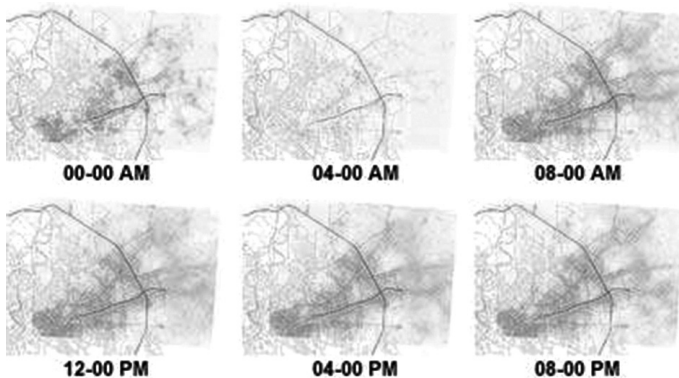
This article would like to explain how pedestrian spaces became ordinary in our life, passing through a difficult process that, like in the human's one, can be forgotten because of the easy way we use them now. To understand the complexity of the work, made by some administrations and institutions, we need to go over the process made again and analyse the context were the idea had the good humus that helped it to grow up.

A century of overproduction of goods and the promotion of a sedentary life style feed those who do not want to change their lifestyle. Cities are changing or trying to change the way citizens

imagine the urban life. More and more jobs can be done at home or in teams with people all around the word without moving from the desk. Ours is a virtual reality, over-connected, tending to segregate people. Young generations react to this trend living the public spaces in a different way: moving through them, like surfers.

Because of it, the new city landscape is no more linked to the idea of the industrial city where the typical displacements were home-work and school-work. The answer to the need of mobility is no more just a net of public transports with axes and nodes. The polarity of the city increased day by day and the 'net' of the movement became liquid<sup>1</sup>. Flux of people goes through the city looking for amusement places, meeting areas responding to the needs to stay together with the others. A large amount of function is becoming temporary, but at the same time attracts a large amount of visitors and users. (For example: 'Salone del Mobile' in Milan or festivals in almost each city in Italy). Work and productive functions are expanding in the residential tissue thanks to the 2.0 web revolution. For all this questions, administrations and enterprises are pushed to use new media to get the data capable to produce new maps and resources, helpful to understand the trends.

The quality and quantity of the traditional tools for the research are no more able to understand the needs of the city and the way to solve mobility problems. New media and technology are helpful integrating informal community and the physical space. With smartphones, we can trace the way we move in the liquid city, as Carlo Ratti showed in 2006 with the project REAL TIME ROME<sup>2</sup>, presented to the Venice Biennale.



Il 1. MIT's Real Time Rome project, which will have its worldwide debut at the 2006 Venice Biennale, uses cellphone and wireless data to map people in Rome. Here it shows cellular phone users in northeastern Rome at different hours of a day. credits: SENSE-able City Lab

Researches as the Ratti's one have opened the door to a new era: the shared construction of sceneries in the city. Crowd-mapping systems<sup>3</sup> became a way to create things that would never be created with the old representations ones.

The essence of crowd-mapping is very useful to understand the next examples: it is not possible to answer to complexity of the liquid city with the old type of projects. The participatory processes involving administrations, politicians, privates and citizens working in their own ambits are the only way to contribute to a democratic management of the commons.

### **Quarto Oggiaro walk through**

A 16 billion euros project for "walking"? Come on! Quarto Oggiaro has always "walked" even if it was very difficult to be seen. In the '30s and '40s, while the industrial booming of Milan, many workers from all over Italy arrived. Vialba and Certosa were, at that time, two ancient villages in the surrounding area of Milan where some architects built a dense fabric of public housing blocks that adsorbed these villages. Great architects of the period, like Ludovico Quaroni and Mario Ridolfi, designed some of the projects of these interventions. That is how Quarto Oggiaro developed.

The quartier is an island rounded by highways and railways. People cannot cross them by walking. People that live in there use cars and public transports to 'escape'. The neighbourhood grew up segregated because of the empty areas diffused all around the public spaces. Cars and parking lots occupied all the free areas. The space of commerce was concentrated along the street. Urban viability and sidewalks were simple dropped-off for the one-touch shoppers. All the shops that are far from the main streets were in decadence. We affirm that in Quarto Oggiaro people walked, and we are sure of it. Protected areas like patios and gardens were the unique spaces safe for those who wanted to use feet in Quarto Oggiaro. Law obliges municipal officers to put fences but they truly decided to let them open.

In 2002 a European project, part of the URBAN II<sup>4</sup> development programme, tried to solve problems for the entire neighbourhood. 9,3 billions of euros were used to rehab the 'hardware' of the district. Part of it went for the restoration of the historical Villa Scheibler, the new house of the associations and the park. The green area all around the palace was definitively cleaned and opened after decades of abandon. The opening of the park, formerly the old nursery for the green areas of Milan, gave new trees and oxygen for the 23.000 inhabitant of Quarto Oggiaro. At the end of the process each habitant reached the average of about 13,5 square meters of green space pro capita. Municipality was pushed by EU to promote citizens participation in every level of interventions regarding houses and public spaces. URBAN II is an innovative tool created to support national policy. For this reason, it is not devoted to a simple restoration project. Through implementation of social policy in the architectural and urban standards tried to target the process for the creation of new polarity. Social spaces were opened with the objective to bring people together and promoting walking as a tools for the bettering of community's socialization and wellness.

Urban II project interested an area on about 180.000 square meters always devoted to the growing up of trees and shrubs like

a nursery for the public gardens. The green platform represents big square, in-between houses, rounded from streets and walls. The closure of the space could inhibit the presence of people in it and create a bad use of the space. Precisely for this reason, municipality decided to host groups of citizens and associations in the area, promoting a new lifestyle capable to generate a new quality for spaces and life.

We can think about Quarto Oggiaro and the surrounding like a small village host about 52.000 individuals. The only intervention on the villa was not enough, so the project touched other areas all around the district.

One of them is the Capuana Square, an old commercial piazza in-between the housing blocks. It was the drug-market of the area. Commerce closed when the big malls open all around Milan. Municipality according with ALER (the public owner of the buildings) gave the empty shops to associations, unions and activities devoted to bettering the sense of living in common. Presence of people all along the day and night gave to the space a sense of security and helped to stop illegal activities in the basements of the housing blocks.

URBAN II produced the "material hardware". New spaces, services, bike lanes helped people to walk safely in the public areas. Mobility improved the action of the "local software" made by associations and informal group capable to link history and future in a unique way.

One of the spin-offs of the project joined the programme "My Neighbourhood, My City". This is a EU project for social innovation for the creation of new polarity (firstly called suburbs) of the cities. Citizens, students and workers of the neighbourhood are now part of an international project connecting Aalborg, Lisbon and Birmingham. They are trying to make smart the life of district inhabitants. One of the tasks applied in the Quarto Oggiaro area uses the hardware produced by the URBAN II project to improve social meetings through green areas<sup>5</sup>. URBAN created a new pedestrian district in Di Roberto Street. New pavements, fountains and furniture created a new space where children play and people can sit to socialise. The students of the Pareto High School for Gardeners promote a program for the rehabilitation of the empty spaces and now green islands, thanks to perennial and annual plants, give a new relaxing effect to the people walking-by.

Common design of public spaces, created by local people or by newcomers, members of ethnical groups, improves the proud of the citizens for their urban spaces. Self-management and



Il. 2. Green area made by citizens during the project "My Neighbourhood, My City". Now children go safely in the green space in the middle of the district. credits: www.quartogiario.blogspot.com

respect of these urban facilities are in fact the actual way to build a sustainable city up.

URBAN project solved many problems and improved the quality of Quarto Oggiaro spaces. People slowly understand how to be proud of the place they are living. Although the work made is so important, a new risk is now deleting this effort: the new highways connecting the inner-city of Milan with the Expo 2015 area are splitting Quarto Oggiaro in two.

### Health and walk

Thanks to a 1996 American research<sup>6</sup>, we can affirm that fast walking, and not only running, is a good practice to improve health for people of any age. The new wellness of citizen should discharge the public health program from cardiovascular and breathing illness. Walking is simple and cheap, but can we affirm that it is democratic? To answer to a complex question like this we should define who's able to walk, if it is safe for her or him and if she or he is happy to do it. Focussing on the cities and the urban and periurban areas, we see people jogging or running, but we have to assume that this type of people can react to a lot of criticism in public spaces. Wrong management of the public spaces combined with the wrong use by drivers and riders of the streets can incite fear in people with mobility problems when walking from home to parks or to leisure areas.

To avoid fear and the difficulty of public administration, national health system and associations are promoting projects called 'Stili di Vita Sana'. These projects are not only focused on the walking mobility mode, they aim also to promote a new point of view of the moving, using urban areas and surrounding like fields where to work in.

In 2009 has been launched the campaign of the 'gruppi di cammino' (walking groups) with some big partners as the 1980's Olympics' marathon champion Maurizio Da Milano and the former-Minister for Health Umberto Veronesi. The ASL (Public Health Local Office) promoted, with the participation of some associations, different typologies of walking groups, each one with some particular characteristic as, for example, the presence

of an expert able to help people to know themselves and their self-limits.

Landscape, culture and historical places are the background for the walkers. Every walker wants to discover more and more about the spaces where he or she lives in, together with the other walkers. Therefore, walking can be also a kind of political practise that focuses the attention of people about social problems that need the intervention of the public administrations to be solved. Slow mobility movement promote policy for a new qualitative space for pedestrian and bicycle riders to connect a net of common spaces capable to attract and improve the sense of a common ground where expertise, play and stay together. The creation of new meeting point is highly requested. These places have to be well designed with elevated standard and appeal. Municipality and public officers are not able to make it alone so they need to increased people attention about the topic thought inclusive process and campaign.

### Verona Walkway South

One of the most interesting projects that are supporting health politics through green areas and slow mobility is the one proposed in Verona. A joint venture between Local Health Authority and University IUAV di Venezia designed some processes to be applied to the Parco dell'Adige Sud (Adige River South Park). One of them is known with the title of '*Giarol Grande: pensare il parco che verrà*'. Target topic of the research was the sustainable management of a huge area in the outskirts of the city across the river. Trying to understand how to solve the problems researchers discovered on site a lot of stakeholders and people interested. Groups of people and associations were working in a good way but separately without knowing each other. Then officer and researcher pushed to begin a participatory process, capable to create a physical and ideal platform where debate, discuss and think about a new destiny for the area. The green areas are close to the city rounded by an old neighbourhood, an old abandoned station, the river, and agricultural villages. The creation of the park imposes strictly rules for the farmers. Agricultural activities was no more supported by the institutions because the park law. In consequence of it, operators pass through an economic crisis and abandon the fields contributing to a presence of people in the area. The daily walkers and runners have fear to go deep in the park's routes because of the bad moods to feel alone. Along the workshop activities experts realized the paths were not well reported. Majority of users enters only from

the same access and does every time the same route. To solve the problem were organized some excursions and bicycle tours starting from different point in the urban area of Verona, to show how to reach the area. After these practices, just the passage of people helped to consolidate a way as an axe of entrances of the park. Once people knew how to get inside, the second problem was to improve the knowledge of the park characteristics: a heritage presence as Park Bernini Buri, an abandoned Lazaretto (old Leper hospital), the Pestrino Island and the Hess Fort.

Walking is natural, but have to be supported by a strong motivation. Moving is not the only one: someone wants to isolate himself from the world, someone else to socialize. Who walks wants to be in a quality environment where to feel better with mind and body. People are different and can cover different distance in a park. Knowing this, the participatory process needs to apply it. The Giarol Park's workshop studied the way to create a melting pot of activities able to attract all the typologies of citizens: young and students, families, workers, and pensioners. Following this idea, the participants designed a program to attract and amaze walkers through the restoration of natural and agricultural areas, promoting events in the heritage buildings and creating districts all around the park. A special route was proposed as a fitness one, divided in sections where to make exercises and a natural one with bird-watchers tower to see birds and animals in the wet area.

One of the main potential of the participatory process in environmental project is the capability to reveal in advance the potential problems of coexistence between users, farmers, residents and use of the main spaces of the park. The difference between the main typology of landscape can be managed to create a complex scene where walkers are free to move. The characterization of the route helps them to move respecting the agriculture and natural habitats<sup>7</sup>.

Giarol Park participatory project is an answer to the European Landscape Convention's precepts capable to see Landscape where Italians not see 'Paesaggi' (In Italian noun "Paesaggio" has not the same meaning of Landscape, thanks to the Benedetto Croce's Law of 1909<sup>8</sup>.) The importance of the agriculture and productive fields are considered for them importance in food quality improvement and health. Environment trespass the Italian concept of 'Bello' (beautiful) and became 'Utile' (useful) and 'Sano' (healthy). At the end of the participatory process, citizens understand the link between traditional and modern landscape, writing a new vision for the places calling it AGRICOLTURA<sup>9</sup>.

### **Brescia, walking "deeply"**

In the last 10 years, the city of Brescia changed a lot. If a tourist, come for the successful 2004 Monet exhibition, returns now to visit the town can note an enormous transformation in the urban landscape.

Brescia is a well-known city for army and steel industries. The tourists, mostly German and Dutch, preferred the Garda Lake beaches than visiting the city. After the fortunate season of the big art exhibitions (from 2004 to 2008) the town knew a kind of Renaissance capable to improve the entire city perception. One of the first decisions of the municipality was to close the centre to cars creating a limited traffic area. Some of citizens and sellers

reacted to this prescription and the pedestrian zone was deregulated. Then the city changed drastically. Fundamental for this process were the public transport, the new viability, the commerce renewing and the leisure offer.

Before 2012, the modal share (percentage of travellers using a particular type of transportation) of the city saw the use of the car around 68% of the total; today it is around 60% of the total. A lot of work has been made to reach this goal, but no one has been proposed only for pedestrians. The scenario changed when the Subway came. City was divided between the rich north-western side formed by an extensive urban structure and the new dense popular neighbourhoods on south, not connected with the downtown. The Subway, with its 13 stations, is now able to connect the main areas of the city, reaching more or less half of the citizens in its catching areas<sup>10</sup>. Therefore, MetroBS became a fact of proudness for all the citizens, helping them to think more about their city.

Citizens of Brescia understood that go deep (in the subway) contributes in connecting the town areas in freedom counting only on the power of legs and feet. We can say feet won in the challenge against cars thanks to public transport capable to put in touch people and space.

The inauguration of the subway created a new scenario, but it came after years of interventions capable to prepare the citizens to move in a sustainable way. The general traffic plan integrated in the 2002 the innovative project of the construction of the LAM<sup>11</sup>. The projects foresee to create dedicated lanes for fast bus. The reduction of the space for cars and the creation of the LAMs allowed new public space. Municipality proposed a contest for the urban furniture. The discussion interested all the citizens and creates people attachment for the project. At the same time finished the opposition of the people using the car and the owner of the shops, caused by the fear to lose buyers for the reduction of the parking areas. It is undeniable that the LAM improved a mutation of the commercial offer. The old shops closed with the retirement of the owners. Younger people with fresh ideas substituted the old typology of sellers. They came with the facts that drivers and walkers use both the streets so they were able to promote a new market way for customers. Gradually, cafeterias and pubs enlarged the internal spaces occupying the streets; the 'dehors' took place to the parking lots and all the central area became a place where people stop to take an "aperitivo" drink. The LAM system and the Subway create an integrated system

capable to induce citizens to let the cars home. By the way, the only construction of the net of public transport is not enough to induce a radical change in the modal split. City invested 23 billion of euros to create the subway, municipality with semi-public enterprises have now to give to the city a new attractively capable to make the citizens move.

Mayor after Mayor we can see an improvement of the politics about leisure in the different points of the city. Brescia, town of the famous car-race Mille Miglia, proposed during the years an enormous program of appointments with music, theatre, street markets and art fairs. The 'Notte Bianca' (White Night) became usual in Brescia joining shopping, entertainment and exhibitions in pedestrian zones. A success was the Notte Bianca dell'Arte, organized in occasion of the entrance of Brescia in the UNESCO list with the "Santa Giulia" Complex Historical Site. People of Brescia became day by day proud of the rediscovered city and began to think how to promote and improve the quality of the touristic offer. Two important projects show the importance of this commitment in the downtown of Brescia:

- The gastronomic district around of Torre Bruciata, an important place remembering the days of the resistance to the Austro-Hungarian emperor, see a large amount of restaurant in a few space. A district launched in 2004 for great exhibitions to improve the offer and the renewing of the buildings all around the area.
- A second district, more devoted to commerce, is the one connecting Corso Palestro, Corso Zanardelli and Corso Mameli. The pedestrian axe connects a series of public places formed by the Opera theatre, an old deconsecrated church where take place festivals and concerts. The main attraction of the district is the market. Creation of a renewed square call Piazza delle Erbe helped to reinforce the district with many public events offering handmade stuff, antiquity, and products of 0 km agriculture markets.

City centre of Brescia 'pulses' following political decisions across the years. Nowadays we are able to observe that the change in its form and dimension is not a tantrum of the mayors. Pedestrian areas and no traffic zones working in an organic structure are the outcome of a great policy is capable to induce a new way to consider the urban spaces. We can describe this particularly process like a diffuse participation between citizens, public administrations and private enterprises. It pass through a constantly increase of the meetings, exchanges and participation of the social life of the city. Finally, an important output of the process is the pedestrians' conquest of the three main squares of Brescia. The piazzas were before just a space for parking, but now they became the favourite venues for the residents sitting there to enjoy an aperitif or to eat a pizza. Anyone who tried to criticize this process now, finds him/herself in trouble.

### **Decide 'n' walk**

Why do not walk? There is no harm in asking it. The answer is not given for granted. There are a lot of reasons why normal citizens can be find complications and decide to do not walk: it's too far, I've a lot of stuff to do, it's hot outside, local transport are always late, the goods to buy are so heavy, and so on...

All this excuses are normal, and it is impossible for decision-makers to relegate them to the indolence of people. They need to think about new scenarios to help citizens in changing the vision about their own environment.

The main typology of transport is not changed a lot in the last 100 years. When firstly cars, subways, train appeared, people were fascinate from them. After a century of mass production, we can affirm that the passage from a status symbol to a second skin happened. Democratization of life's time and space created citizens free to move for long distances, letting them free to live and work in different spaces. Society is no more tied to the time of work, thanks to the diffusion of the Internet. The problem for the city today is the management of the leisure and the shopping time. In the last years, thanks also to the economical crisis, cars are no more a people's dream. Inhabitants of Milan pass the average of 83 hours/year per capita in the traffic jam<sup>12</sup>. Holidays are no more related to the idea of going for an "out-of-town" excursion.

Walking is the new imperative for a sane lifestyle. Citizens are trying to introduce new self-made practices to show the quality of a decongested slower and relaxed scenario. The performances are not so easy to be applied in a local context for the resistance of whom has to manage the balance of the stakeholders. Once the stall has been brake up, the construction of the new urban scenography finds the support of people. Participatory practices are able to pick up hidden people remembrances. They are capable to recall the idea of the streets as a kind of urban "living room". Trigger a movement capable to push pedestrian areas like catalyser of social innovative experience is not so hard. In Emilia Romagna Region a gust of participation pushes the experimentation of popular 'no traffic zone' or 30 Km/h zone<sup>13</sup>.

### **Fire up and run**

"Establish a 30 km/h area is too expensive!"  
"Who pays for it, if it does not work?" "What about the parking lots?"

We can find thousands of sentence sounding like an excuse in the word of Italian politicians. Fortunately citizens are always a step behind them (in Italy for sure) and think about this topic in another way. There is nothing better to show people how can a 30 Km/h Zone work applied in a real context. Association and students with the help of local expert about participation and mobility create temporary modification to the viability. The results are pedestrian and bike friendly areas. The



Il. 3. 30 km/h zone in Casalmaggiore. credits: www.oglioponews.it

experimental process took place once in the middle of the Po valley in the city of Casalmaggiore, once in Terni in the middle of the Apennines and then in Modena in the last months.

Terni was a garden city, but today spaces for people are at an historical minimum. Young architects help the citizens to reduce street at the minimum dimension allowed by law. The resultant space is to live in or to put flowerbed. Drivers were adapting instantly to the new regulation of the street decreasing speed of the car and pay attention to all the other users. Streets come back to his original structure not only a strip, but also a place to socialize commerce and relaxing.

Terni did a low profile experiment that reached the goal: informing and showing people another way to live the public space. Similarly, the example of Casalmaggiore aims to the same target, even if the organizer wanted to show to the politicians how a 30 Km/h Zone can work. So more attention was given to the communication. Before the creation of the experiment, the local expert tried to illustrate the idea and hits benefits. The engagement was so deep that almost all the windows of the streets hang a flag with the logo of the project. The days after they reduce the lane to the minimum allowed by the law. The space exceeding was designed for relax, play, speak, and every other action people wanted to do in the street. The design of the spaces could count on furniture, trees and shrubs gift of private partners that wanted to support the process. At the end of the experiment, a petition has been launched to transform the temporary situation in something designed forever. People supported the 30 Km Zone because the reduction of the noise, improve of safety on the street, presence of activities capable to attract people from other parts of the city helping the shops to came out from the crisis.

The last two cases, presented with the one that took place in Modena, wanted to show that the appropriation of the street in not a conquest of walkers and cycle-bikers. To reach a good balance between all the needs, intervention on the modal split of the city has to be based on a citizens' agreement. The only way to achieve this is creating moments where each one can try and "live" a new situation, making up his/her mind. After a singular practice, experts have to manage a moment to collect all the impressions about the process through a moment where citizens could ponder and discuss it. Most people are involved in the change; the most this induces administrations to take them seri-

ously, helping also in finding private investments for the entire project and manage to build new urban spaces in the city.

### Could this be the beginning of a new era for walking?

Read the paper till this paragraph is about 30 minutes. This is the time doctors suggest for the wellness of our hearth and circulation. Probably can be good, but for me it seems to be not enough for a real change in our lifestyle. More we walk, run and ride (not motorcycles) less we are use transport. A new way to move is today associated with a culture of wellness and healthy alimentation. Participatory and collective processes like the ones presented in the paper are only a few part of the tools administrations and policy makers have to use to approach to the problems on the field.

The word "Walk" has to be more and more associated with the word "Go", but in fact, Italy has to improve the safety on the streets. People are improving the feeling of security thanks to the walking groups or the 30km/h zones. It is not enough. The problem remains where the overlapping of the walkers and the cars traffic in the city is not avoided new type of urban policies. Mainly work for the future should be testing new strategies and then promote the expected positive results to extend the singular experience to the rest of the city.

#### ENDONTES:

<sup>1</sup> Matt Hern, 2010, Common Ground in a Liquid City: Essays in Defense of an Urban Future, Edinburgh, AK Press UK

<sup>2</sup> <http://senseable.mit.edu/realtimerome/>

<sup>3</sup> Crowdmap is a tool for mapping virtually anything on the web, focused on a more social mapping experience with better support for multimedia, sharing, and mobile support. Crowdmap is for anyone wanting to tell a story with a map – not only through location but sharing photos, videos, and stories tied to a specific locations or entire regions.

<sup>4</sup> Programma di Iniziativa Comunitaria 2000÷2006 PIC, Fondo europeo di sviluppo regionale (FESR), URBAN Milan II Program.

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.my-n.eu/node/76/community/quarto-gardening>

<sup>6</sup> Physical Activity and Health: A Report of the Surgeon General. Atlanta, GA: US Department of Health and Human Services; 1996

<sup>7</sup> In Italy the last 30 years of economic boom create a high level of urban sprawl so town nestled a large amount of agricultural areas. To protect them from property speculation city council have used parks regulation, so urban and regional parks have green and agricultural areas in-between the buildings.

<sup>8</sup> S. Settis, Lectio magistrali 'Benedetto Croce ministro e la prima legge sulla tutela del paesaggio' in occasion of the academic year of the Università Ca' Foscari in Venezia.

<sup>9</sup> The word AGRICOLTURA come from two different worlds, melting the words Agricoltura (Farming) and Cultura (Knowledge).

<sup>9</sup> Data from [www.bresciamobilita.it](http://www.bresciamobilita.it): from 2008 to 2012 user of public transport decrease from 43 billions to 41. With the inauguration of METROBS passengers are grown-up about six billions in only one year reaching the number of almost 40,000 users per day.

<sup>10</sup> Linee ad alta mobilit – High Mobility Bus Lane

<sup>11</sup> [http://www.tomtom.com/it\\_it/traffindex/](http://www.tomtom.com/it_it/traffindex/)

<sup>12</sup> The "30 km/h zones" are forms of speed management used across areas of urban roads in some jurisdictions as an alternative to normal speed limits. Although these zones do have the nominal speed limit posted, speeds are generally (compulsorily in the United Kingdom) ensured by the use of traffic calming (physical or psychological) measures.

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