# "THE CITY AGENCIES WORKING PAPERS"

## Mehodologies, approaches, potentialities and perspective

# The city agencies working papers

**THE CITY AGENCIES WORKING PAPERS.**
**Methodologies, approaches, potentialities and perspectives**

City Agencies are arenas for debate, to listen to citizens, to dialogue, participate but also present and translate collective requests, activating urban commons. They feed local debate, and they are places where citizens can inquire about life in the cities and urban change, inquiring about ongoing policies, plans and projects, and put suggestions forward. Between 2017 and 2019 the EUCANET partnership has promoted a wide and open reflection on the role, scope and missions of City Agencies, involving researchers, scholars, practitioners and professionals from all over Europe.
This e-book provides insights on the ongoing debate, presenting the diverse and mutifaceted emerging perspectives, and exploring potential research directions for the future.

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# QUALITY IN THE CITY OFFER

by Billy Guidoni, architect, founder of Modus Ædificandi

Since the Industrial Revolution and through the 20th century, success has been measured through economic growth. Although the multiple economic crises and undeniable climate change have shown the downfalls of such an approach, governance still looks at economic growth as the ultimate goal, and weighs success by measuring a city's accomplishment in terms of quantity.

Quantity leads to figures, which allow comparison and ranking; it can be related to policies, budget and subsidies, return on investment, and a city's population, as a ratio. Broadly speaking, quantity allows the measurement of results.

This approach has been adopted until recently. However, in today's rapidly evolving, globalized city competition, cities that generate economic success seem to be the ones that have most talents. Consequently, cities aiming at prosperity need to breed, attract and keep talents.

What these talents are really looking for on the other hand is quality of life. Since they are highly mobile and able to scan the planet for a better place to live, then what the cities are actually competing for is quality.

That is why quantitative figures aren't enough to understand a city's worth, and quality needs to be addressed in priority. But what is quality in a city offer? And how can a city work towards achieving quality?

In order to best answer these two questions, we will work on a given city as a case study. It is a European city that is known, but doesn't first come to mind when listing Europe's leading cities; it isn't a capital, and it has less than a million inhabitants (it isn't one of Europe's largest cities[1]) but more than fifty thousand. It is not a town, and has structured governance, networks and economy[2] . We will refer to it as the City.

We will first try to understand how quality leads to prosperity. We will then focus on defining quality for the City and suggest ways to evaluate it. Finally, we will suggest a method to build a qualitative City offer.

1. Eurostat, Twenty cities in the EU with the largest number of inhabitants, 2015 (millions) RYB17, http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:Twenty_cities_in_the_EU_with_the_largest_number_of_inhabitants,_2015_(millions)_RYB17.png

2. Mark Owuor Otieno, What Is The Difference Between A City And A Town?, Worldatlas, October 23, 2017 https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/what-is-the-difference-between-a-city-and-a-town.html

**Many cities may come to your mind while going through this article – but this should only stress that these thoughts apply to a lot of cities. Let us get started.**

## WHY THE CITY NEEDS QUALITY

*Cities are the engines of the European economy; although Metropolitan regions contain 59% of Europe's population, they hold 62% of the jobs and represent 67% of Gross Domestic Product (European Commission, 2014).*
*However, the hegemony of cities over the rest of the territory comes at a price; since economy tends to follow people, cities are like super-predators in a finite environment, engaged in a global competition to attract people.*

### Cities in the global competition

The amount of people involved in a creative job has increased in the last century and, in particular, in the last two decades. To geographer and sociologist Richard Florida, creativity has become "the ultimate source of economic growth"[3].

**How does a city generate prosperity?**
In his work, Florida has shown that the most prosperous cities, the ones where quality of life is at its best are the ones that attract the Creative Class. When Florida asked people from the Creative Class why they had chosen a city rather than another, their answers had to do with quality of life - before work opportunities. Therefore, it is beneficiary for the City, if it is aiming at economic growth, to offer the most qualitative environment in order to attract these people. Cities that have been cited among the most pleasant to live in Europe have also become economically dynamic cities, where urban and cultural quality go hand in hand.

Allowing a diversified and rich ecosystem, for a neighborhood as much as for the City, is a guarantee that innovation will emerge, as interactions and geographical proximity are needed to build up collective intelligence.
While this notion is exponentially taken into account in many cities' urban strategies, many other still keep on trying to fulfill Post-War Boom requirements, as Florida points out:
"Cities across the country have spent countless billions of dollars to build stadiums, create cultural districts and develop urban retail malls to boost their image. And from my focus groups and interviews, I knew that people value lifestyle amenities very highly in the choice of locations. […] The most highly valued options were experiential ones—interesting music venues, neighborhood art galleries, performance spaces and theaters."[4]
A qualitative offer isn't a vain luxury, but has a lasting impact on the City's competitiveness - as people come to experience first and

foremost what can be found in that city alone, and nowhere else.

### Quality as balance in the City offer

Unless the City still thinks of itself as a sum of polarized single-program districts, it will need to balance its culture, leisure, commerce, residential, business offer, and its urban infrastructures. While areas will always be known as food destinations, others will still find strength in their cultural offer. However, no area should be void of any of the other programs.

**Balance in space and time**
Quantity alone does not allow to comprehend the offer: the City may possess a seemingly well-balanced share of cultural programs in an area - but is it really balanced if these are all theaters? The same applies to the distribution of program in the city fabric: quality has to be found geographically, on multiple scales.

Balance also has to be found in the temporal distribution of the offer (often linked to its nature). A balanced offer implies that there is a reason to be somewhere in the city at most times of the day and night. This also means that the presence of people is better balanced through the hours, leading to a safer City.
Temporal balance also addresses periods of the year. While a summer festival season is certainly enjoyable, the months void of any festival make the City appear less lively.

**Balance from highbrow to lowbrow**
Quality should address all levels of popularity, from underground to mainstream. If the City wants to have any sort of recognition on the international scene, it cannot be a place where only established names have a chance. While mainstream caters for a majority of people, for the City to attract newcomers, it must place itself at the forefront, be a source of inspiration and encourage its experimental, underground scene (musicians, artists, businesses, food, etc.), while allowing rising stars to come into their own.
The City must be known as a place that is able to generate and promote talents, as much as one where external talents are welcome.

But quality for a city may not be quality for another; a first step is to define what quality means for the City.

## DEFINING QUALITY IN THE CITY

*While quantity is made of figures, quality is often subject to debate. Each person has a different appreciation of what quality is for him/her, which changes throughout time, depending on mood, weather, life priorities, resulting in millions of possible combinations. To define quality, the City needs to define who it wants to cater for.*
*There are only two types of users: the ones that are already in the*

*3. Richard Florida, Cities and the Creative Class, Routledge, 2004*

*4. Richard Florida, The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life, Basic Books, 2004*

*City, and the ones it wants to attract.*

## Current users and future users

If the City is seeking prosperity, it will constantly need a fresh input of people - but that is not to say newcomers need to be of higher social status than resident citizens.

### Balance in social classes
We could take the example of some highbrow tourist destinations cities, where housing has become so expensive that they are now failing to foster the Service Class – the very people that make tourism possible. These cities face the risk of reaching their limits, unless they find ways to cater for these citizens. They have to balance their affordable offer, while luxury has to keep on operating well.

### Balance in age groups
The same goes for age groups; some city centers only retain an older, captive part of the population, along with students on a budget. Families, faced with a lack of qualitative offer, seek alternatives in suburbia, which has an impact on the inner-city educational and commercial attendance as well as business development, leading to a vicious circle. Curating a qualitative offer to attract families and businesses back in the heart of the city is needed in that case, while not excluding the older people living there.

The City cannot assume that its offer is qualitative enough if it corresponds to what the users want on one hand, but fails to generate balance on the other: balance also has to be sought between what its users want, and what the City needs.

## What is wanted / what is needed

If responding to everyone's needs individually would seem like the maximum level of quality the City could aim at, it may not be what it needs.

The City may have a certain club, that hosts avant-garde events (music, dance, theater, art), that is starting to gain a reputation on the international scene. It may not be popular amongst residents, and it may be threatened with closure because of soundproofing issues. Sometimes a small investment by the City to maintain such a place is a great return on investment.
Richard Florida writes: "The most highly valued options [are] experiential ones—interesting music venues, neighborhood art galleries, performance spaces and theaters. […]
I like to tell city leaders that finding ways to help support a local music scene can be just as important as investing in high-tech business and far more effective than building a downtown mall."

Sometimes the City just needs to provide its users with possibilities; but taking chances cannot be the City's sole strategy to achieve quality. To plan its actions ahead, the City needs to be able to measure their incidence.

## QUALITY AS AN ATTRACTION PLAN

*If presented against quantity, quality may appear to be more abstract. As such, decision making in favor of quality will be hard to back. To prove the weight and purpose of quality, it needs to be translated into figures too.*

## Measuring quality

In a widely connected environment, data is generated by our interactions. For the better or worse, our preferences are tracked, and data has become the most reliable way for retailers to meet their market - to the point where it has practically become the global currency. The added value of data is that it deals with quality as much, if not more, than with quantity.
Let us take the example of the music: it is now possible to know in real time what music people are listening to online, which event they are attending, but also which artists or events they are following, revealing their expectations. Data allows to focus on a target population: residents of a certain area / age range - but also people the City would want to attract. The only limit is to know what sources to use.

### Who defines quality?
There are many sources available to understand the needs and demands of people: public surveys are a start, but a higher level of precision is reached by using recreational input – in that sense, social networks are a must. Their data is as precise as it gets – however, the City has to know who it wants to survey, and what it wants to survey about.

Comparing the needs of the people already in the City and the people it wants to attract with its current offer is a straightforward approach to plan its future offer.
Taking the example of music, questions may be: what artists does our target population want to see perform? Having them in the City is one of the many levers to pull to attract the target population - but let us take the idea further.

People can only want what they know; if the City wants to position itself as a hub for innovation, it needs to stimulate its users, and be one step ahead by allowing its users to discover new things. To do so, it needs to be up-to-date with what is currently the avant-garde, and get it before it is trending.
To balance its music offer, the City will need to frame the different

genres of music available today. While it is virtually impossible to develop this kind of knowledge, it can rely on experts: scholars, critics, journalists from all sorts of media. Each of these experts will provide periodic reviews on new music, current artists, concerts, often along with marks, which can be expressed in figures.

Starting from the sources' suggestions a chain of actions may be triggered. Taking the example of the music offer once again, the City could ask itself: do the artists the sources want to see perform currently in the City?
If they do, how often? When? Where? Is the target population reached?
If not: are the venues, timing, ticket prices relevant?
If the artists don't play in the City, what is the reason? Are the City's venues not in touch with the right networks? Are they not fit for this type of artists? Do they lack funding?

We can get an idea of the amount of parameters that have to be taken into account to define a qualitative offer. To achieve its goal, the City will need to tool up.

## Building a tool for Quality

As with any precise operation, it is important to use the right tool; if it isn't yet available, the tool needs to be built.

### Gathering a Bureau of possibilities
The tool to build a qualitative offer is made of the same material as the City itself: people. A diverse team connected to the City departments needs to be assembled, made of public and private contributors, of different backgrounds (a core of knowledgeable people in urbanism, culture and economy is needed), multilingual and multicultural. A share of the team needs to come from outside the City, possibly from cities that have proven successes – basically, it needs to reflect the ideal, balanced mix of people the City wants to achieve.
The team needs to be flexible, allowing people to come and go, and avoiding for them to stay too long on a single job. It needs to work, not towards a goal, but towards generating possibilities; to do so, it needs a methodical approach.

### Setting up a method
The team first needs to address the state of the offer in culture, urbanism (built and human) and economics. These themes and their many subcategories are strongly interlinked, and a qualitative offer needs to take them all into account, simultaneously. The figures gathered from the sources will be used as measurements for quality, weighing all components of the offer according to their importance. Using the example of music once more (a part of culture), these could be:
**Appreciation:** how the people in the city / the people it wants to

attract / the experts value an artist / venue / festival.
**Exclusivity:** if the artist is highly valued and performs in rival cities only, it scores high; if he doesn't yet perform in rival cities, it scores even higher.
**Time:** the more balanced the music offer throughout the year / month / week, the better. An offer that is not as strong quantitatively, but better spread temporarily, scores higher that an offer concentrated in the summer months only. Events in the off-season months score higher.
**Geography:** the more balanced the music offer throughout the City / districts, the better. An offer that is very well spread geographically scores higher than one concentrated in a part of the City only (in relation to accessibility). An event in an area the City wants to prioritize scores high.

As it gets an understanding of the City's offer, the team needs to follow up on the effects of its action while maintaining a good knowledge of other cities' approaches, to constantly adjust and differentiate the City's offer. The team is responsible for coordinating the City communication and providing a coherent image and message, destined to the residents and people it wants to attract.

With such a range of variables, it is understandable that while quantity in the City's offer may be represented as a bar chart, quality would need to be expressed as a radar chart, with a lot of branches – where balance is as important as the sum of its part. Such is the City offer. To facilitate it, the City only has three actions it can take: to encourage, to limit or... to leave the offer as it is.
Sometimes, quality generates itself spontaneously, and nothing is a better sign of a qualitative city.

**Reversing the traditional direction of supply to demand puts the people back as the City's main focus. Obviously, this does not exclude the involvement of citizens as spontaneous contributors to the City, in a participative, proactive approach, but should in fact work in collaboration / addition.**

**A qualitative, coordinated offer in 2020 may lead to a prosperous city in 2030, but prosperous doesn't mean on an infinite growth. As stated by political scientist Ronald Inglehart, "the Western societies that were the first to industrialize have gradually come to emphasize post-materialist values, giving higher priority to the quality of life than to economic growth."[5]**

**With the quantitative expansion of cities limited by space and resources, quantitative growth will arguably have to come to an unavoidable alt one day, and the question of quality as the ultimate goal for the City will necessarily emerge as the new paradigm.**

*5. Ronald Inglehart, Globalization and Postmodern Values, The Washington Quarterly, Winter 2000*

As always, it is a matter of time before the idea is spread enough that it becomes an approach cities all take into account. By then, the cities that will have focused on quality early will be in a very favorable position, and a favorite destination for a majority of people. It will be their task to use their influence to infuse quality in other cities, rather than become exclusive strongholds.

# A CITIZENS STORY: TOWARD A CONSTELLATIVE GENEALOGY OF CITIES

Brendan O'Donnell

## Abstract

Our cities are marked with signs of the past, from street names to plaza squares, reinforcing and privileging a history that is often founded on or at least loaded with exclusionary practices and policies. These signifiers present opportunities to address these social injustices and create more open and inclusive environments in which all citizens can engage and participate. But as long as these histories continue to take precedence when we tell the stories of our cities, we run the risk of preserving the validity of those wrongs, and we perpetuate a delimiting adversarial or binary relationship with the past by defining our present in terms of it. This essay argues for a radical retelling of the stories of cities that centers citizens and their activities. Using examples of innovative and evolving initiatives from New Orleans, USA, and Madrid, Spain, the author proposes a non-linear, 'constellative' approach to storytelling in which lived experiences replace chronology and acts of citizenship replace governance. The objective is to write a story that engages citizens in the process of creating a city and its identity, decoupling authenticity and authority, responsibility and power. By centering citizens in the telling of the stories of cities, the author posits, we celebrate the here and now and promote the values of democracy, tradition and participation without attempting to erase or justify the mistakes of the past, enabling societies to move forward collectively in addressing the issues that confront our cities today.

## Keywords

The stories of cities are most often told through the markings of history. We are comforted, if not conditioned, by linear narratives

evoking Proustian noms de pays etched into the edifices and institutions that govern daily life. Our streets and squares are named for people and events along that fictive line, from Italy's ubiquitous Via Garibaldi to the unconscionable prevalence of Robert E. Lee Highways across the United States. Festivals and ceremonies adopt these signifiers in order to adapt to the collective consciousness of the city and, in so doing, adopt their histories. And those who join these celebrations or identify with them, those we gladly call citizens[1], become defined by them.

But these diacritical characteristics are at least as limiting as they are conceptive. More often than not, the Place-Names that serve to unify citizens, to bring them together, do so by reifying a hegemonic power structure founded on the principles of exclusion and fear, constantly reestablishing the us-them, citizen-barbarian, real-other binary construct as a means of absolute signification. Memorializations and commemorations are calls to allegiance, if not acquiescence, to the authority of the state, an authority often historically secured through violence, manipulation and erasure. Consider the complicated construction that entangles Berlin's Christopher Street Day parade, a celebration of the antiauthoritarian liberation of New York's queer community, with Wittenbergplatz, an underground station that jointly serves as the entrance to the wonder of western affluence and commercialism and as a reminder of the deportation to concentration camps of Berlin's neighbors, friends, colleagues and family members during the Holocaust. Each sense of empowerment that this space has been redefined or reclaimed is mitigated if not muted by the awareness that the root of such revelry is the always already existent oppression that is its foundation – and its potential resurrection.

However, as storytellers know, linear chronologies quickly become genealogies whose authority is complicated by undeniable realities. Despite the neat and marketable packaging allowed for by such stagings, the complexity of a city's story cannot be traced by a straight line from a static past to an infinite future. Issues such as climate change, housing shortages, abandoned industrial sites and economic inequality either indict or impugn the past's foundation and simultaneously inspire a differentiated future. The urban narrative does not follow a providential trajectory launched by some ancient conquest and head toward an eternal paradise. The story of a city is contained in the seeming incongruity and messiness of the here and now and can best be told by those who navigate it.

It is precisely those the history books have tried to erase who most skillfully and artfully navigate our urban spaces, and it is from them that the stories of cities should come. But how do we do that?

A radical retelling of a city's story, particularly one that seeks to disempower the fundamental tenets of existing hierarchies, must shift focus from Aristotelian notions of poetics, from the obsession with justifying today by way of an always already inexorable univocality.

The plot elements selected from the past do not divine the present, and, perhaps more important, the immutability of the present does not ratify the past. If, however, we are able to break free of this dependence on the linear past, if we are able to tell a story without insisting on the dichotomies of conquest and instead reframe narrative as a celebration of the here and now, we will not only be able to reflect the reality of our urban spaces, but, perhaps more pragmatically, we will be better positioned to embolden the voices of those in our communities who have been silenced.

The addition of new voices to the telling of a city's story does not require the subtraction of the existing narratives. It is often the reflexive reaction of those whose identities have been linked to the prevailing accounts of record to question whether such an approach is simply an attempt to rewrite the past, to, in effect, erase history. The truth is quite to the contrary. The objective is to center the lived experiences of citizens in the construction of the city's identity. Colloquially, we might say, we are basing history on tradition, on the acts of citizenship rather than the facts of governance.

Rhetorically, this might sound like nothing more than a qualification, an evaluative act to validate certain experiences. But in practice, this is as much about process as it is about outcome, as we can see from an innovative project in New Orleans.

The reference to Robert E. Lee above was not coincidental. Throughout the United States, but particularly in the southern states, a growing movement has emerged to remove monuments commemorating icons of the Confederacy, the segment of the country that seceded from the union in the mid-19th century in an effort to preserve the institution of racialized slavery. Notwithstanding the irrefutable fact that these commemorations in the public square laud acts of treason and violations of human rights, their long overdue removal opens a space for a conversation about who and what symbolize the people's history. In New Orleans, an organization named Colloqate, led by Sue Mobley and Bryan C. Lee, Jr., developed a process through which the experiences and voices of citizens would play a leading role in that discussion. The result is Paper Monuments, a continuing series of posters representing the people, places and movements that have been the life-blood of New Orleans since its beginnings. What is perhaps most monumental about these posters is that the stories behind them have thrived through oral traditions, some for centuries, instilling generations of citizens with a sense of community that statues in the public square could not.

The process of creating a Paper Monument is fundamentally collaborative. Citizens are invited to nominate a story, be it of a person, place, movement or event, to be memorialized. These nominations are then passed on to a local scholar who researches the story, providing context and, as much as is necessary, verification. A local artist is then commissioned to create a visual representation of the

tale. The final product is printed and plastered around the city, integrating the story into the physical present.

There is an obvious transience to the use of posters to articulate history, and this is perhaps the most moving characteristic of the project. History functions most effectively as a component of our present. Its presence is most relevant in terms of our reaction to it. And its indelibility becomes rooted in society through our traditions. Stories that move with us, that travel with and through our communities over time, become our history. Compare that to a statue we simply pass by.

One of the first Paper Monuments to be created, #006, commemorates the funeral of André Cailloux in July 1863. Written by Larry Powell and designed by artist Langston Allston, the poster recounts that "New Orleans has never seen anything like it: immense crowds of black residents, including members of thirty-some mutual aid societies, thronging Esplanade Avenue for more than a mile to witness the funeral procession of André Cailloux, an African-American Union captain" killed in battle against Confederate soldiers[2]. The specifics of Cailloux's story are powerful, but the impact of his life and the communal celebration thereof illustrates a history larger than any one person. It begins to tell the story of the city. It is impossible to imagine New Orleans today without the sights and sounds of African-American funeral processions, an act that later merged with the city's exalting musical traditions.

Actively recasting the past, as Paper Monuments is doing, goes a long way toward decoupling authority and authenticity in the stories of cities, centering residents in the process of origination and definition, but how do we connect these varied lived experiences and their continued influences to the here and now in a form that can produce the next chapter? How can this process extend beyond reconstitution and lead to revolution? For that we can turn to Madrid.

Innovative urban transformation efforts are, much like city histories, often motivated and governed by established hierarchies. Needs assessments, evaluation criteria and project selection generally conform to the political, social and economic priorities that privilege absolute values of efficiency, scalability and replicability. The quantification of such values tends to rely on causal metrics that reinforce themselves, creating a self-regenerative cycle of incontrovertible success. The need to innovate is the positive outcome of innovation. But what if urban transformation does not begin at zero? What if innovation is not innovative but innocuous and ubiquitous?

Madrid's VIC[3] , vivero de iniciativas ciudadanas, regards itself as a platform that helps to navigate citizen initiatives within a community and provide opportunities for collaborative enrichment. Its beginnings, however, were anything but static. VIC originated as a mapping exercise, a reorienting of the city's geography around the activities of its inhabitants. But these activities were not simply

hobbies or exercises to pass the time; VIC focused on the efforts of residents to individually and collectively address issues they confronted in their everyday lives.

The gravity and urgency of many of these issues were aggravated by the inadequacies of the state, as well. For example, how can I get my child to school and then to work without having to rely on an unreliable transport infrastructure? As more people from more neighborhoods were found to be coming up with answers to that question, combining these efforts could produce a bike map for the whole city. Such a map could then identify major bike intersections which could potentiate opportunities for start-up bike repair or service companies. The individual problem leads to social evolution. Thus, the work of VIC demonstrates that the stories of a city continue to be written independent of the administrative authority.

VIC's work has led to CIVICS, a dynamic digital map of civic innovation in cities across their communities, which now include multiple countries. But for this discussion, replicability is not the point; rather, it is the potential for citizen action to redefine not only the landmarks within a city but also the links between them. A third project that the initiators of VIC support is MARES. MARES seeks to create urban districts motivated by the presence or potential of collaboration on specific social goods: mobility (movilidad), food (alimentación), recycling (reciclaje), energy (energía). A fifth category, referred to as the 'care sector', crosses all districts. Together, these districts set the stage for continuous citizen engagement and innovation, a regenerative process of social evolution. The progressive development of VIC, CIVICS and MARES show that stories centered on the lived experiences of today's citizens can serve as prologue, can, in a sense, create the future.

At the heart of New Orleans's Paper Monuments is a reliance on the paths that connect individuals engaged in citizen participation, much the way a constellation conveys meaning out of the seeming chaos of stars. This process expands in the examples from Madrid, where the constellation's illumination is magnified through collective engagement. And what both examples are able to do is unthread exclusionary linear histories to produce stories of unlimited possibility, stories of citizens creating their cities. Though freed from the prepotency of the past, these stories are not untethered from the rich traditions of New Orleans and Madrid – that would be as impossible as it is undesirable. However, these citizens[4] stories are not beholden to the authorities of previous generations, because they are not born of them; rather, they are born of a continuous process of redefining and reimagining the constellations of citizen activity.

But why is this constellative genealogy of the stories of cities necessary? First, and most healingly, it reinforces democratic values in the performance of public life. When our histories become focused on authority, it is legitimate to question our reverence for democracy. Second, this radical retelling of the stories of cities affirms

the primacy and present-ness of citizen engagement. Efforts to motivate or encourage citizen engagement in defined projects often ignore that the people of a city are always already engaged. And third, just as astral constellations often referenced specific traditions or heritages while providing guidance into the unknown, a constellative genealogy honors lived experiences by using its wisdom to create and call for progress.

Our concept of history is outdated. Chronologies are not stories; they are closed narratives that have been used to simply justify or erase the failings of authority. But the true stories of cities are bold, complex and open. We must finally tell those stories.

# URBAN PLANNING AGENCIES IN FRANCE, SHARED PUBLIC ENGINEERING FOR SUSTAINABLE LAND MANAGEMENT

**Frédéric Roustan, architect at AGAM**

Urban planning agencies are shared long-term urban and territorial engineering tools, operating in the form of an association in which local authorities, the government and those involved in local planning and development come together.

*The agencies' missions are defined by Article L121-3 of the Town Planning Code:*
*"Along with the government and public institutions or other bodies that contribute to the planning and development of their territory, towns, public institutions for cooperation between local authorities and local and regional authorities can create think tanks and studies termed "urban planning agencies". Theirobjectives include the monitoring of urban developments, participating in the establishment of planning and development policies, the preparation of urban planning documents, especially territorial coherence plans, and preparingagglomeration projects with a view to harmonising public policies."*

They are forums for debate and intermediation between local entities, as well as places of urban and territorial expertise. Their scope of intervention has variable geometries ranging from local communities to regional level. In 2012, France had fifty-three agencies (three in French overseas territories), combined in the Fédération nationale des agences d'urbanisme (FNAU) [National Federation of Urban Planning Agencies], with the objectives of networking, capitalising and communicating the agencies' expertise, to represent them and to ensure a link at national level with the government, associations of regional and local authorities and those involved in territorial and urban development.

**In figures**
Agencies' statutory scope
• **35.5 million inhabitants**
• **257 inter-communality members**
• 12 urban communities
• 62 urban area communities
• 183 federations of municipalities
• **43 member departments**
• **16 member regions with 39 agencies**

## Urban planning agencies in six principles

In December 2005, the presidents of the urban planning agencies set out six principles in the Grenoble manifesto for the operation of urban planning agencies:
**1** a tool created to respond to the shared challenges of developing their territories,
**2** a partnership tool which brings players in the territory together,
**3** a tool working mainly in the scope of a partnership activity program,
**4** a multidisciplinary technical tool,
**5** a tool driven by an ethos of freedom and responsibility,
**6** a tool that works in a network.
The diversified representation of the authorities (towns and inter-communalities, regions and departments) and the presence of the government in urban planning agencies guaranteed the agencies' independence and a balance between their members, as well as a better-organised implementation of the various institutions' urban policies in the context of land planning.

## Observation on a decade of local policies in urban planning agencies

In the last decade, urban planning agencies have been at the forefront in implementing guidelines of local public policies of the Voynet law on Urban Solidarity and Renewal (SRU) on land planning and the Chevènement law on inter-communality, in the diversity of various territorial contexts.
Partnership agreements between the government and FNAU have regularly set out the philosophy and main work guidelines of the network of agencies, as well as their working methods.
A major convention was signed between the Ministry of Infrastructure and FNAU in 2001 setting the implementation of the SRU law as an objective and laying down the principles of the shared partnership program which is the foundation of the agencies' work and whose funding is provided by member subscriptions and grants. This convention has reformed the agencies' three missions: shared territorial monitoring, participation in the development of territorial and urban policiesin the context of coordinating public policies and facilitating local debate.
At the same time, a convention was signed with DATAR in 2001 recognising the agencies as engineering tools for implementing land planning policies. DATAR also decided to support the creation of new urban planning agencies (fonds national d'aménagement et de développement du territoire, FNADT) [National Land Planning and Development Fund]. In this regard, in the space of a decade, 14 new agencies were created in territories that previously were deprived thereof.
The framework agreement between the Ministry of Sustainable Development and FNAU was then renewed in 2008, setting the objective of implementing the Grenelle Environment guidelines.

**In figures**
• **74 SCoT [territorial coherence program] joint associations are members of agencies**
• **84 ongoing SCoT including 39 SCoT Grenelle**
• **24 inter-SCoT processes**
• **42 SDC or DAC carried out by agencies or in progress**

## Agencies and networks of agencies for dealing with land planning issues

Urban planning agencies have been heavily involved in land planning issues over the past decade, particularly in projects for creating new infrastructures, regional policies and metropolitan co-operations.
By producing participant guides and promoting concerted strategies, the network of agencies has strongly contributed to public debates on high-speed lines (LGV), the articulation of their issues and the anticipation of their regional impact, such as the LGV Grand Sud-Est, the Rhine-Rhône link or, more recently, the Paris-Orléans-Clermont-Lyon (POCL) line and the major South-West railway projects (GPSO). The agencies also work on motorway issues, such as the Strasbourg bypass or the redevelopment of urban motorways, as well as on development issues surrounding airports, such as in the case of Lyon Saint-Exupéry.
The agencies were also involved in metropolitan cooperation projects from the early stages where they contributed to the thought process, especially when it came to responses to the call for projects by DATAR in 2005. In 2006, FNAU produced publications with DATAR which put metropolitan systems and senior metropolitan posts in perspective at national level.
The agencies also assisted with regional land planning policies, as in Rhône-Alpes, with the work on the railways and major project sites supported by the Region. These regional or metropolitan works have often served as templates for the development of networks of agencies.

**Urban agencies of the Mediterranean arc, a network originating around the LGV line
(Alpes-Maritimes, Toulon, Marseille, Aix, Avignon, Nîmes, Perpignan)**
The agencies mobilized players in their territories in order to build a strategy for hosting and developing the future LGV. The ability of local players to appropriate the new infrastructure and prepare for its arrival to take full advantage of it is a key factor. It was a question of ensuring that the territories were well-served by the TGV and promoting urban and economic development projects, particularly concerning stations.
The agencies were also involved in indicating that the new accessibility could support a Europe-wide network, linking the towns of the greater metropolitan area emerging from the large Rhône delta

and the towns and cities of the Riviera, this accessibility being accompanied by a coordinated policy of economic development and strengthening of higher-level urban functions.

## Urban planning agencies, urban project upstream engineering

Urban agencies support conurbation urban projects and urban renewal efforts in a very diverse manner.

They carry out upstream urban studies on the urban project, land strategies making it possible to understand the changeable nature of spaces, they assume a role that involves guiding and preparing designer consultations, and they can also organise involvement in the urban project.

They have also worked extensively on preparing operations of national interest (OIN) such as for Seine-Aval, Saint-Étienne and Bordeaux, identifying and assisting with applications for projects supported by the National Agency for Urban Renewal (ANRU) or for the National Program of Regeneration of Derelict Districts (PN-RQAD).

Some agencies actively contribute to the implementation of these urban renewal projects such as agAM in Marseille, which is involved with the XXVI-century park, Old Port development and Euromediterranée 2 projects, etc.

The agency in Saint-Nazaire is responsible for managing the ANRU Nazaire operation. The Atelier parisien d'urbanisme (APUR) [Paris Urbanism Agency] assumes the long-term role of preparing and monitoring major urban projects in Paris, such as the Berges de Seine project.

## Urban planning agencies, visionary forums and "think tank" of urban strategies

With their multi-player and multi-scale scope, urban agencies are ideal for hosting new town design practices, based on the co-production of the players. The Toulouse and Bordeaux agencieshost the "urban think tank" which brings together civil society, practitioners and researchers.

Territorial foresight is one of the fundamental bases of the agencies. Faced with complexity and uncertainty, today there is a revival and a renewal of methods.

Agencies have developed innovative approaches to mobilising local players, such as in Nantes and Saint-Nazaire or Strasbourg. Alongside DATAR, the network of agencies will endeavour to initiate discussionson the 2040 territory national prospective approach and local perspectives.

## The Fabrique toulousaine [Toulouse think tank], understanding and thinking about the city together

Initiated in 2009 by the city of Toulouse before being extended to the Greater Toulouse metropolitan area in 2010, the Fabrique toulousaine is defined as a process of consultation and co-development of the urban project. The plan initially called upon a broad spectrum of local professionals and players anda number of key experts.

The urban planning agency (AUAT), closely involved with the Greater Toulouse services, contributed to the design and implementation of the plan, including the involvement of the city's players in the workshops. At the same time, an online virtual workshop was developed by AUAT which currently combines nearly 700 professional players. Secondly, the inhabitants were listened to as they were able to report on the city that they experience on a daily basis. Being real experiences

of the city, their accounts contributed to a project where the objective is to provide a better life for everyone.

# THE ROLE OF A CITY AGENCY IN THE PROBLEM SPATIALIZATION: LESSONS FROM PARIS, LES HALLES TOWORD THE NEW EU AGENDA

Daniele Campobenedetto[1] and Giulia Sonetti[2]

## Abstract

The main goal of this contribution is to explore the role of the Atelier Parisien d'Urbanisme (APUR) as a city agency (CA) in charge of sev-eral different tasks within the shift from urban renovation to urban form, concerning the city of Paris. This was possible thanks to a negotiation pro-cess involving diffe-rent institutions, as well as architects and urban design-ers, in which APUR took a major role on the technical, political and cultural level. This paper moves from the "comparative history" method and takes APUR as a case study to reflect upon the importance of the spatialization of the problems made by a CA to nurture and activate innovation in the urban policy-making process. Lessons from this case are drawn in the light of the current literature review on CA and policy im-plementation and innovation, as well as of EU urban agen-da pillars, in which CAs have a privileged posi-tion between top-down policies and bottom-up initiatives, but still missing a close relationship with the EU level. Recommendation con-cerning skills and methodologies for a CAs as wished in the current EU urban agenda are drawn by the APUR success case: deictic, resilient (adaptable), able to cata-lyse different cultural, political and architectonical views and connecting dif-ferent zones of transformation (not focusing on just one area). Eventually, this contribution acknowledges the crucial role of problems spatialization as the first step to analyse them. Their representation in space, usual responsi-bility of a CA, is even more crucial (and potentially influential) in the deci-sion-making process, in engaging the local system of stakeholders and in ef-fectively translating ideas into real ur-ban transformation projects.

## Keywords

## Introduction

Between the end of the 1960s and the 1980s, the city of Paris faced a period of extensive urban transformation and a contemporane-ous tune in the governance of these processes.

Paris was demanded to be the modern city of the new century, in a period when leaders were looking at new identities to place France as the top-tip country in Europe. Since the early Fifties, a strong operational activity has been running in parallel with these attempts to create cultural imaginaries.

In these, the Atelier Parisien d'Urbanisme (hereafter APUR) was ap-pointed as a proper city agency: a bureaucratic entity in charge of different tasks for both shaping policy innovation and constituting a primary site of stakeholders' en-gagement, accompanying the shift from an urban renovation to a new urban form.

The aim of this paper is to take APUR as a case study to reflect upon the im-portance of the spatialization of the problems made by a city agency (CA), to nurture and activate innovation in the urban policy-making process.

The method draws from the idea of "comparative history" rein-vigorated by Bloch in his 1928 article, "Toward a Comparative History of European Societies" (Bloch, 1928). Some premises that made the authors select this method and the Halles case study are connected to the assumptions that we might imagine that some of these phenomena are the effect of similar causal processes, so the com-parison can help to identify causal conditions and regularities. This approach implies that we think of social structures and proces-ses as being part of a causal system, where it is possible to identify recurring causal conditions.

Moreover, the comparison might serve to identify functional alter-natives - the multiple ways that different social systems have evol-ved to handle these func-tional needs.

The reported example gives an account of institutional and political processes in the transformation of Paris, acknowledging the crucial role of problems spatiali-zation as the first step to analyse them. Its representation in space, usual respon-sibility of a CA, is even more crucial (and potentially influential) in the decision-making process, in engaging the local system of stakeholders and in effectively tran-slating ideas into real urban transformation projects.

Therefore, the structure of the paper is the following:
In the first paragraph the aims of the current EU urban agenda are re-traced, highlighting the role (and the current gaps) of city agen-cies to influence and shape the policy process at EU level, and as one of the primary sites of stakeholder's engagement.

Then, a paragraph is dedicated to the Paris context, justifying the use of APUR as a valuable case study to the extent of our aim. The etiologic, cultural and political processes leading to the appoint-ment of APUR as an essential actor in translating the aforementio-ned shift into operative terms are described.

Further subparagraphs illustrate the case of the Halles in which APUR took a major role in the negotiation process involving diffe-

rent institutions, as well as architects and urban designers. Each of the subsections highlights the problems spatialization as a crucial tool used by APUR as CA on the technical, cultural and political levels.

Considering the framework offered by the urban agenda, conclusions draw les-sons from the APUR case to explore its potential and criticalities in defining a new role for the city agency.

## City agency in current EU Urban agenda

A problem spatialization approach is crucial to give a clear tool to decision mak-ers and influence their focus. Even when not mentioning it explicitly, EU policies focus on different axes dealing with problem spatialization. On the inclusion axis, space may act as public representation of a shared identity, or may draw boundaries around some spatial and temporal domains and excluding others from these domains (Groth & Corijn, 2005; Sasaki, 2010); on the housing axis, a spati-alization scheme makes visible the division of social life into public and private spheres (Biehl, 2015), where exclusion may emerge as an operating mechanism, an institutiona-lized form of controlling access to places, to activities, to re-sources and information (Madanipour, 2015); on the local economy axis, efforts in spatializing accessibility to public / private services make iso-benefits curves quantifying the increase of property value in re-lation to urban factors such as green, open space, noise, public transport, pleasant view, etc. (D'Acci, 2014); eventually, the analy-sis of urban policies under the mobility lens shall tackle impacts that are widely differentiated in space (Gusdorf, Hallegatte, & Lahellec, 2008; Seto et al., 2012).

In all the case studies taken into consideration by the literature cited so far, the city agency (CA) is the entity in charge of a transdiscipli-nary process of multi-stakeholder inclusion (Foulds & Christensen, 2016; Foulds, Robison, Balint, & Sonetti, 2017) and thus of the problem spatialization, both as cultural driver and as process driver (Garschagen et al., 2018). Local Development Agen-cies, Urban Think Tanks, Urban Innovation Hubs, Urban Laboratories, Living Labs, are kind of CAs that the Pact of Amsterdam (PA) stresses as subsidiary subjects and as hotspot to activate policies and projects and programs to address inequalities, city agencies still experiment with several difficulties in influencing the innovative urban practice (Bulkeley et al., 2009; Nagorny-Koring & Nochta, 2018; Peng & Bai, 2018). At the heart of these problems, certainly lies a question about the degree and type of autonomy that towns and cities might have in shap-ing their economic, environmental, social and cultu-ral geography.

Beyond its characteristic as a political ideal, city's autonomy surfa-ces from spe-cific sectors of particular societies and through their relationship with national and regional politics (Jacobs, 2016). The spatial templates for autonomy are not predetermined but can be enhanced in multiple different sites and forms of polit-ical space within the city, and the enhancement of a spatialization tool appe-

ars essential for the integration and strengthening of capacities for sustainable and just forms of development. In the literature concer-ning lesson drawing and policy transfer, the institutional context for policy transfer has been framed in the do-main of territorial gover-nance with the purpose of reducing conceptual complexi-ty as far as possible. This led many scholars (Dolowitz & Marsh 1996, 2000, Cotella and Rivolin, 2014) to the identification of three possible modes for trans-ferring 'features of good territorial governance' in the EU – namely dialogic, operational and institutional modes.

This paper draws from a comparative historical perspective trying to ana-lyse the case of APUR in the French context of the 70s and 80s under the light of the actual opportunity of problem spatializa-tion by a CAs. The description of this case can foster the dialogic mode for transferring good territorial governance initiates with the capacity of the EU discourse to influence one or more domestic di-scourses and, from here, relevant practices in direct or indirect ways (i.e. via domestic tools or structure). This direct implementation of the dialogic mode concerns the transfer of features of good territo-rial governance from the discur-sive arenas into domestic practices, that may have similarities within the APUR case study and therefore may be influenced also indirectly in a longer period, if such dome-stic discourse is able to have an effect on domestic structures (like in the drafting of the plan-masse for the Halles) or tools (like in the schéma d'ossature).

## The APUR case study in the Paris context during the 70s and the 80s

The transformations of Paris during the 1970s and 1980s give a wide spectrum of the operational scheme in which a CA can ope-rate, following patterns also recog-nisable in a multi-stakeholder inclusion retraceable in the PA (funding, public role, technician's role, intellectual's role, etc.).

In this perspective we can consider APUR as CA that was able to cope with the role that EU envision for CA, i.e. be instrumentally used as a "translational" de-vice, a "trading zone" between diffe-rent instances, issues, interests, languages, concepts and concerns, focusing on space as a central issue to address themes as segre-gation and problem representation (Campobenedetto, 2017). This happened on three levels: technical, cultural and political, as shown in the following sub-paragraphs.

### APUR as CA on a technical level

APUR was the CA in charge of verifying regulations via concrete special configu-ration, basically answering questions like: "What scenario is this rule allowing?" or "What rules may allow the city that is here represented?" One example of that task was the con-sultation about the Halles in 1967.

At the beginning of the Fifties, the Halles is already considered

as one of the main elements of the renewal of the rive droite, so that the Prefecture defined, in 1954, a perimeter of study for their transformation ("Études préliminaires au Schemas Directeur de l'Aménagement Souterrain des Halles," 1978).

It promises to be the largest urban operation in the historic centre, but the first operational steps will be recorded only in the early 1960s. This climate of debate on the centre of Paris suggests the beginning of a season of confrontation be-tween different paradigms for the transformation of the city. A season with dif-ferent characteristics from that starting in 1919 with the law Cornudet, which opened the reflections on the expansion of the Parisian metropolis and which had accepted the utopias of Le Corbusier. It was different because it questioned the transformation of the consolidated city, proposing the reuse of spaces and the modification of rights, but above all because, this time, the transformation pro-posals were operative.

In these premises, the possibility of proceeding with the design of the Halles area by a "consultation-upon-invitation" became increasingly clear. The consultation for the Renovation of the Halles was launched in February 1967 a few months after the approval of the definitive project for the central station of the RER, and the birth of a new bureaucratic agency: the Atelier Parisien d'Urbanisme (APUR). In the first six months of 1967, APUR was asked to organize the first phase of the consultation, for making explicit and widening the various paradigms of the transformation of the city.

The attempt to create such a "collection" of paradigms is retractable in the same list of guests who should have represented different design attitudes - at least in the intentions of the Prefect.

Those teams were asked to draw up preliminary projects (esquisses), on the basis of a common program, with a focus on one specific function among the ones that the Prefecture wished to establish at the Halles.

Looking at their list, the invited designers resemble not only a collection of dif-ferent points of view on the city but also a delicate game of political mediation, in which every institution has his champion.

At the end of this first consultation phase, the planning strategies run on two par-allel levels. On the one hand, the institutions, under pressure for the realisation of the central station of the RER, seem to be willing to transform the area by the end of the decade. On the other hand, the consultation itself stresses a further alea added to the search for paradigms: the need of a program. This opens up a phase in which the Halles become the ground for reali-sing ambitions and interests of a multiplicity of stakeholders. While projects for the Halles are entrusted to the architects, APUR takes the shape of an intermediary between designers and insti-tutions, analysing the existing situation and investigating further issues to be addressed: a role that will prove to be pivotal when uncertainties in visions and programs are relevant. Projects presented by the six te-ams explore architectural solutions against an undefined program and a conflictual institutional landscape (that leads to taking the APUR as a valuable case study to better understand to-day's EU

local context).

Eventually, the APUR consultation does not produce useful projects to address the transformation of the Halles area. This was probably the result the Prefecture itself wished to have since it rather opens a methodological debate on the trans-formation of the city and its forms. A debate intended to permeate the whole af-fair and which does not elicit a winner. To remedy the impasse, the Conseil ap-points an ad hoc commission, led by the jurist and the Ministry of Justice of the Republic, René Capitant. It is in this moment that the Atelier Parisien d'Urban-isme re-enters the scene, abandoning the marginal role played so far.

Indeed, the drafting of the plan-masse for the Halles required a multidisciplinary structure able to manage complex urban studies. After the favourable reactions by the Conseil de Paris about the proposals of the commission, in October 1968 the gestation of a plan signed by APUR takes place. It is a new tool (a schéma d'os-sature ), which is interesting to our purpose since it does not have the char-acteristics of a schèma directeur, i.e. it does not fix areas in which there is a ho-mogeneous set of rules, nor it has a purely stra-tegic orientation, like regional planning documents. However, it is not even a plan-masse, where locations and forms of the buildings, along with their functions, are established to define a framework for future architectural projects. Experimentations on the thin line between the definition of the rules and the definition of the shapes show through. The schéma d'ossature becomes a sort of operatio-nal skeleton, on which archi-tectural projects, individual stakes and political visions can cling.

Thus, the scheme does not define the Halles transformation projects in its forms but gives precise indications regarding the general ap-proach in terms of architec-tural shapes and the spatial relation-ships with the surroundings.

The role of the APUR in the Halles transformation process is cru-cial to under-stand the challenges that CAs are facing. In the first moment, the schéma d'ossature solves a big problem regarding the development of a transformation process which was quite new at that time. The projects presented in the competi-tion were too precise to be used as drivers to the transformation of the area. This was due to the lack of public and institutional debate regarding the transfor-mation itself. The strategy of the APUR, thanks to the frame provided by the Cap-itant Commission, helped the debate not by providing pros and cons of the vari-ous solutions, but rather throu-gh the spatialization of less precise but clear con-figurations. In this context, APUR is called upon to absorb all objections from the State and the municipality and to mediate through an experimental tool design tool, the schéma d'ossature, not yet included in formal urban planning proce-dures.

**APUR as CA on a cultural level**

APUR was the CA producing a real transformation of the architectu-

ral and socio-logical culture of its era, as well as of citizens' opinion on urban facts. In the mid-seventies, the consequences of the Paris transformation project into a modern city show their limits. In the city centre, the relationship between the legacy of the past and the need for change is very problematic, while in the suburbs the chess check to the grands ensembles is quite evident. This will lead to a broader change in the policy of transformation of the Parisian fabric promoted by the President of the Republic and accepted by the Conseil de Paris.

In the mid-Seventies is declared the end of the construction of the towers' neigh-bourhoods in the 13ème arrondissement, and the project of the Apogée tower in Place d'Italie: all these projects would have continued the transformation of Paris with the same principles of the Front de Seine and the Olympiades district (Maymont, 1967).

It would be wrong, however, to read these changes as the effect of a presidential willingness to put order. This could lead to a very risky simplification that does not consider the change in the rules through which the city is transformed, which already occurred under the Pompidou presidency. Within this dynamics, two axes for the interpretation of a renewed CA's role can be traced.

The world of co-optation and spontaneous attempts to legitimating the revolving around the Halles changes in turn while Giscard d'Estaing revises previous urban policies.

Considering the liability of the state's autocratic power on Paris land, and the need to rethink large areas of the city, one can perhaps better understand the in-troduction of the competition procedures within the code des travaux publics. They aimed at increasing communication with citizens, comparing different ur-ban approaches and testing the responsiveness of the actors involved in the transformation of the area.

The result seems to be a redefinition of the role of designers who, from suppliers of actual solutions, are now called to stimulate re-actions between private actors, institutions, and public opinion and to express scenarios carrying strategic value.

As a body tasked with carrying out town planning studies, the APUR is now part of the new dynamics implemented through the public works code.

Even before the turn of Giscard, and simultaneously with the introduction of new competition rules, the Atelier had in fact developed a series of studies that devi-ate from the previous paradigm of urban transformation (Rouleau, 1975 and 1985).

This work on the planning regulation lead by APUR traces path for taking into account the different landscapes of Paris, breaking with the plan d'urbanisme directeur of 1967, re-considering the block, the parcel and the road and conse-quently the prescription of alignments or heights: this will lead to a new system of rules for the transformation of the city. Between 1973 and 1974 the APUR meets a season of new hires, especially architects who complex the inner vision. These new architects let the Atelier come out of a phase in which its contribution was just technical-analytical, translating transformations into schemes of projects (the consultation in 1967 and

the schéma d'ossature are examples) and political indications. The CA incorporated the attention to urban forms and stratification that entered the schools of architecture only from those years on. APUR contrib-uted to a significant cultural shift within the administration by providing material in support of decisions that were able to transpose the debate going on within the architectural milieu. In other words, the CA was able to help decision makers (i.e. the Prefecture and the Conseil de Paris) updating them on the contemporary aca-demic and cultural milieu through design pamphlets.

This specific characteristic of APUR brings us to the third axis of reflection for a currently desired and renewed CA role: the political one.

**APUR as CA on a political level**

In the last phase of the transformation of the Halles (1977-mid 1980s), APUR was the entity providing urban scenarios or even projects to help the decision-making processes.

In 1977, with the election of Jacques Chirac as mayor, the changes in the urban transformation strategies affect the entire city. Presented to a new political force willing to systemise the urban transformations, APUR is in a special position: architects and engineers had already managed the transformations of the Halles, the Villette and the Southeast Seine sectors, thus accumulating a useful experi-ence for the newly reformed city institutions.

A further period of uncertainty opens up: supported by Jacques Chirac, the Atel-ier advances a proposal for the Halles, starting from the drawings developed for the area in 1974. This proposal shifts the attention from the architectural forms and claims for monumentality to the consideration of the urban context. Chirac is concerned about open space that must have an «accompanying architecture» with volumes similar to those of the surrounding historical fabric. In addition to the renunciation of the monumental character of the intervention, in the inten-tions of Chirac the public space becomes the central element. The new project will have to re-establish the connection with the Centre Pompidou through a sys-tem of pedestrian streets that replaces the underground connections designed in 1969.

Hence, an issue emerges, concerning the subjects called to lead the planning phases of this new orientation. Looking at the political ter-rain, it does not seem so unusual that who is playing a fundamental role in the transformation of the Halles is, once again, an interme-diary between technical and political dimensions like the APUR.

The Atelier's activity of synthesis and coordination acquires also new features in these phases.

The APUR scenarios (even when rough projects) are used to in-struct, and some time to guide, the process of political decisions. In a context where the way in which political decisions are instructed is irrelevant, a pivotal role for a CA as seen in the case of APUR seems meeting the Urban Agenda call. Indeed, the APUR not only returns to perform the architect's coordination but also becomes

the subject that designs the public space.

## Conclusion for a renewed role of CAs from the APUR Case Study to EU recommendations

A city agency (CA) is an entity in charge of the problem spatialization, both as a cultural driver and as process driver. Local Development Agencies, Urban Think Tanks, Urban Innovation Hubs, Urban Laboratories, Living Labs, are kind of CAs that the Pact of Amsterdam (PA) stresses as subsidiary subjects and as hotspot to activate policies and projects and programs to address inequalities, but still they experiment several difficulties in influencing the innovative urban practice. The role of a city agency in the spatialization of these problems seems to lack specific methodologies, tools and techniques to involve/enable/educate/empower the local system of stakeholders. This paper moves from the comparative history method reinvigorated by Marc Bloch's ideas in his 1928 article, "Toward a Com-parative History of European Societies," (Bloch, 1928) (reprinted in (Lane, 1953)). In fact, the transformations of Paris the Halles during the 1970 and 1980 give a wide spectrum of the operational scheme in which a CA can operate, fol-lowing patterns also recognisable in a multi-stakeholder inclusion retraceable in the PA (funding, public role, technician's role, intellectual's role, etc.).

APUR as CA that was able to cope with the role that EU envision for CA, i.e. be instrumentally used as a "translational" device, a "trading zone" between differ-ent instances, issues, interests, languages, concepts and concerns, focusing on space as a central issue to address themes as isolation and problem representa-tion.

This happened on three levels: technical, cultural and political via a shared rep-resentation of space: not only for citizens but also (and above all) for policy and decision makers and many different stakeholders (nurtured by the context of rights, identities, cultures, economies).

APUR was indeed the entity:
- in charge of verifying regulations via concrete special configura-tion, basically answering questions like: "What scenario is this rule allowing?" or "What rules may allow the city that is here represen-ted?";
- producing from the inner level a real transformation of the ar-chitectural and sociological culture of its era, as well as of citizens' opinion on urban facts;
- making urban scenarios or even projects to help the decision pro-cesses.

In the cases reviewed by the literature and in the one of the Halles taken as a deep case study, problem spatialization emerged to be so important for the fol-lowing reasons:
- for the representation of space, as a means to raise conflicts in the early phase of a project and to allow inclusive urban transfor-mation.
- as a tool to support decisions on the policy level, rather than "just"

a public opinion communication tool.
- for that humus necessary to entail a back and forth communica-tion be-tween policy makers and public opinion, in which CA are a key representative filter.
- for allowing public bodies to take decisions and citizens to under-stand the goals of urban transformation (and not just the shapes of the project).

While this is particularly valuable for city plans or specific areas of transfor-mation, the spatialization works also on another level, such as the coordination of small project driven by private actors within the city. A CA like the APUR was proven to be the only in-termediary actor that has the political position to take the task of problem spatialization, deictic for the chosen time-space frame and there-fore overarching layer and nets of transformations and tran-sformed areas, rather than isolated areas.
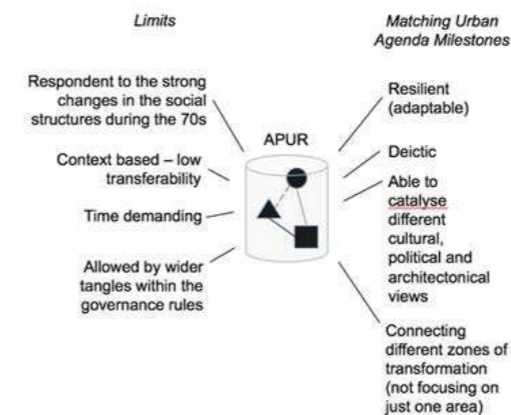


**Fig. 1.** *Limits and transferability of the APUR as a CA following the Urban Agenda fea-tures.*

This work does have some limitations (Fig. 1) due to the strong influence of the context in its ability to draw and inform the urban transformation scenarios. APUR was indeed strongly respondent to the dramatic changes in the French so-cial structure during the 1960s, building a very time-demanding process allowed by wider tangles within the governance rules. However, the scarce transfe-rability still qualifies and maintain recommendation for skills and methodologies for a CAs as wished in the current EU urban agen-da: deictic, resilient (adaptable), able to catalyse different cultural, political and architectonical views and connecting different zones of transformation (not focusing on just one area).

Eventually, this contribution acknowledges the crucial role of pro-blemspatializa-tion as the first step to analyse them. Their repre-sentation in space, usually re-sponsibility of a CA, is even more crucial (and potentially influential) in the de-cision making process often closed in a black box and left sinking with rules, norms, rights, values not able to engage the local system of stakeholders and ef-fectively translate ideas into real urban transformation projects.

## Acknowledgement

## List of acronyms

APUR: Atelier Parisien d'Urbanisme
CA: City Agency
PA: Pact of Amsterdam
RER: Réseau Express Régional

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# CONNECTING AGENCIES IN LISBON,
## Insights from the H2020 poject ROCK

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## Abstract

The article discusses a new model of participatory governance in Lisbon by providing theoretical reflection and empirical knowledge fromthe action of two urban agencies: the "Centre of Urban Information of Lisbon" (CIUL) and the "Municipal Offices in Support of Neighbourhoods in Need of Priority Intervention" (Gabips). While the CIUL has provided civil society with information about and space for debate on urban policies, the Gabips have supported urban regeneration in priority areas with the participation of local agents.
The CIUL and the Gabips are framed within the political agenda of the Municipality of Lisbon to foster a new relationship between the local government and civil society, which has resulted in new channels and opportunities for citizen participation. Both agencies, however, also point to different stances on citizen participation that are worth analysing. While the CIUL can be understood in light of the literature on the constitution and global spreading of the Urban Centers, the Gabips represent genuine evidence of locally based participatory governance.
Insights from the text allow for reflection on the design of a new model of participatory governancebased on the creation of political and administrative conditions to allow the CIUL and the Gabips to connect and maximise their functions.
Key-words: Urban Center; participatory governance; CIUL; Gabip; Lisbon

## Introduction

Citizenry trust towards democratic representatives and institutions has massively decreased worldwide (Foster and Magdoff 2009). Althoughsome scholars have pointed at the cyclical crises of representative democracies as inherent to democracy itself (Crozier et al. 1975), discontent grows as global financial transactions seem to overwhelm the political system (Woods 2006). While the dominance of the global market questions the role of the State, the financial crisis erupted in the end of 2008 proved that the impacts of socioeconomic inequalities have been especially harsh forsome democracies (Balbona and Begega 2015).
Against the risk of contagion from the financial crisis, countries in the peripheral Eurozone were forced to adopt austerity measures supported by the bailouts of international lenders, such as the International Monetary Fund and the European Union. In Southern European countries, austerityaimed at ensuring the international competitiveness of weak national economies within the global market. However, their implementation decreased the perception of popular sovereignty and aggravated the critical outlook of citizenry trust towards political representatives and institutions (Lapavitsas 2012). Against this backdrop, attempts to provide citizens with tools and spaces for active engagement in public decision-making have been promoted worldwide. Scientific debate on the inclusion of social actors in policy networks dates back to the 1960s and 1970s (Hill and Hupe 2002). More recently, scholars have been extremely sensitive about the new courses of democracy and, accordingly, have discussed thresholds, layers, and challenges of new patterns of governance (Fung and Wright 2003). Along with this literature, the conceptualisation of citizen participation has allowed to understand the means through which those who do not have a voice in standard decision-making can be provided with the concrete opportunity to influence final decisions. Lessons learned from Arnstein's milestone contribution (1971) make clear that different institutional designs of citizen participation drive to different ways of distributing power and control over decision-making.
In the last decades, civil society has been invited toparticipatein a wide range of policy fields, such as urban planning, health, social care, education, etc. (Smith 2009; Gaventa and Barret 2010).The creation of new spaces for the incorporation of citizens' voices has pursued the aim of sharing decisions on matters of public concern while attending to the needs of enhanced governance (Fung and Wright 2003). Considering the potential for innovating democratic governanceand recovering trust between citizens and institutions, participatory practices have been praised by international and transnational agenciesas well (EU 2001; OECD 2001; UNDESA 2008).
Guidelines and reports produced by international and transnational agencies in the last years suggest the emergence of a common urban agenda that encourages the engagement of citizens in the

decision-making. As exemplified by the European Charter of Local Self-Government (COE 1985) "[t]he right of citizens to participate in the conduct of public affairs is one of the democratic principles that are shared by all member States of the Council of Europe. This right shall be exercised by assemblies of citizens, referendums or any other form of direct citizen participation where it is permitted by statute." The recent issuance of the New Urban Agenda (Habitat III)[1] and the European Urban Agenda in 2016 confirm that cities are expected toexperiment new forms of local, interconnected, and multi-level innovation in policymaking with place and people based approaches[2].

The leading role of cities in the adoption and dissemination of "democratic innovations" necessarily recalls broader considerations on the process of global urbanisation (McFarlane and Söderström2017). Cities host more than 50% of the world's population and produce more than 70% of the GDP. Their strategic role in the regulation of the global financial system makes cities – not without controversy – the outposts of new social, economic and political processes and experiments. However, concerns arise as trends of "localist" approachesmay decrease the potential of transformation brought about by participatory practices at large (Bailey & Pill, 2011). Some scholars argue thatthe dominance of a romanticized view of local communities is often paired by risksof neutralisation of the social conflicts and depoliticisation ofemergingstruggles (Miraftab 2009). At occasion,citizen participation can be instrumental to detach local communitiesfrom politically relevant issues by proposing minor, if not trivial, topics for deliberation(Moini 2011; Falanga 2018a)

With this in mind, focus on the role of the Urban Centers (hereafter UCs) allows zooming in on a set of multiple experiences of citizen participation. The Observatory on Urban Centers, led by the University Sapienza of Rome and the Italian Urban PlanningInstitute, estimates the existence of around 13 UCs in Europe (Austria, France, Germany, Netherlands, Spain, and UK), with 22 UCs in Italy, and 5 in North America[3]. As Monardo and De Bonis (2007) argue, in the last few decadesUCs have provided civil society with public information and, in some cases, spaces for debate with citizens. Milestone experiences in the United States show the extent to which transparent lobbying from civil society, as well as the creation of think tanks and advocacy groups in the field of urban planning has often prevented UCs from the ups-and-downs of political decisions and electoral cycles (Monardo, 2007). More recently, the diffusion of UCs has been peculiar worldwide, as the adoption of regulatory frameworks and institutional designs has showed great diversity, and the action of UCs has considerably expanded over a wide range of urban policies.

Falanga and Nunes (2019) argue that there are four key factors that permit to understand the multiple models of UCs. Firstly, the statutory framework that can be dependent on either public authorities or private entities, as well as rely on mixed models of management. Secondly, the ethos that defines the functionsdisplayed with citizens aligns with what Monardo advocatesonUCs as the "megaphone"

of the Municipality, which promote local government-led initiatives and programmes; UCs as the "antenna" of civil society, which favour the capture of inputs and information from citizens; and UCs as the "arenas" of debate among different actors, including institutional and grassroots agents. Arenas can rely on face-to face and online tools to provide far-reaching access to the public addressed by the UC and ensure that the interaction produces consistent outputs for urban governance(personal interview of the author in December 2017). Thirdly, Falanga and Nunes argue (ibidem) that UCs can engage either the general public or select the groups to be involved in their initiatives. Finally, UCs are distinguished according to the scale of action, namely the city centre and peri-urban areas. While scientific literature on UCs is extraordinarily scarce, with this conceptual framework in mind,the article reflects upon the UC of Lisbon, the Centro de Informação Urbana de Lisboa (hereafter: CIUL), and the potential connections that it could promote forward with other urban agencies in the city. In particular, light is shed on the Gabips, which are decentralised offices of the Municipality of Lisbon in support to urban regeneration in priority areas.

The socio-territorial characteristics of Lisbon and the challenges that both CIUL and Gabips unfold in the city could be considerably increased through the establishment of a system of citizen participation that interconnects the city centre with priority areas. The potential connections between the CIUL and the Gabips allow to explore the extent to which degrees of citizen engagement promoted in urban policymaking and spatial distribution of urban agencies can favour (or hinder) citizen participation. Accordingly, the text argues that the example of Lisbon proves how theadoption of new configurations of urban agencies in local contexts can foster new models of participatory governance.

Insights from the CIUL and the Gabipsare shared as part of the research that is being conducted within the EU-funded project ROCK "Regeneration and Optimization of Cultural heritage in creative and Knowledge cities", which aims to promote citizen participation and regeneration in neighbourhoods affected by critical urban issues[4]. The article first provides an outline of the Portuguese socio-political context, withfocus on Lisbon; secondly, it describes the main functions of the CIUL and the main goals of the Gabips constituted in priority areas; lastly, the paper reflects on the potential connections between the two agenciestowards a new model of participatory governance.

## The Portuguese socio-political context and the expansion of citizen participation

After the establishment of the parliamentary democracy in 1974, and subsequent opening of the national economy to the market, Portugal faced a global financial depression in the 1970s. After the country was annexed to the European Economic Community in 1985, a great debate wasinitiated on the opportunity to constitute regional bodies against the polarisation of central and local powers

that led to the creation of regional administrative bodies appointed by the national government(Ruivo et al. 2011).

More recently, as the massive deindustrialization of the countryweakeneditsperformancein the international economics, the State has beenincreasingly pressuredto retreat from the regulation of the national market (Balbona and Begega 2015). During the recent global financial crisis started in the end of 2008, Portugal was requested by the European Union to advance with structural reforms in the State to counteract inflation and ensure the international competitiveness within the global market (Lapavitsas2012). Amongst the implementation of the austerity package between 2011 and 2014, the New Urban Lease Act Law 6/2006 pursued goals of rationalisation and efficiencyto restructure local administrations and balance rights and obligations of property owners and tenants (Teles 2016). However, the austerity measures also caused the spread of socioeconomic retrenchment that aggravated the already negative outlook of citizenry trust towards political representatives and institutions (OECD 2015; Falanga, 2018a).

The last three years have seen a fast economic growth in the country, pushed forward by the expansionary agenda of the national government elected in 2015. However, the combination between the boom of tourism and the dismantling of the welfare state especially raises concerns as regards the sustainability of the recovery in the long run (Falanga and Tulumello 2018). The metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto provide some of the most impactful insights on the deep socioeconomic cleavages produced by the unequal distribution of socioeconomic resources. Recent data published by the Observatory on poverty in Lisbon show that the massive investment of big capitals in real estate is exponentially increasing the prices of housing, estimated 30% higher than in 2016. As a consequence, from around three hundred in 2013 to almost nine thousand people applied for socialhousing in 2017. Salaries, however, do not follow similar trends, andsocial subsidies for unemployment have decreased for both young and middle-age people[5].

Against this backdrop, the spreading and consolidation of experiments inthe field of citizen participation has been remarkable in the country. In the last decade, thedissemination of participatory processesgrew massively andpeaked in the last few years (Dias and Júlio 2018).Available data from the national observatory of participatory processesshow that more than 200 participatory processes are being implemented on a total of 308 municipalities and 3092 parishes[6]. The expansion of citizen participation at the local level is paired by the promotion of three participatory budgets at the national level since 2017 and one participatory budget on a regional scale in 2018, issued and managed by the autonomous region of Azores[7].The three national participatory budgets are promoted by the national government, which is ledby the Socialist Party in coalition with the Communist party and the Left Block since 2015 and in opposition to the austerity politics (Falanga 2018b).

By zooming in on Lisbon, the local council aimed to countervail some of the critical effects of the austerity measures in the city with an agenda that put citizen participation as a key pillar of urban

governance. The mayor of the city and leader of the leftist coalition between the socialist party and the movement "Citizens for Lisbon" included the participatory budget in the municipal plan, in addition to other initiatives of public deliberation and consultation. The reform of the local administration in 2010[8] and the adjustments imposed during the years of austerity did not interrupt the public commitment with citizen participation.

Aftera pivotal process in 2007,the city hosted the first participatory budget implemented on a municipal scale by a European capital city in 2008 (Cabannes 2009). The participatory budget provided citizens with power to deliberate over public measures on a dedicated share of the municipal budget (around 1%). Along with the participatory budget, the local council initiated the BIPZIP programme, acronym of 'priority areas and neighbourhoods', in 2011. The programme relies on the identification of the areas and neighbourhoods that deserve special public action, which is the basis for the action of GABIPs as described below.

## Connecting urban agencies

The Municipality of Lisbon has placed citizen participation as one of the northern stars of its model of governance. This choice takes on a special relevance due to the socio-political and socioeconomic features of Lisbon and metropolitan area, which hosts around 3 million inhabitants, corresponding to about a quarter of the Portuguese population, and 25% of active population. Themetropolitan area also hosts 30% of national enterprises, and contributes to more than 36% to the national GDP. While about 500 thousand people live in the city, and more than one million people circulate daily for work, the exponential growth ofthe tourism industry and related investment of capital in new economic activities, real estate and housing are radically transforming urban indicators.

In this context, urban agencies can play a key role in fostering a new model of participatory governance. Although the city hosts several initiatives of this kind, the lack of connections among urban agencies emerges as an issue to be more thoroughly addressed. The institution of the CIUL, and the issuance of the BIPZIP Chart and its tools, are proof of the opening up of different channels of citizen participation that barely speak to each other.

### The CIUL
The Municipality of Lisbon instituted the Centreof Urban Informationof Lisbon (CIUL) in 2005[9]. The CIUL was created by the Department of Planning, Land-Use, and Urban Rehabilitation to provide civil society with an open space for public consultation of urban planning documents. The CIUL was established in a building close to the historical centre, and its combined space of 1200 m2 hosts a scale model of the city of Lisbon; an open space for students; and an auditorium.

In 2014, the Department aimed to reinforcethe role of the CIULby encouraging the dissemination of knowledge on urban policie-

sbeyond urban planningstrictu sensu.The pursuit ofnew partnerships with local agentswas paired by the strengtheningof outreach initiatives and public events. In addition, new partnerships with Universities and research institutesare expected to foster the opportunity to provide the CIUL with scientific knowledge, while students and researchers take advantage of the official documents that are made available by the CIUL. The ongoing shift in the CIUL governance is expected toimprove public access tothe CIUL, but not only. The UC of Lisbon seems to invest on the merging of two functions: on the one hand, it keeps working as a "megaphone" of the Municipality; on the other, it is oriented to becoming an "antenna" of civil society.

**The Gabips**
In 2010, the Department of Local Housing and Development of the Municipality of Lisbon promoted the mapping of the so-called priority areas in Lisbon, comprising a wide array of neighbourhoods characterised by critical issues. The identification of 67 priority areas was run through the extensive analysis of socioeconomic, infrastructural, and environmental data, which were confirmed in 2010 via an online survey to local NGOs and via public consultation with citizens[10]. Accordingly, the issuance of the "BIPZIP Chart" mapped the 67 priority areas throughout the urban context and classified them into four typologies: municipal (=29); historical (=13); AUGI (=7);other/Mix (=18).
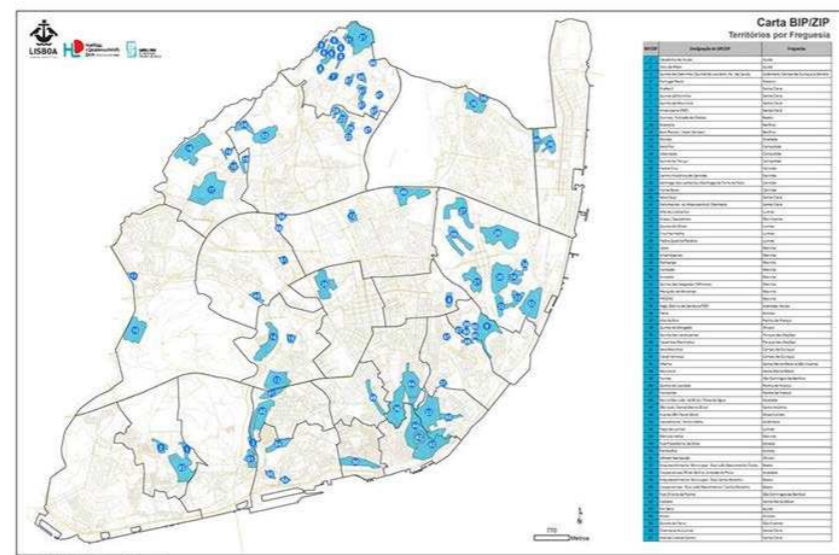


**Fig.1** *BIPZIP Chart*
*Source: Municipality of Lisbon*

The BIPZIP Chart shows the 67 priority areas (in blue, in the figure above) and was included in the city master plan.The BIPZIP programme was created to foster the participation of locals in co-designingurban regeneration policies in the priority areas. The programme relies on annual calls for funding between 5€and 50,000€ forlocal partnerships made upof local associations, NGOs, Parish governments, and/orinformal groups of citizens[11]. Together with

the BIPZIP programme, the Community Base Local Development network (DLBC) also adopts the BIPZIP Chart to implement actions that are consistent with the local development strategy of the Municipality (Municipal deliberation 748/CML/2014). The network consistsof members from the municipality and local partners, such as NGOs, cooperatives, enterprises, foundations, etc[12].
The promotion of urban regeneration initiatives in priority areas by the DLBC and through the BIPZIP programme, as well asvia local, national and international funding (e.g. QREN, Urbact, Europe 2020),has required adequate mechanisms of support and monitoring. From 2011 onwards,the Department took forward the configuration ofsix decentralised municipal offices settled in some of the priority areas: Padre Cruz, Boavista, Almirante Reis, Ex-SAAL and self-building, AUGI, and Alto do Eira. These offices are called "Gabips" and are expectedto provide necessarysupport to the 67 priority areas (Municipal deliberation 714/CML/2014).
As extensively described in the Attachment, the legal framework of the Gabips enshrines the engagement of both public and private local partners as the most effective response to the challenges for socio-territorial cohesion (Municipal deliberation 361/2016)[13]. Gabipsopen to new forms of transparent negotiation among local agentson driving values, main goals, and tools of action, as advocated by the political councillor of local housing and development[14]. In other words, the Gabips can be considered as new "arenas" of participatory governance in those localities.
Thestructure of the six Gabipscomprises a committee appointed by the municipalityto coordinate the plan of activities; a network of public services provided by the Municipality and other governmental bodies, such as the Territorial Intervention Unities (UITs)[15]; an executive committee that includes coordinators and members of the network of public services, as well as parish governments and local associations to monitor initiatives in the area and ensure broad dissemination of information; and asteering committee composed of the executive committee, members of the municipality and other local partners, including parish governments.

## Which connections for a model of participatory governance?

Theshift in the model of governance of the CIUL raises significant potentialities for the promotion of citizen participation in Lisbon. New initiatives promoted with the universities and urban agentsaim to ensure that citizens have access to relevant information on public decision-making. Notwithstanding that, scholars corroborate that when the interaction between local authorities and citizens is unidirectional (the "megaphone" function), participation hardlyinfluences decision-making. Likewise,the more recent promotion of public enquiries and hearings (the "antenna" function) isa necessary but not sufficient condition to promote incisive participation.
Compared to other initiatives of citizen engagement promoted by the local council, such as the participatory budget and the BIPZIP,

*10. The survey for public consultation was provided both online and in meetings. While most of the identified areas were confirmed, public consultation helped include additional areas that had not been considered.*

*11. More information at: http://bipzip.cm-lisboa.pt/*

*12. More information at: http://rededlbclisboa.pt/*

*13. More information at: http://habitacao. cm-lisboa.pt/index. htm?no=27510001*

*14. Interview in the national newspaper "Público", November 11, 2014: https://www.publico. pt/2014/11/18/local/ noticia/vereadora-da- habitacao-da-camara- de-lisboa-quer-fazer- da-cogovernacao-uma- realidade-1676335*

*15. The UIT are administrative units composed of public officials from the local council in the five sub-regions of Lisbon: Historical Centre; Centre; West; East; North. More information at: http://www. cm-lisboa.pt/zonas*

the CIUL and the Gabips own a dedicated head quarters for their initiatives. In other words, unlike other participatory processes in Lisbon, these agencies are identifiable and accessible spaces from where public agents can promote a wider range of activities.

CIUL agenda is likely to be maximised by its centrality in the city, as the organisation of public meetings and the irradiation of outreach events from the head quarters out increasingly relies on the construction of a stronger local network. The Gabips have provided a different stance on citizen participation in Lisbon, since they are officially required to enable locals and residents with the necessary tools and knowledge to actively partake in the governance of priority areas. Accordingly, the six Gabips have contributed to the mission of the BIPZIP Programme and the DLBC to regenerate areas that are characterised by critical urban issues. However, efforts, successes, and obstacles of the Gabips are barely known in the city. Despite the great challenges posited by the model of participatory governance, the "arenas" implemented in priority areas seem to hardly reach the mainstream channels of information and dissemination. The lack of connections between the two urban agencies emerges as a critical absence in the model of local governance. The construction of a model of participatory governance is aimed to integrate disperse public investment in this field of practice. The model is an abstraction that should be further explored with local authorities, as well as nurtured with future investigation by scholars.
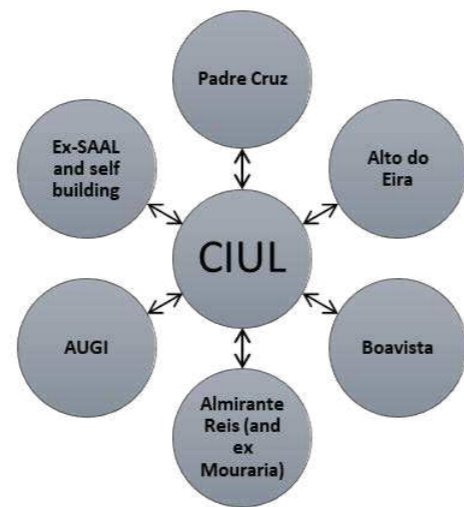


**Fig 2** *The proposed model of participatory governance in Lisbon*
*Source: author's own work*

The model foresees the political and administrative convergence of CIUL and Gabips as institutional headquarters of citizen participation. The design of new connections between both should rely on the will and capacity to make the two Departments converge on common grounds for local development and regeneration, and capitalise on the experience in citizen participation gained from city centre and priority areas.

Considering the different models of governance, agendas, and purposes of the two urban agencies, participatory governance should

create the conditions to take full advantage of current practices by cross-scaling the expertise and the experiences carried out by the CIUL and the Gabips. The integration of the three functions discussed above – the "megaphone" and the "antenna" by the CIUL, and the "arena" by the Gabips –should be based on the need for a more comprehensive framework of citizen participation in the city of Lisbon. By fostering functional bridges that connect central and priority areas, the CIUL could use its headquarters to give greater visibility to and share knowledge with the "arenas" created in the priority areas. This convergence could help improve the participatory role of the CIUL and, in turn, Gabips could take advantage of the opportunity to bring their practices to the city centre. Consistent with goals of socio-territorial cohesion, this convergence should help Gabips to better disseminate good practices of urban regeneration by activating initiatives of mutual learning with other participatory initiatives, as well as among them.

Bearing in mind the political commitment of the local council to put citizen participation as a key pillar of urban governance, and acknowledging the diversity of local initiatives that aim to engage citizens beyond the practices described above, should bring about broader reflection on challenges and opportunities on the model of participatory governance. In addition, the constitution of this model should not underestimate the existence or emergence of alternative spaces of deliberation between grassroots and institutional agents. Such spaces should be created and/or contested out of any compulsory inclusion (or even co-optation) in the proposed model. On the contrary, the model should provide support to the claims and contradictions manifested within, and be instrumental – whenever needed or required – to their wider expression.

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## Attachment

### Padre Cruz

The requalification of the neighbourhood Padre Cruz under the programme "partnerships for urban regeneration – critical neighbourhoods" funded by the National Strategical Reference Framework 2007-2013 (hereafter QREN) in 2009, was to be managed by the municipal office Gapur. However, the need for greater articulation with municipal departments and enterprises, and the engagement of parish governments, residents and local partners led to its substitution by the Gabip(Municipal deliberation 118/P/2010). The Gabip in this neighbourhood consists of members of the municipality and municipal enterprises; the executive committee is made up of members of the Gabip, parish government, and residents' association; the steering committee of local and academic partners, and political representatives from the local council.
Alto da Eira
This area of the city hosts two 13-floor buildingsbuilt in 1973 by the municipal enterprise EPUL to rehouse people living in shanty settlements, each with about 230 residents. In 2008, a comprehensive study on the decay of the buildings, which was led by the National Laboratory of Civil Engineering (LNEC), rejected the proposal to demolish them. In 2012, the study was approved via inquiry of local residents and resulted into the solution of staged rehabilitation. This Gabip was created to take the rehabilitation forward with the participation of governmental and non-governmental agents, including the residents' association(Municipal deliberation 599/CM/2012).

### Boavista

The neighbourhood of Boavista was built in the 1940s to rehouse people living in shanty settlements and currently houses around four thousand residents. In 2010, the programme "Eco-neighbourhoods", funded by QREN from 2011 to 2013, aimed to reinforce environmental sustainability, regeneration of public spaces and buildings, societal innovation, and job creation. The Gabip was created in order to implement the programmewith the inputsfrom locals and residents (Municipal deliberation 51/P/2011). While this Gabip consists of members from municipal services, the executive committee is mandated to ensureformal connections with the parish governments and local associations. The steering committee, which gathers political councillors and public bodies, monitors the development of the programme.

### Almirante Reis (and ex Mouraria)

The programme for the neighbourhood Mouraria "the cities within the city", funded by QREN and the European Regional Development Funds from 2009 to 2012 for urban regeneration in historical centre neighbourhoods, aimed at confrontingcritical issues (e.g. spreading social exclusion, degradation of buildings and public space, ageing phenomena, socioeconomic issues, and illicit trades in the neighbourhood). The promotion of cultural heritage, economic activities, intercultural initiatives, and public space regeneration further included the creation of the municipal innovation hub in the neighbourhood. This Gabip consisted of members of the municipality; the executive committee included parish governments and NGOs; andthe steering committee comprised social partners of the programme(Municipal deliberation 81/P/2011). The Gabip was substituted by the Gabip Almirante Reis in 2016 (Municipal deliberation370/2016), which is settled in the same district of the city, and includes members of the Municipality, Parish government, and the Foundation Aga Khan Portugal. This Gabip aims at developing initiatives for more social justice and inclusion by promoting projects that aim to solve social cleavages in this area of the city.

### AUGI

AUGI is the acronym of Urban Areas with Illegal Genesis (National Law 91/95). AUGI settlements in Lisbon were identified through Municipal deliberation 1330/CM/2008, and later included in the BIPZIP Chart. The Municipal Master Plan established tools for their reconversion, and the Gabip was created to ensure connections between the Municipality, parish governments, and residents(Municipal deliberation 141/P/2011). This Gabip is managed by the department for urban planning and rehabilitation of the Municipality, and the steering committee consists of municipal agents and local associations.

### Ex-SAAL and self-building

In 1974, the "Mobile Service for Local Support" programme (hereafter SAAL) was launched by the national government, in the aftermath of the Carnation Revolution that led to the collapse of the dictatorial regime in the country. The SAAL aimed at providing local communities living in precarious housing conditions with the necessary technical support to (re)build neighbourhoods. The SAAL was funded through the Housing Stimulation Funding (Fundo de Fomento da Habitação - FFH) until 1976. Prior to SAAL, self-building experiments had been conducted in Lisbon, namely the PRODAC-Norte and PRODAC-Sul. This Gabip was instituted for the five ex-SAAL neighbourhoods - Horizonte, Portugal Novo, Fonsecas e Calçada, Cooperativas do Beato – and the PRODAC Norte and Sul(Municipal deliberation 18/P/2013) to facilitate the process of property regularisation, as most of the housing cooperatives have been disbanded, and several residents have moved away. The Gabip promotes public maintenance of these neighbourhoods and monitors initiatives of urban regeneration. This Gabip is composed of members from the BIPZIP and Local Housing Programme of the Municipality. Executive committees exist in each one of the neighbourhoods, and are comprised of members of the Gabip, Parish governments, and local associations. Finally, the steering committee also includes local partners.

# INTERMEDIATE PLACES IN URBAN INNOVATION ECOSYSTEM
## Insights from Boston and Bologna

Martina Massari and Bruno Monardo

## Abstract

**The aim of this paper is to highlight new American and Italian interpretation delivered by 'intermediate places' (IPs) between practices of social innovation and policies, identifying with the term intermediate both their role as mediators between levels and their scale and impact on the urban environment. Urban agencies, living labs, innovation and community hubs are emerging structures that can feed and orient urban planning towards processes, more likely to meet the socioeconomic, cultural and environmental needs.**

**In order to analyse if and how IPs can be considered a new generation of 'urban centres', the authors seek to draw a framework of comparisons, contaminations and drawbacks arising from the assessment of some experiences, in the Boston area (MA, US) and in the city of Bologna (Italy). In the first section an operational definition of intermediate place as open innovation ecosystem is explored. Afterwards, the two cities' case studies are analysed to highlight their potentiality in orienting and innovating public policies and up-scaling micro scale social innovation practices. The starting hypothesis is that social innovation - in the Deleuzian-inspired description - is strictly path-dependent and occurs in 'opportunity places', where local actors engage within the urban space. In this scenario, intermediate places as innovation centres are proving to be successful models because of their physical contiguity; the recovery of direct relationships between different actors can allow them to act as interactive playgrounds in which the practices can be managed together with visions and strategies with an evolutionary long-term perspective. The paper emphasizes the need for a stable global observatory where practices and different methodologies are collected, observed and evaluated, in order to enhance cross-fertilisation between the diverse experiences.**

## Keywords

intermediate places, innovation centres, social innovation, urban agencies, urban policies

## Intermediate places as Boundary Spanners

The recent popularity of 'intermediate places' (IPs) as urban agencies, living labs, innovation and community hubs, - in other words the most likely recent evolution of the traditional 'urban centres' - stems from their role in becoming nexus for economical, institutional and social innovation in urban ecosystems. Within the framework of urban social innovation, meant as path-dependent and occurring in opportunity places, IPs can become agents for urban regeneration processes more likely to address the actual societal needs and challenges. IPs are defined as 'boundary-spanners', hybrid platforms linking internal networks to external players and resources of the city (Acuto at al. 2018), capable to produce new value-oriented relationships. Inspired by classical models like 'urban centres', their aim is to develop, try out and test urban solutions, producing changes in different urban domains by bridging planning approaches and social innovation, to impact on policies. Cities' local transformations and the need to address global urban challenges, require even more collaboration within and between systems, actors and actions. The pro-active role of different actors (BEPA 2010) promoting local experimental projects with public-interest purposes, is taking on such dimensions as to lead to the assumption that their actions are paving the way for a new paradigm shift. In literature this approach is commonly defined 'social innovation' (Caulier-Grice et al. 2010, Moulaert et al. 2013), describing a combination of bottom-linked actions, by which people find answers to pressing needs (ibid.) that cannot be satisfied by the market or by the public sector. In the European policy framework, social innovation has grown as an umbrella concept with fuzzy boundaries, bringing out the urgency to define a shared understanding, in order to clearly state its role and relevance. This contribution refers to the Deleuzian-inspired model that describes social innovation as part of a contingent process able to tackle socio-spatial challenges by creating 'windows of opportunity' for innovation to be stimulated and implemented in long-term urban regeneration strategies.

The interpretation of urban regeneration through the principles of social innovation is an opportunity for questioning how specific places can play a role in spanning multiple resources and actions, and how they trigger and enable urban experimentation and new institutional arrangements. IPs are intended as interfaces for energies, resources, and opportunities emerging from the territory where co-creation and experimentation is an everyday practice, carried out together by private and public actors. They are often referred to as open innovation environments (Montanari & Mizzau 2016) interacting through adaptable devices, collaborating among social, economic and institutional actors, paving the way for a possible new urban local model of development. The interface role within a complex system is the key for these places to contribute to develop into local 'urban innovation engines' (Dvir 2003).

The idea of conceiving physical places where to share, interact and address the issues and challenges of the urban community is not new: in the ancient Greece, the Agora (open assembly place) was

the first manifestation of the necessity of citizens to be closer to the power and embodied single physical structures as representative items for a wider entity. In this interpretation, 'urban centres' have long since proved to be successful inspiration models, because they facilitate physical contiguity: the recovery of direct relationships between different actors can allow them to act as interactive playgrounds with the perspective of a structural change. New models of 'urban centres' are assuming a variety of new forms in contemporary cities, by answering to the current evolution of the ways of living, working, meeting and enjoying services, and by providing multifunctional physical environments that connect, support and contaminate previously separated elements. Urban living labs, innovation centres, but also policy labs and sector-specific community HUBs (Calvaresi & Pederiva 2016) can be considered as IPs, with different scales (complex buildings, city fragments, entire districts, territorial networks), promoting actors and areas of influence, but showing common features in the interpretation of social innovation methodology as a trigger for urban development processes (Ostanel 2017).

The common ground where these models are examined is the pro-active role of the users interacting in a physical environment to achieve a mutual outcome. In order to analyse what is the role of IPs as boundary-spanners of social innovation and their relevance in urban policies, the next sections draw a framework of models and styles arising from two urban cases: Boston (Massachusetts, US) and Bologna (Italy). Two different scales, traditions and cultural backgrounds, but common features referring to the role of social innovation intertwining with public urban policies, the use of open data and new technologies as accountability tools and the legacy of the diffuse knowledge (both Boston and Bologna present a high agglomeration of educational institutions) in which it is possible to explore the identities that IPs can play as privileged socio-urban observatories for the transition towards the implementation of virtuous urban innovation ecosystems.

## Innovation policies in the Boston Area

The city of Boston represents a paradigmatic case of original and compelling integration between innovation policies and city redevelopment, thanks to the on-going implementation of an explicit strategy whose core is the entanglement between urban redevelopment initiatives and potential of innovation-related growing ecosystems (Monardo 2018). The strategy of spurring innovation within the city can be interpreted at the economic level promoting 'excellence poles' (Seaport), at social level connecting disadvantaged populations to employment and educational opportunities (Roxbury) or at institutional level introducing new development tools and institutional arrangements (MONUM).

The Greater Boston area is currently one of the most innovative locations in the US local development landscape, thanks to its high agglomeration of educational institutions and start-ups. The en-

tire urban region, which is recording the highest rate of growth anywhere in the US (Kahn et al. 2012), is increasingly able to attract the interest of major investors. Over the last thirty years in the city of Boston, public and private investments have been developed in education, financial services, life sciences, high-tech industries, while a new generation of redevelopment projects have been changing the urban geography of the city by supporting the placement of innovation hubs within different neighbourhoods. The idea of creating an innovative urban ecosystem is embodied in the 'innovation district' concept: a "geographic area where leading-edge anchor institutions and companies cluster and connect with start-ups, business incubators, and accelerators" (Katz & Wagner 2014). Innovation districts are conceived as dense enclaves that merge the poietic potential of research institutions and start-ups in well-designed, amenity-rich inclusive environments. Creation, circulation and commercialization of new ideas are facilitated within this thriving atmosphere that leverages the intrinsic qualities of the virtuous urban context: physical proximity, relational density, dynamic identity. Their challenge is to be locally-anchored while at the same time open to trans-national models and inputs.

As an example of this approach, the 'Boston Innovation District' (BID) in Seaport, launched in 2010, aims to create a complex neighbourhood able to activate and attract resources. It was conceived to redevelop the South Boston Waterfront, an underutilized industrial area, into a thriving hub of innovation and entrepreneurship together with new residential, commercial and retail spaces with a mixed-use configuration. The project was managed and funded by the Boston Planning Development Agency (BPDA), in order both to guarantee progressive implementation and to ease the cost burden of the project on the city's budget, the local administration set up innovative collaboration task forces and peculiar tools facilitating networks of private companies, using planning tools within a public, private and non-profit 'partnership architecture'. As a result, unique innovation assets are concentrating in the dense redevelopment area, such as the world's largest start-up accelerator – 'MassChallenge' – and 'Factory 63', a significant experiment in innovative housing, providing private micro-apartments and public areas for working, gathering and organizing events.

In the hyper-centre of the BID, the District Hall provides a place for innovators to meet in an inclusive setting, and come to concrete agreements for finalising their ideas. It is a place for debating, discovering new point of views on emerging social issues but mostly an in-between place for intertwining ideas, people, and contracting cooperation agreements. It is becoming the ideal urban element for recovering the physical proximity dimension in new social relations, discussing, resourcing, and entangling work with leisure and knowledge exchange.

In this rich scenario, the most significant and intriguing idea for implementing an authentic social innovation policy is the Roxbury Innovation Center, a challenging initiative in one of the most distressed neighbourhoods in Boston. Entirely funded by the City, the complex building is a civic innovation centre that supports the eco-

nomic development of the neighbourhood by encouraging education, creativity and entrepreneurship through social relations. In meeting and event spaces, the Roxbury Center hosts vocational training programs for local residents and small business workshops, intended to foster an ecosystem of innovation and create a network of local entrepreneurs who desire to become part of the neighbourhood fabric regeneration. In the general context of the 'Neighbourhood Innovation District' redevelopment policy, after more than three years from the refurbishment and opening of the Roxbury Center the administration is rethinking its strategy priorities in order to achieve a stronger impact and re-distribution of value for a larger community, which includes those actors who do not usually participate, like youngsters or foreign communities.

In order to guarantee institutional support to IPs to grow, the Boston planning system re-arranged some of its device through the 'Mayor's Office of New Urban Mechanics' (MONUM). MONUM was created in Boston in 2010 as a "Risk Aggregator", a significant tool to manage the risk of break-through innovation in local government. The risk assessment means the capability for the City to compare the threat and reward of its different projects being undertaken in time. MONUM's model is highly 'partner-driven', meaning that its various projects will ultimately progress at the rate at which the partner can move. The final purpose of this task force is to stimulate emerging ideas from the community, feed the 'innovation pipeline' and manage a consistent stream of new experimental products to Boston's residents. A stable participation-feedback process which aims to ease the implementation of innovation hubs locally-anchored while at the same time open to trans-national models.

## Collaboration networks in Bologna

Bologna has been chosen for its specificity and traditional character of laboratory for innovative policies and civic oriented initiatives. Since 2014 the city has been implementing a model of "Collaborative City" based on a broad network of social relationships, a system of shared spaces, opportunities and facilities, availability of enabling technologies and data to collectively 'make' the city. This vision is materialized in a large number of initiatives: the "Regulation on collaboration among citizens and administration on the care and regeneration of urban common goods", a tool that puts into practice the principle of horizontal subsidiarity; the social network 'Comunità', the first civic social network ever tested; the call 'IncrediBOL!' that promotes entrepreneurial projects and creative professions in the cultural sector.

In the first years of experimentation, collaborative policies have led to the up-scaling of micro social innovation initiatives evolving towards a relevant degree of economic sustainability, consolidated and planned for long-term action. As a consequence, social innovation in Bologna has grown to overcome the mere subsidiarity logic: local engagement, entrepreneurial skills, and the use of local

knowledge, are new values that are being created, also thanks to the opportunity for different stakeholders to interact in specific places. This strategy aims at reinforcing the physical proximity while proposing the diffuse quality of the city as an internationally competitive value.

These premises are listed in the Urban Innovation Plan, the discursive 2021 strategy. It holds together spaces and places, open data and new technologies, as potential capital to be released as opportunity for the communities to interact and become responsible not only for the co-design of urban transformations but also for its governance and care. On these premises, the process of the 'Laboratori di Quartiere' acts with the aim to create proximity spaces as concrete and stable collaboration processes in each neighbourhood promoting specific nodes of interaction, new forms of urban co-production, engagement and stable cooperation between local players.

This strategy, fostered by the municipality, is contributing to define a coherent territorial framework for social innovation in the city, identifying specific places as innovation spanners and useful bridges towards urban policies and planning. The cases of 'Kilowatt', 'Mercato Sonato' and 'Dynamo', as urban living laboratories, are paradigmatic in materialising this idea of place-led social innovation. Located in former neglected spaces, they represent virtuous cases of the construction of new urban identities, based on shared values and public interest objectives. These places are examples of complex projects of urban and cultural regeneration promoted and activated from endogenous local forces, in the attempt to answer to the market evolution and to the retraction of public welfare, in a fruitful collaboration between private energies and public framework. Their shared goal is to offer a place where working spaces, proximity services and events, can merge with neighbourhood collaboration processes. In these IPs, professionals, business staff and associations work together with the local community with the ambition to build an enabling and empowering environment. In the greenhouses of the Margherita Gardens the 'Kilowatt' cooperative, transformed an abandoned, blighted space in a place of cultural contamination between experts, citizens, business, non-profit stakeholders and the Public Administration. 'Kilowatt' is an urban hub for the promotion of innovation and entrepreneurial culture, in which the idea, launched by a cooperative, has been embraced over time by actors such as the Municipality of Bologna and the Region, allowing its stabilization and the permanence of the benefits produced. Similarly, the 'Mercato Sonato' is a unique project, which transformed the former local market of the San Donato district, into the headquarters of the 'Senzaspine' youth orchestra. The aim was to give new urban centrality to creative expressions and experimentations, starting from the transformation of a space of everyday life, in a place of restless creation. An analogous experience is the 'Dynamo Velostation', former car garage in which a series of cultural associations joined forces to create a service hub for sustainable mobility, interpreting specific demands while producing new job opportunities and disseminating the culture of sustainability.

Each project has become an intermediate place, a hybrid environment where culture is shared in multifaceted aspects and citizens can find a place for learning and sharing new practices. These places go beyond traditional dichotomies of bottom-up and top-down, engaging in flexible and adaptable forms of governance, in an interactive, horizontal manner. Thanks to several financing tools (e.g. 'IncrediBOL!, 'Municipality of Bologna and Culturability', 'Unipolis') and network opportunities, these places have been able to grow from micro-scale to become true social and economic intermediaries. This network of places contributes to define a comprehensive territorial strategy able to read local actions as anticipation of urban policies (Orioli 2018), facilitating their up-scale. The principles of IPs in Bologna are shared by the Urban Innovation Plan which foresees to create the conditions for seamless localized participation processes to support social innovations while opening full access to data and technology. The municipality guarantees the conditions for IPs to act as intermediaries, thanks to the implementation of new creative technical-economic tools and parallel stakeholder involvement actions. The aim is to develop a virtuous synergy between the public administrations and the promoting private actors, called to play a reference role for citizens and trigger innovation towards institutions.

## Open Issues

Boston and Bologna represent emerging multifaceted urban models where IPs are gaining more and more centrality as contact points between government and citizenship. In permanent movement beyond the local, while pursuing proximity, they transcend through the long network of relationships and hybridisation of ideas, producing positive externalities to be taken into consideration both by policy-makers and practitioners. Despite the diversities of the urban conditions, both Boston and Bologna foster the creation of a backbone structure in the urban fabric, where new 'hotspots' spur social innovation as a main externality within the regeneration strategies of the cities. Both cities are moving towards the vision of collective and widespread innovation in which the presence of real relational and co-innovating IPs becomes crucial in pursuing inclusion and quality within the whole urban and metropolitan context. In Boston and Bologna, the attention to the city transformation's routines facilitated by IPs, presents both risks and opportunities. On the one hand, the risk generated by the conflict of the practices with the constraints of the urban scale and a large framework of norms, inaccessible by local processes, is foreseen. On the other, social innovation could be understood as acceptable form of retraction of the governments in public service delivery (Manzini 2017) instead of supplementary resources, rising controversies in the relationship with traditional economy sectors. These challenges are addressed by institutional devices (Regulation and Laboratori in Bologna, MONUM in Boston), which in the American case allows to monitor and evaluate the policies implemented, with feedback from the citizen-

ship and urban actors.
On the one hand in Boston, local government seems extremely sensitive to the 'institutional innovation' approach, playing a sophisticated role in tailoring ad hoc initiatives, specific tools and adaptive partnerships among anchor institutions, investors, high education subjects, non-profit organizations and local communities. The Boston model represents a 'virtuous hybridization' of the mixed dimensions in the planning initiatives: from the overwhelming role of real-estate development to the increasing sensitiveness for local inclusion. The emerging local public development pattern in Boston, is proposing an intriguing blending of three main 'modes of governance': hierarchy, market and network. In the Roxbury Center experience, the dialectics generated by such contrasting approaches demonstrates that the right choice of governance models plays a crucial role in the potential success or failure of such initiatives.
On the other hand, Bologna is addressing these questions with a strong focus on the role of places as interaction nodes that can make a difference in terms of rapidity, skills and opportunity development, in both short and long distances networks, using contiguity mechanisms fostered by institutional devices. The value produced by IPs is complementary to the traditional economic sectors and the platform they create is strategic both for local resources, practitioners and institutions: they could represent R&D units (Massari 2018) and social cohesion tools for urban policies and planning devices. The actions linked to local resources and practices hence become anticipatory elements of urban transformations.
The public actor could often represent at the same time an obstacle, the mediator or the interaction platform driver in the innovation framework. In Bologna's case the pro-active strategy is played with different potentialities. The powerful engagement of the public institution, for example, is a steady commitment for the redistribution of the added value to originally uninvolved actors, while enlarging the network of participants. IPs in fact, risk to produce important results in terms of resources, services, inclusive products and urban transformations, which tend to remain in smaller impact area if not re-produced by the public (Ostanel 2017).
In the hiatus between State and citizenship these experiences are to be seen as means to shorten the distance: they act as multi-actor 'research and development factories', capable of creating new civic values. The effectiveness of IPs at urban and territorial scale is related to an institutional vision that fosters the production of local open knowledge and provides large scale exchange frameworks. This flexible approach allows a more fluid and dynamic vision and planning of the time and space of social innovation in cities.
As argued by many authors (Crosta 1990, Habraken 2000), social innovations are considered really effective when they are generated as externalities of interaction between subjects. If IPs can be deemed as valuable sources of interaction, the open issue seems to be the hybridisation of models and the flexible geometry governance of initiatives with changing roles for actors, called to be alternatively turbines, drivers, referees or simple players on the urban stage.

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# CITIES IN CHANGE: URBAN AGENCIES AS A STRATEGIC PLAYER TO FACE NEW CHALLENGES AND NEEDS.
# The case of the foundation for urban innovation in Bologna

**Valeria Barbi and Giovanni Ginocchini**

## Introduction

Urbanization in Europe is changing continuously, both in terms of territorial expansion and population increase: more than 75% of the EU population leave in urban areas and this implies new challenges and opportunities both for citizens and organizations working on urban issues, such as Urban Agencies (UA).

The role of Urban Agencies moves around two main assumptions: first of all, they are crucial access points to services and socio-economic welfare for more than half of the world population. Hence, they significantly contribute to solve modern days' challenges such as climate change impacts, overexploitation of resources, loss on biodiversity, energy lacks, migration flows… and, in a certain way, they are also affected by the same issues. Secondly, the cities that represent their main playground are reference points for spreading culture and innovation, and for testing new approaches and strategies. This means that UA are requested to work for boosting changes within the civil society while prompting sustainability principles on a wide range of sector, from the economy to the environment management.

The increasing role of Urban Agencies as key actors in developing new approaches for analyzing, connecting and providing solutions for social, economic and environmental issues (i.e. overpopulation, urban deterioration social inequality, urban poverty) is recognized at worldwide level. At the time when skepticism towards institutions is at the crest, many cities (Turin, Bologna, Paris, Barcelona, New York) are relying on citizens to take care and co-design the city: this new way to perceive the role of citizens make them part of the Government but it also creates conflicts and tensions that require a continuous adaptation of the actors responsible for easing and promoting this process. And within this grey line, Urban Agencies work and test their ability to be resilient to the change. The challenge for Urban Agencies is to find equilibrium between the necessity to create a safe and healthy environment for citizens, while involving all the communities living in urban areas, in the effort to find

concrete, efficient and innovative solutions for empowerment and collaboration.

In the above landscape, the Foundation for Urban Innovation (i.e. Fondazione per l'Innovazione Urbana – FIU) in Bologna tests daily new methods and instruments to shorten the distance between institutions and citizens at local level and to increase networking opportunities for Bologna at international level on the themes of participation, empowerments, common goods, etc..

## Foundation for Urban Innovation: a story in evolution

If we assume that Urban Agencies are entitled to interact with cities, considered as organisms subject to a continuous evolution, then the case of Bologna should be taken into consideration for the capacity of its local urban agency to adapt, interact and influence the ongoing changes of the city.

Urban Center Bologna (UCB) was born in 2003 as Ebo (Bologna exposition), a permanent exhibition located in the heart of the city and aiming to communicate to citizens how their city was changing and what the new Mobility Masterplan looked like. In 2005, the Urban Plan entered a new phase: the Public Administration (PA) opened up a public dialogue for discussing many of the regeneration projects prepared by the former right wing local government, and finalizing the new Urban Plan after 20 years from the approval of the former one (approved in 1985).

Together with a new name, there came new responsibilities and challenges: the activity of the new agency were directed not only to inform citizens of the ongoing changes targeting the city, but also to involve them in the process in the form of a concrete and active dialogue. UCB became the place where citizens, stakeholders and the PA discussed the local Structural Plan (PSC), and in the meantime the subject entitled to guide the public dialogue on the territory. In this sense, it started to act as a communication agency and point of reference for shaping the future of the city of Bologna.

The different Labs that years after years constituted the operative arms of the Agency, not only represented an instrument to share decisional processes towards urban planning, but also a method to discuss with citizens many of the themes at the center of contemporary urban transformations: reuse and protection of the urban countryside, ecological compensation in infrastructure projects, regeneration of new public places and a re-thinking of residential districts oriented towards the mixité and sustainabilit[1] .

When, in 2008, UCB moved to the 2nd floor of one of the most iconic historical buildings of the city, Sala Borsa (that represents both a social experiment – being a covered square open to everybody, and the main library of the city), a third phase started: structured over 900m2, the urban agency presented a new permanent exhibition with the main ongoing and concluded projects that had transformed the city in the last years, as well as new spaces dedicated to events and public initiatives. Urban Center Bologna became a place where all the actors involved in the transformation of the city could discuss and contribute to the evolution of the urban area, a sort of embryonic phase of what it was earmarked to become 10 years later: a widespread Lab able to involve all the communities living in the city.

In this context, citizens are not only passive actors to inform but vectors of information, change promoters, and actors able to study, propose, test and apply new answers to city changes: they live within and around urban areas and they represent the most informed and reliable actors to refer to. Furthermore, the events organized inside and together with Urban Center Bologna represent a chance to keep the dialogue on the city constantly updated. This virtuous communication mechanism has been enforced thanks to a wide range of physical and theoretical instruments: from a website and a weekly newsletter, supported by social media (Twitter, Facebook and Instagram profiles of the agency have been spreading since its foundation), to actions on the territory whose more concrete example is represented by Urban Centers' coordination of neighborhood labs, promoted by the Municipality and some of the Committee's members - that constitute the legal framework of the agency – and other participatory processes that require its long lasting expertise[2].

In March 2018, Urban Center Bologna evolved and extended its range of actions converging into the newly born Foundation for Urban Innovation. Its goals and actions developed along 4 main thematic axes that reflected the future of Bologna and the way the city had imagined itself in the last decade: a welcoming city, an urban area characterized by urban democracy and an increase in its digitalization, sustainability and a new paradigm of urban welfare. According to the statute, the Foundation's activities must develop along the urban innovation and transformation themes. FIU is described as the organism entitled to produce ad hoc communication instruments to inform and stimulate the public participation of citizens, students and the city users, meaning people living in the city and involved in the life and evolution of the urban organism, but who are not legally conceived as citizens of Bologna.

To achieve the above mentioned goals, the scientific committee of the Foundation, together with its consultants and staff, identified 3 main pillars of action, representing also the three different areas or departments:

- **Urban Center Bologna (UCB)** is in charge of informing and promoting the local area and the urban culture. Its main goal is to interact with the different communities involved in the life and evolution of the urban organism and legally entitled to hold rights and duties in the management of the city space as urban commons. UCB responds to the growing demand by citizens to access information about the city and, through its communication efforts, lays the foundations for prompting participatory processes. The underlying regulatory framework and cultural context is the Urban Innovation Plan, published in 2016 and periodically updated, whose main goal is to connect the strategic choices of the PA with the actual potential of Bologna.

- **Civic Imagination Office** promotes the culture of collaboration,

1. Ginocchini G., Petrei F. (2018) "L'esperienza di Urban Center Bologna" in Pontrandolfi P. (a cura di) Rigenerazione urbana e cittadinanza attiva. L'esperienza del progetto C.A.S.T., Editore Librìa
2 Giovanni Ginocchini - Fabrizia Petrei, Dieci anni di Urban Center Bologna, La Nuova Città, nona serie N.1, Novembre 2013

2. Giovanni Ginocchini - Fabrizia Petrei, Dieci anni di Urban Center Bologna, La Nuova Città, nona serie N.1, Novembre 2013

participation and co- production between the different actors that live the city. The main goal is to link the above methods with the city, its projects and plans with particular attention on the care and regeneration of urban commons. This area of the Foundation could be conceived as a Lab specialized in development and researches targeting needs, capacities and the potential of citizens and urban communities.

**- Mapping the Present**, a project born in 2006 as a research center focused on the transformation of the modern world asset. It relies on cartography and multimedia technologies to explain geopolitical relations, policy interactions, history and the future of the world. The project is also part of the Cartography Office of the Department of History, Culture and Civilization of the University of Bologna.

These three departments work on a wide set of projects implementing different methodologies to achieve the same final result: co-working with citizens, associations, Public Administration, enterprises and all the different communities and networks active in the city, to make Bologna a more welcoming, resilient and healthier city, where resilience must be applied to each sector making up the city of the future (environment, economy, welfare..).

## A vision for Bologna: the Urban Innovation Plan and the pilot projects in the city

One of the most important milestones for the Foundation was the launch of the Urban Innovation Plan of Bologna in 2016. The disruptive idea of this plan was to link both choices and projects of the Administration with spontaneous networks of citizens arising all over the city. Hence, the plan represents the frame including policies, financing programs and implementation methods.

The process activated by the Plan is open and subject to implementations and improvements. It is conceived as a set of tangible and intangible actions, with a first deadline in 2021, having as a main goal the widespread diffusion of opportunities, instruments, resources, spaces and competences towards the protection of urban commons. It also stresses the importance to regenerate, reuse and reconnect the use and wastefulness of resources.

Since 2017 the Foundation, in agreement with the Municipality, has been committed to promoting this vision and to creating new opportunities of involvement and collaboration with the citizens. It has adopted new methods and supported innovation development in the following different domains at urban level through new pilot initiatives (Labs):

### Domain 1: Livability - District labs

In 2017, during the first round of the Districts' Laboratories, the Foundation helped citizens highlight their main needs to enhance the livability of Bologna. Twelve primary needs emerged:
·0 to increase the inclusion of the youth in society, theme that is connected with the necessity to invest more in education;

·1 to invest in new jobs and local enterprises;
·2 to bridge the digital divide and to develop the common knowledge on this sector;
·3 to enhance the historical memory and the sense of inclusion;
·4 to boost the intergenerational exchange;
·5 to organize more social events and to invest in places of social aggregation;
·6 to guarantee and promote the right to public spaces;
·7 to invest in sustainable mobility and consequently increase the safety and the
accessibility to many areas;
·8 to create more open and collaborative spaces;
·9 to respect and invest in multiculturalism;
·10 to support family welfare and the needs of parents;
·11 to sustain people with disabilities.

Considered as a whole, these needs highlighted the widespread necessity of new urban public spaces, again connected with a new concept of living the city and being a citizen.

The District Labs are linked with the Participatory Budget, an initiative promoted by the City of Bologna to foster the participation of citizens in the governance of the city. It is part of the Municipal Statute and it represents a participatory instrument whose aim is to meet the citizens' needs by providing a concrete answer and using public finances to transform them into real projects.

The premises on which the Participatory Budget idea and method are based is that, while we are living in an interconnected world, where we need to be always updated and connected to social media otherwise we risk being excluded from the public debate, and while a growing portion of political communication uses digital means, the subjects and recipients of these messages are real people who live, occupy and share physical spaces.

The Districts' Labs represent the co-design phase of the Participatory Budget process: all those willing to take part are invited to participate in public meetings with co- design experts and technicians in order to better understand and analyze the competing projects and assess their viability (technical and economic sustainability and project implementation time. Only those projects deemed viable will be published and admitted to the ballot). In September the selected projects are then published by the City in the "Iperbole" Community, a digital platform dedicated to participatory projects and open to citizens who accept to register with a public profile

In 2017, during the pilot edition of the participatory budget, more than 1,900 citizens participated in the public events and meetings and 14,580 citizens participated in the voting phase to implement projects in 6 Districts of the City. The Municipality allocated a total of 1 million euros: 150,000 euros per District that could be allocated to a single project or more than one if the total cost was estimated to be lower than the amount assigned to the single district. The winning projects selected during the first phase will be implemented within the following 3 years. In 2018 the second edition of the participatory budget started with the same amount of public funds.

**Domain 2: New policy tool for public spaces – Spaces Lab**

The idea to create the Spaces Lab focused on public spaces, where citizens can debate the importance of having new places where they can live their citizenship.

These spaces should be accessible and aimed at facilitating the connection and dialogue between citizens and communities. This collaboration method should be represented both by the places themselves, with their physical and structural construction, and the way they are managed. In this context, if the citizens become the subjects entitled to manage the place, the PA is the subject making sure that the idea of places open to all will be respected: hybrid places that need to be flexible and accessible, a point of reference for the districts, where the social and cultural melting pot typical of modern societies finds its expression.

These are the assumptions at the basis of the Spaces Lab whose main goal is to design new policies and instruments to entrust and manage properties owned by the Municipality. The Lab aims also at stimulating the dialogue between cities to co-design policies and new forms of management of public spaces and, to this end, Barcelona has been identified as one of the main partners. The logic underpinning this goal is traced by Bologna's Regulation for the Care and Regeneration of Urban Commons that redefines also the role of the PA as a guarantor, in collaboration with Joan Subirats, Councilor of the Municipality of Barcelona, and two more experts to be nominated by the Lab participants.

To achieve such a large set of goals and to carry out this ambitious administrative reform, an action program made up of 4 phases has been defined with the objective of identifying a group of experts within the Administration to coordinate the workshops and meetings – together with the Lab participants – to run an in-depth analysis of the current procedure used by the PA to entrust the public commons, to prepare a document collecting all the proposals – that will be presented during a public event – and, finally, to submit the final report to the PA. The latter will then analyze and connect the proposals with its needs under the supervision of the guarantors.

**Domain 3: Urban experiments and new prototypes- Ulab**

Ulab was born as a Living Lab specialized in participatory practices targeting the University Area of Bologna that, unlike many other European cities, hosts the university district in the core of the historical center. The project is financed by ROCK (Regeneration and Optimization of Cultural heritage in Knowledge and creative cities), a H2020 project started in 2016 and involving the Municipality of Bologna, University of Bologna, Rusconi Foundation and the Municipal Theatre, under the coordination of the Foundation for Urban Innovation.

The main goal of Ulab is to link different skills and sectors to co-design the regeneration of the entire area, developing new ideas and experimenting new methods to use public spaces and services.

Ulab develops along two main action lines:

·12 listening to people and co-designing activities to collect ideas and proposals during public meetings organized in the area;

·13 experimenting actions and events in the area that are selected through an open call for proposals.

The first stage aims at collecting and discussing ideas and proposals to create a medium term common vision to transform, enhance and manage the district according to the collaborative values promoted by the Foundation. To this end, a series of meetings with local stakeholders have been organized with the purpose of stressing their needs and reflecting on:

·14 three main themes: accessibility (referring to physical, cultural, and relational accessibility together with the necessity to improve the safety of the area), sustainability (with particular reference to climate change impacts and the district resilience capacity) and collaboration for new forms of production (referring to new forms of PPP between associations, formal and informal groups... finalized to promote the cultural heritage of the area);

·15 four places: Scaravilli Square, Rossini Square, the area surrounding the
Municipal Theater, and Via delle Moline);

·16 ad hoc workshops focused on technologies to be applied to the urban environment: light and sound instruments, urban green technologies and others.

The second stage aims at experimenting actions and events selected by a call for proposals. The groups selected by the Jury are awarded 2,000 euros each to research and propose new forms of recreational activities for the area.

Domain 4: Environment - LabAria According to a report by the European Union, published in June 2017, Europe's air quality is slowly improving but fine particulate matter and ground-level ozone continue to have a serious impact on people's health: 1 out of 10 EU citizens in urban areas are in fact exposed to particulate matter concentrations above the EU limit value, with 9 out of 10 above WHO guidelines.

Due to this alarming scenario and conscious of the fact that environmental issues are more and more perceived as urgent by citizens, in the first months of 2018 the Municipality of Bologna, the University of Bologna, Arpae Emilia-Romagna, Bologna healthcare authorities and the Metropolitan City gave birth to the Air Lab, under the coordination of the Foundation for Urban Innovation.

The Lab is intended as an experimental path to foster the collaboration and dialogue between different subjects to raise awareness and promote virtuous actions on this matter. Through the Lab, the Foundation aims at spreading a correct and conscious knowledge of the actions that could worsen the air quality in the city and those actions that could instead improve the situation, while promoting the dialogue between different formal and informal actors. The participants include citizens, health and environmental experts, students, researchers, university professors, mobility experts, and founders of bottom-up movements. All of them are characterized by the same concern and moved by the consciousness that air quality is one of the most urgent challenge cities need to face.

As a result, they have all been involved in the debate on the impacts of air quality, the technologies that are currently applied to monitor

the situation and those that should be applied as soon as possible, the actions that need to be undertaken, data analyses, communication methods and flows. Once the criticalities have been identified, the group has been involved in defining strategies and contents to be spread with the aim of increasing the knowledge of the widest possible number of citizens.

The second phase, that will be implemented in Autumn 2018, will engage the participants in the development of an information campaign based on data and individual and collective behaviors, as well as a series of Lab activities whose goal is to directly involve the local stakeholders on air quality related issues.

The communication campaign is not only a communication activity but an integrated process that will develop in the long term and at more levels.

## Future actions: new challenges for the co-creation of cities for citizens and by citizens

The experience achieved thanks to these labs constitutes the basis to create a continuous process of capacity building not only for FIU staff, but also for the Municipality departments, mediators and city makers involved in each specific program.

The challenge is to establish a relation between the results of each lab, understanding their mutual influence, the overall impacts on the whole urban contexts, thus drawing the conclusions and using the lessons learned to manage future challenges in an integrated and synergistic way.

The Foundation for Urban Innovation will work to strengthen its role as a collective brain, a place where new ideas turn into reality, a collector of innovative actions and a meeting point able to encourage the dialogue between citizens, public institutions, associations and bottom-up movements, that altogether represent the economic, social and cultural world active in the area.

The innovative work carried out by the newly born foundation seeks to answer the questions about the construction of the city: "Who are the main actors entitled to decide the future of the city and pertaining to this peculiar organism? And how should we govern the city?"

This ambitious role reflects the need to respond, on the one hand, to new and urgent challenges, while on the other to reconcile the citizens with the political sphere in the effort to fill the gap due to their perceived lack of government by local institutions, too often described as incapable of effectively meeting citizens' needs. To this end, the Foundation is testing new forms of public participation in the effort to reinvent and regenerate the principle of democracy as the government of everybody in our urban commons.

There are, however, conditions and challenges under which community participation may appear costly and should be faced promptly. These challenges represent the core of the Foundation's activity for the next phase, and could be summarized as the necessity to collect and analyze open data to make them available and understandable to citizens, to increase the participation of young and foreign citizens, and to turn the experimental methodology we are testing into a standardized approach to co-design the city. To this end, it is crucial to stress the importance of involving citizens in the whole process of opinion formation and public debate. This requires a review of the sense of 'we' meaning being mutually affected by decisions.

If we want to transform Bologna into a more sustainable and resilient city, inclusive and welcoming city, democratic and fair city, we have to co-operate with institutions, research centers, companies, associations, citizens and communities, empowering them, through public policies, to co-produce social, cultural and technological changes.

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# CHIARAVALLEY
# PEFORMANCE AND LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE
# IN CULTURE-BASED REGENERATION PROCESSES.
# Case study: the district of Chiaravalle

**Marta Bertani**

## Abstract

The peri-urban area of Chiaravalle, Milan, is the setting where the cultural association Terzo Paesaggio operates. In Chiaravalle, Terzo Paesaggio is carrying out a pilot project for the regeneration of the territory from forgotten suburban areas to living districts. By employing the method of the Progetto Performativo del Paesaggio (PPP) and other fundamental tools, such as the concept of "community of sentiment" or Pro-AM and cantieri scuola, Terzo Paesaggio aims at supporting people to become conscious landscape authors, by committing to the idea of landscape stewardship. This reflection shows the theoretical and methodological bases of TP's project. A detailed analysis of some fundamental case studies follows.

## Key words

progetto performativo, landscape, architecture, urban regeneration, research-action, grassroots actions, landscape stewardship, performing art, public art.

Whereas a painter paints a picture, a poet writes a poem, the people as a whole create a landscape, constitute the deep reservoir of their spirit.

## Introduction

*"Whereas a painter paints a picture, a poet writes a poem, the people as a whole create a landscape, constitute the deep reservoir of their spirit"*. Martin Schwind

The contemporary age leads people to wonder about the meaning of dwelling in the
urban space.
How am I living? Which landscape do I inhabit?
Why and how talking about landscape stewardship?
Through the description of Terzo Paesaggio's research-action processes, the reader
is encouraged to reflect on these issues.

## Aim

The aim of this research is to show that Terzo Paesaggio's pilot project in Chiaravalle (Milan) may contribute to the wider EU debate on the role of urban areas since it encapsulates a novel approach within the realm of urban regeneration processes, rooted especially in performing arts and landscape architecture. By retracing Terzo Paesaggio's actions in Chiaravalle within the period 2013-2018, it is shown that the association's work is consistent with the principles set in the Urban Agenda for the EU (Pact of Amsterdam) and that it can be inspirational for similar urban situations.

## Research design

This analysis is based on the direct experience of TP's working team. Terzo Paesaggio's actions are shortly described and important elements are highlighted.
The characteristics of TP's project are then compared with the indications included in the Pact of Amsterdam and points of connections are illustrated. The analysis shows that Terzo Paesaggio offers contemporary solutions to the ongoing urban challenges as they are illustrated by the Pact. A theoretical reflection will be followed by a detailed description of case studies.

## Setting the scene

### Terzo Paesaggio (TP)
Terzo Paesaggio is a non-profit cultural association, which was created in 2015 in Chiaravalle (Milan) by an interdisciplinary group of young professionals, aiming at the regeneration of this particular peri-urban district. Drawing upon the European Landscape Convention's definition of landscape, i.e. "*an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors*" (2000, art.1, let. a), the association

conceives the landscape as a place of relationships, where people's individual and collective responsibility towards the environment is displayed. According to Terzo Paesaggio's understanding, people are landscape authors. The association's activities merge two main elements, i.e. performing arts and landscape architecture. Its pilot project is carried out in Chiaravalle with the intention to regenerate and transform a forgotten suburban area into a living district. TP's actions are at the service of the local community, to encourage its activation and to promote its involvement.

**The area**

Chiaravalle is located in the suburban area southeast of Milan. It has the size of a village, with its 1,100 inhabitants, and it is known mainly as the geographical site where Bernard of Clairvaux founded a great Cistercian abbey in 1135, naming it after its French motherhouse. Throughout the ages, the abbey of Chiaravalle stood out as the cathedral of European agriculture and as the technological core of the surrounding area. The monks took advantage of the peculiar aspects of the territory, nourished by Vettabbia canal. As a result, the territory prospered, filled up with people and the village grew. At the end of the 19th century, the village and the abbey were detached because of the construction of the Milan-Genoa railway. During the following century, Chiaravalle underwent a progressive process of degradation due to Milan's industrialization. The "rebirth" of Chiaravalle and of its surroundings began in the early 2000s with the creation of Parco della Vettabbia as an educational agricultural park and of Nosedo's water purification plant, which triggered, in turn, the requalification of Cascina Nosedo as the core of a system of interconnected and socially-oriented farmhouses in the area. Thanks to these changes, the territory has progressively re-acquired its past appeal and rejected its status of degraded outskirts.

Nowadays, Chiaravalle is a 1,100-inhabitant village, which is officially part of the Municipality of Milan. As a matter of fact, if the Duomo can be defined Milan's geographical and symbolic center, Chiaravalle is still undoubtedly an eccentric center of the city. The abbey's aura extends around it in all directions and its influence reaches Milan's metropolitan area.

**Why does TP's pilot project take place in Chiaravalle?**

When Bernard of Clairvaux arrived in Chiaravalle, the territory was nothing but a marshy and desert area. However, the monk stated his intention for the place: a swampland was to become a bright valley. Bernard's anticipation was fulfilled by the Cistercian community which, following the Rule of San Benedict Ora et Labora, modified Chiaravalle's geographical configuration and transformed into an core agricultural center. In this regard, Chiaravalle's monastic community can be associated to Mignolo's idea of epistemic locus of enunciation (Mignolo 2009 quoted in Burman 2016, 92), that is, a place where knowledge is produced with consequent concrete outcomes. In this case, the transformation of the territory. This historical premise underpins Terzo Paesaggio's work in the present time.

Chiaravalle is a border, a hybrid entity between the city and the fields, an open-air laboratory of experimentation, which maintains three everlasting elements: culto (rituality), coltivare (farming) and cultura (culture). Rooted in this triad, Terzo Paesaggio carries out a process of intense regeneration.

## Terzo Paesaggio's vision

The vision of Terzo Paesaggio can be summarized by listing its main goals, i.e.
> to develop practices of social innovation focusing on the landscape and, in particular, on its marginal and undetermined aspect - as its favorite scope of action;
> to promote the concept of landscape as a cultural realm and, consequently, to test a new model of cultural and political actions.
> to raise people's awareness on the landscape's value as a place of relation, by stressing the fact that people are responsible for their individual and collective actions on the environment as landscape authors and by treasuring the Cistercian tradition based on the importance of relations and sustainability.
> to advocate for the principles of livableness, of support to local cultures, of respect towards the nature and any living beings;
> to promote immersive practices in the territory, which can take the form of workshops, temporary re-use practices, artistic dwelling experiences and landscape rituals;
> to promote practices of harmonization with the natural context, i.e. building with natural materials and encouraging the consumption of local food;
> to represent a meeting point for people, institutions and associations, where developing practices of collaboration consistent with the sharing economy principles;
> to encourage the circulation of the cognitive and creative capital with a focus on the intergenerational and transdisciplinary exchange and on the transformative
potential that open and inclusive planning procedures imply;
> to trigger audience development practices and to focus the attention on the issues of cultural market, local communication and marketing and the role of new
technologies.

## Methods

Terzo Paesaggio establishes the direction of the work. The goals are clearly set and they steer the project. To achieve its aims, TP takes advantage of a wide and diverse set of methodological tools, which anchor its work. The concept of community of sentiment and the use of workshops are two emblematic examples.

**Progetto Perfomativo di Paesaggio**

Terzo Paesaggio is testing a novel and experimental methodolo-

gy called "Progetto Performativo di Paesaggio" (PPP) (Performative Project of Landscape) for the urban regeneration, as it is illustrated by its author Valentina Signore, Urban Studies PhD.

Progetto Performativo is an innovative methodology for the regeneration of marginal areas that hybridizes the tools of landscape architecture and of performing arts, specifically public art as it is defined by Sharp, Pollock and Paddison, i.e. an art that "creates spaces – whether material, virtual or imagined – within which people can identify themselves" (2005, 1004). The approach is multifaceted and employs a diverse set of devices to activate the regeneration processes, i.e. organization of events, unforgettable experiences, urban games and performances; creation of playscapes and relational architectures. It originates a complex palimpsest, which is multi-target and manifold. As Signore writes (2012)[1], the approach purpose is "liberare il desiderio, indicare come desiderare. Produrre direzioni del desiderio, mettere in moto l'immaginazione e l'azione. Per questo lascia spazio all'imprevisto, all'indeterminato, al possibile insito nell'agire dei soggetti che abitano i suoi luoghi, i suoi paesaggi, le sue atmosfere". "*The PP is permanent only in its provisional character, certain in its uncertainty, stationary in its processuality*. ".(Signore 2012)[3].

**The community of sentiment and the hourglass model**

Within the perspective of the Performative Project, further indications on TP's modus operandi should be provided. First, drawing upon Arjun Appadurai's concept of "community of sentiment", that is, a group of people "that begins to imagine and feel things together" (1996,8), Terzo Paesaggio creates a community of people, city-users turned into Pro-AM (Professional Amateurs), who are aware of the peculiarity of the place, acknowledge the ongoing experimentation and contribute to the implementation of the project through their personal skills.

Pro-AMs play an essential role in the hourglass model, which characterizes Terzo Paesaggio's actions. In order to understand the model correctly, the reader should visualize the image of an hourglass, which consists of two glass bulbs connected by a narrow neck. Metaphorically speaking, the upper bulb represents the moment in which city-users become Pro-AMs through a mentoring process. In other words, when mentors pass down their specific knowledge to a small group of actors, these end up forming a community of sentiment, connected by a specific body of knowledge, acquired expertise and awareness. The creation of a community of sentiment is associated to the neck of the hourglass.

Once a group of Pro-AMs is formed, the second stage of the model can be considered. This moment is epitomized by the lower bulb of the hourglass. The community of sentiment's knowledge and skills are taught and spread to a larger amount of people, since everybody should benefit from them and take part in the process.

**Cantieri scuola**

Cantieri scuola are another important tool that Terzo Paesaggio

employs within the framework of Progetto Performativo. The term "cantieri scuola" is translated into English as "workshops". Unfortunately, the translation does not preserve the multifaceted character of the word. The term "cantiere" (building site) highlights the processual nature of the project, which is constantly evolving and emotionally involving the participants. Through a diverse range of participative itineraries, people are called to take part actively in the project and to co-create. The term "scuola" (school) refers to an ongoing learning process, which includes both the organizers and the participants, without any distinctions.

The existence of cantieri scuola pertains to the millennial monastic Cistercian tradition and therefore to Chiaravalle's history. On the one hand, the idea of "cantiere" is associated to the concept of dwelling as collective care for the place. It recalls the idea of greatness and persistence and it often refers to the construction of remarkable human works such as cathedrals. On the other hand, it implies the idea of learning capabilities, of acquiring a specific know-how and of reaching mastery in crafts.

**Terzo Paesaggio's project within the Pact of Amsterdam framework**

Terzo Paesaggio's pilot project in Chiaravalle harmonizes with the most recent considerations on the role of urban areas, as discussed at the EU level. In particular, in line with the Pact of Amsterdam. The reasons that triggered the creation of Terzo Paesaggio and that still motivate its work are consistent with the fundamental role of cities and city-makers that the Pact of Amsterdam acknowledges and highlights within the European debate.

TP works in a peculiar peri-urban district, where the city of Milan meets the countryside and Chiaravalle's hybrid nature makes it the perfect location for experimentation. Its project is directly connected to point 12.6 in the Pact of Amsterdam, where the importance of the "impact on societal change, including behavioral change" is underlined. In fact, what drives TP's actions in the environment is the belief that people can become conscious landscape authors through the employment of artistic languages, according to the idea that "*if our urban world has been imagined and made then it can be re-imagined and re-made*" (Harvey 2003, 941). Terzo Paesaggio is trying to encourage a societal change by offering creative solutions to everyday issues. This is attempted by involving people and by stimulating their imagination. In Terzo Paesaggio's understanding, the societal change may be triggered by a change of gaze on the surroundings, which in turn is stimulated by the involvement of art. Through artistic practices, places acquire new meanings and can be re-shaped: monks are seen as indigenous actors, the abandoned railroad becomes a high-line for the imagination, the village is a garden, local people are authors and guardians, actions are landscape rituals (riti di paesaggio), artistic installations are landscapes theaters (teatri di paesaggio)...

1 "its [Progetto Perfomativo] aim is to release the desire, to indicate the way to desire. To produce directions of the desire, to set the imagination and the action into motion. For this reason, it gives space to the unexpected, to the uncertain, to the possible within the actions of those who live in its places, its landscapes, its atmospheres [...]"

2.

3. The PP "is stable only in its provisional dimension, certain in its uncertainty, stationary in its processuality"

As a result, a suburban area such as Chiaravalle is transformed and regenerated according to different criteria.

1- The focus is shifted from mere interventions on infrastructures to vivification of places;

2- The direct involvement of the community and the creation of a community of sentiment are the main assets in the project;

3- The role of cultural rights and the importance of cultural heritage, as it is illustrated by the Faro convention, are emphasized;

4- The potential of civil society as promoters of co-creative actions to deal with urban challenges is recognized and enhanced, as the hourglass model illustrates.

5- A polycentric development of the urban area of Milan is encouraged.

Terzo Paesaggio's work in Chiaravalle leads to the creation of a diverse selection of activities: workshops, artistic residences, urban games, performances and participative itineraries[5]; it attracts artists and creative people and it encourages flows of visitors and participants from the city and the surroundings. Strongly rooted in the local environment and involved in the local network, TP's efforts are always made to solve or mitigate the local community's concerns and issues, such as, for instance, agricultural innovation, sustainable tourism, cultural participative events, service design, communication and marketing for the area. Yet, at the same time, it opens up to an international dimension. In this regard, the participation of TP in the European project UIA/OpenAgri as supplier and referee should be mentioned.

Through the method of PPP, the project in Chiaravalle is shaped both in time and in space by the activation of scattered places in the area, depending on the necessities expressed by Chiaravalle's community and by the local context. At the same time, the project is expanded or restricted, depending on the available resources and on the local existing network. Terzo Paesaggio is not alien to Chiaravalle's community.

It is deeply connected to the other associations acting in the area, among the others Associazione Borgo di Chiaravalle, ARCI Pessina and Terra Rinata. Moreover, TP's founders, Marta Bertani and Andrea Perini, live in the village and take part actively in the life of their community. This constant presence together with the discussion and interaction with the other inhabitants allow the association to intercept the community's priorities and to suggest solutions.

## Actions

### Stage 1

The activity in Chiaravalle started with a process of urban acupuncture, as it is defined by Marco Ermentini (2013) Thanks to the first funded project, in the village of Chiaravalle, Terzo Paesaggio created a square (in a private area, where a urban renewal is expected for the future) for the village, which lacked a public meeting point. The first actions described in this document are the answer to the need for a space of sociality in the district. As a result, the project

5. The term participative itinerary is used by Terzo Paesaggio to indicate collective explorations in the area, focused on a specific theme or guided by an expert

Chiaravalle ti s-piazza (2014) began.

### Displace. Building a temporary square for Chiaravalle - Action 0

The term "displace", that is, "to move", which in Italian sounds like "this place", was the name of the project: a temporary square for Chiaravalle, located in a place with ahigh visibility but hardly accessible. The goal was to create a meeting place, identity- making and available for cultural initiatives and for the activation of the local community. During the week from 4th to 8th June 2014, a group of Interior Design students from Politecnico di Milano made prototypes of pieces of street furniture for the new temporary square of Chiaravalle together with the inhabitants and master carpenter. It has been a unique experience of tactical urbanism, which is described also on the Moma's online platform. This action represented the first cantiere scuola, which was not only an occasion to teach new skills to the participants, but also a collective identity-making moment for the local community. This action led to the creation of a place where to dwell and it drove to the activation of the following action, described in the next paragraph.

### Anguriera. Creative stronghold for the district of Chiaravalle

After its creation, the temporary square hosted the "Anguriera di Chiaravalle", an open-air watermelon kiosk, which quickly became Chiaravalle's meeting place, animated by cultural and music events. It was an ephemeral device for the urban regeneration of the area. Rooted in the center of the village, it shortly became an identity-making place, where local food and beverages were served. The main characteristics of Anguriera can be described by some key-terms:

- Place amenity
- Evoking strength
- An almost concealed and secret device
- Atelier of urban planning / landscape observatory
- Direct relation with the people
- Space of co-creation
- Reference point for the area
- Tactical urbanism: a self-built wooden cabin and street furniture
- Agent of change, meeting and discussion

The Anguriera ended up being a device for the narration of the area and, metaphorically speaking, it represented the association's foundation ritual. It shaped and gave direction to Terzo Paesaggio's activities; it allowed to imagine and recount TP's poetics and to clarify its mission. Furthermore, Anguriera has represented a proper device for Chiaravalle's urban regeneration as a gathering place and as a platform for activism. Due to its seasonal character, linked to the summer and to watermelons, it was intimately connected to the cyclical nature of time and actions. Thanks to its outdoor location, it stimulated direct relationships and meeting opportunities as well as stewardship processes (still spontaneous, at that time), by understanding people's needs, by trying to give concrete answers to them and by gathering important data for following projects. As

Marco Ermentini writes in "La Piuma Blu" (2013), "The anguriera di Chiaravalle must be celebrated as a birth, a new start opposed to standardization. A truly casual architecture, a joyful temple dedicated to hypo-consumption, a form of resistance. A place where people realize that happiness does not lie in ownership, but in the capacity of using things. Maybe architecture can spring up from these borders, the forgotten boundaries of urban outskirts, after so many failures, with new trust in vulnerability and contamination. The need to take care of the world arises from the acknowledgement of this fragility, thus heading for a new start. Listen to me: the most silent forms of architecture are those bringing about revolution!".

Anguriera di Chiaravalle is today an icon of the local area. Its Facebook page has still a greater amount of followers than Terzo Paesaggio's.

Since its first edition, the action "anguriera" has led to the following outcomes:
> growth of the creative and artistic effervescence;
> growth of the direct involvement of local inhabitants in cultural activities;
> Chiaravalle's reputation as an innovative place at a cultural level
> activation of a Facebook page as a meeting place of digital interaction and as a platform for communication and promotion;
> creation of a mobile device of urban regeneration that can attract the attention of researchers, scholars, journalists, city-makers...

Last, thanks to the Anguriera, the economic resources to cover the co-financing requested by Fondazione Cariplo's calls for bids have been collected.

## Stage 2

During the project Chiaravalle ti-spiazza, it has emerged - once again - that a great amount of work is necessary to "stitch the wounds" in the physical and social fabric of an area, marked by the pressing transformations of postmodernity. The necessity to explore the cut (concretely, the abandoned railroad), which detached the village from the abbey, became an urgent issue, based on the awareness that a limit could have been transformed into a threshold.

With these considerations in mind, stage 2 was opened by the necessity to start a process that could lead not only to symbolic outcomes, but also to concrete results. The project "soglia monastero | cantieri per il giardino planetario" (2015-2017) was launched. The threshold - space for contemplation where intimate and underlying elements fall - becomes a garden: a place where wandering and vital particles of the surrounding universe are visible, where to learn how to contemplate and protect the world and where to know and nurture environmental and human relations.

Terzo Paesaggio chooses the garden/threshold as a privileged space, as an observatory and laboratory for the landscape. Every action of the project is characterized by an artistic reflection on the holy (culto), by a collective working experience (coltivare) and by interaction with places, landscape and other artistic languages (cultura).

The artistic process of transformation is supported by laboratories for the community in order to build a dialogue between artistic actions and local inhabitants.

**Case 1. Cantare il lavoro.**
Performing action of connection with the territory. Action for the landscape protection. The "frangia" (a strip of land along the Vettabbia canal) became a place of narration for the ongoing process of experimentation and safeguarding. Here, TP operated by merging the practical work in the field (coltivare) with ancient techniques and traditions where the use of the voice was connected to the pace of the agricultural activities as a choral act (culto).

The laboratory "cantare il lavoro" represented one of the first actions for the transformation of that strip of land, between the village and the abbey, from a cut into a threshold. This strip of land, long and narrow, was given in concession to the the association. In Terzo Paesaggio's view, it represents a proper third landscape, a place of experimentation. This place was chosen as a remarkable spot where to enact the change. The laboratory, which took place before the arrival of the spring season, associated the performing singing practices with cleaning and maintenance procedure in the natural environment. As the place changed, a change in the way we breathed and sang was encouraged.

The collective experience favored the mutual relationship among the participants and the awareness of the holy dimension of the place. The intensity of this experience led to the birth of the Pro-AM community and, as a result, to a mutual recognition as a group.

**Scuola elementare di paesaggio**
Micro-actions to discover the culture as a sedimentation process. Several actions took place in the frangia. Among these, the scuola elementare di paesaggio (landscape elementary school), Terzo Paesaggio's own format. It was a round of meetings on some constitutive elements of the local landscapes, such as meadows, water, sky, trees, cracks and households.

This idea originated from the need to involve the local community without age restrictions and focusing the attention on one element at a time in order to encourage a step-by-step understanding of the complexity of the landscape. The frangia became an open-air room to stimulate the desire for exploration in nature.

**Celebrations and performance**
In partnership with Federgat / I Teatri del Sacro, Terzo Paesaggio activated a participative process on the concept of the holy, through community theatre laboratories. It was an important opportunity to rethink about the way art and culture are produced. Art and culture should not end in themselves, they cannot be simply a performance. They have actually to be transformed into community processes of sharing, meeting and experiencing together.

**Case 1 Drago Chiaravalle - verso il giardino**

Thanks to this experience, the citizens-visitors became authors and, metaphorically speaking, they acted as gardeners - guardians of the place. After two years, Terzo Paesaggio organized a landscape ritual, i.e. a collective celebration to mark the birth of a threshold, an overlooking platform of the village towards the abbey. For this purpose, TP built collective images around the demonic character of the Dragon, which protects the entrance to a once-forbidden and close place: the big lawn of Chiaravalle's monks. In the lawn, the ritual of garden foundation took place.

Remarkable spots of the landscape were transformed and re-imagined through fantasy in order to trigger new visions and new ways to live in the place. This action marked both the end of the project "soglia monastero" and the opening of a secret passage, which had been closed for centuries.

**Stage 3. Playscapes**

Terzo Paesaggio's new project (2018), "Stato di paesaggio", is opened by a question. How can the ongoing performative and artistic actions be boosted?

Chiaravalle is imagined as a big playscape. The initiative is about the creation of a landscape project for Chiaravalle, as a public art action. Stato di paesaggio completes the round of meetings of Scuola elementare di paesaggio and it delves into the novel issue of playscapes and the relation between public spaces and community. The meetings are organized by a team of landscape architects, who investigate new and old dimensions of the landscape through in situ explorations, narrations and participatory actions. The ludic space is an opportunity to re-read re-thematize an inhabited and stratified place. The project is based on the idea that the ludic dimension can stimulate the participation of people in the community's building process and trigger the desire to explore and to get to know the territory. The playscape acts as the fundamental trick to activate the regeneration of the area.

Playscapes can anticipate new ways of enjoying the landscape and dwelling in the place. They are precursors of new ways of mobility and dwelling practices.

In this specific case, the playscape is built through and in parallel with the creation of the urban game for the festive performance. Therefore, the outcome of the process, which implies the active participation of the community, represents the creation of the playscape as well.

**Case 1. Urban game - Lumina**

The urban game Lumina is the answer to the question that opens the third stage of experimentation on the territory. "How can TP's work continue in consistency with the previous stages of the project, increasing the impact and the resonance of the actions? How can we enhance the community of sentiment's expertise?".

This result can be achieved by applying the PPP method with Pro-AMs. In other words, by activating the hourglass model, Pro-Ams are "employed" in the co-creation and diffusion of the game.

The celebration is a great collective urban game, which was created for this occasion. It takes place in an important date for the popular tradition, i.e. St. John's Eve (23rd June). The action is focused on a strip of land, around the core district of Chiaravalle and the Parco della Vettabbia. The cathartic nature of the urban game will allow the community to reflect on its contingency (in other words, its "stato di paesaggio") and to find a ludic solution for the urban challenges of the area.

Drawing upon the treasure hunt model, this ludic event is organized as a team-game and collective entertainment. The participants are called to experience the territory, to collect information and material, to explore, to meet the local inhabitants, to challenge themselves, to solve riddles. Each team's contribution will be dramatized and condensed in a collective performance, as the potential outcome of the unbridled regeneration of Chiaravalle!

## Conclusions

**The actions that have been described represent peaks, high points and "pretexts" to build community. They have their proper intrinsic meanings, yet at the same time, they imply and form a complex action of protection, care and constant attention to the relations, which can be defined as landscape stewardship.**

**On the one hand, Terzo Paesaggio's research-action shows that the regeneration process of a territory is especially a process of landscape schooling, i.e. a process of guidance and assistance of the community in situ and in vivo through constant triggers and novel approaches, which make the peculiar traits of the place (culto, coltivare, cultura) emerge. TP's goal is to encourage a creative expansion, which can help the construction of the community, the diffusion of knowledge, the push to invention, the co-creation of new identities and the creative use of common spaces.**

**On the other hand, the Progetto Performativo requests support for the community in the dialogue with the institutions, the local network and the Municipality. The leading role of the PPP is a conditio sine qua non.**

**Terzo Paesaggio can contribute to the debate on cities, it can offer insights, narrate, explore new solutions for its creation and architecture. It has the tools to offer complex landscape solutions.**

**Its actions are included in the framework of the so-called landscape stewardship.**

**What does this term mean? Stewards are assistants and their role is to manage and supervise a property. In the specific case, a steward is a local inhabitant, who keeps a 24/24 relationship with the needs of the local community and has both managerial skills and savoir-fare, a fundamental attribute to solve local disputes.**

**Terzo Paesaggio has developed stewardship skills. The land-**

scape stewardship is shaped on a model, which is similar to the PPP and allows to keep the balance between the local community and the institutions.

Overall, while the steps of the project in Chiaravalle evolve and develop at local level through actions which are backed up by a rigorous methodological approach (PPP) and are enhanced by innovative and contemporary attributes consistent with the vision, the contact with the contemporary city and with the urban metropolitan context is safeguarded by "landscape stewardship" actions, i.e. mediation procedures, need investigation, participation in debates on the regeneration of suburban areas, dialogue with the institutions and administrative authorities, local active actors and local centers of innovation: these actions are the result of a daily, constant, observative and living presence in the territory. If adopted at structural level, LD can become a tool which represents the area in vivo. It could drive urban practices and be integrated in the municipal planning agenda for the regeneration of suburban areas, hoping to shake local policies and to create a para-institutional point of reference within neighborhoods.

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# KNOWLEDGE EXCHANGE ON URBAN SYSTEMIC APPROACH.
## The Bologna case

**Boeri Gianfrate Lama**

## Abstract

**Cities around the world are currently facing complex, varied and persistent challenges: climate change, growing population and aging population (in Europe), rethinking resource management issues, innovation integration at urban levels, etc. One of the most pressing challenges for policy makers is to increase the capacity to define and follow a systemic approach, able to create value at urban level, collecting communities' intelligence through collaborative processes and to support the innovation processes in the social, environmental and organisational domains of public realm. This paper, with a special focus on historic city contexts and their Cultural Heritage, will show how these complex and cross-cutting challenges require the adoption of multi-level and multi-stakeholders' governance models, in which the Public Administration acts as a facilitator, capable of supporting organisational, technological and social innovations.**

**The paper describes the case of Bologna, first city in Italy having adopted a Regulation for the care of city commons and the preliminary results of an European experimental project, in which the city is involved, which represents the occasion to test on the fields (historic city) the co-city paradigm and civic collaboration tools, through a mix of bottom-up and top-down initiatives, completed by a direct involvement of different stakeholders in all the stages of the transformation processes of the city. The paper illustrates how a combination of experimentation results, policies, and governance models of the city will be assumed as a tool to improve the operational knowledge in urban contexts, describing: the method adopted, based on 4 phases (Knowledge collection, Pilot and demonstration, Evaluation and Assessment and Replication); the actors involved; the results achievable in terms of knowledge and competencies in urban systemic approaches.**

## Keywords

**Systemic approach competencies, Multi-level governance, Knowledge exchange, Urban innovation, Collaborative processes, Urban commons**

## Introduction

Cities around the world are currently facing complex, varied and persistent challenges: climate change (Boeri et al. 2017) (Keck et al. 2013), growing population and aging population (in Europe), rethinking resource management issues, innovation integration at urban levels (Directorate General RTD 2017), resilience enhancement (ICLEI 2015) (Folke 2010).

One of the most pressing challenges for policy makers is to increase the capacity to define and follow a systemic approach to manage variables and enhance relations (Cooper et al. 1970), able to overpass the silos structure between different sectors, create value, collecting communities' intelligence through collaborative practices, and to support the innovation processes in the social, environmental and organizational domains of public realm.

This paper, with a special focus on historic city contexts and their Cultural Heritage (CH), will show how these complex and cross-cutting challenges require the adoption of multi-level and multi-stakeholders' governance models to foster their adaptation and transformation (Salat 2017), in which the Public Administration (PA) acts as a facilitator, to support organisational, technological and social innovations.

The involvement of citizens and other stakeholders in the different phases of the policy-making process is witnessed by a multitude of examples across the world, showing the growing commitment of local authorities to engaging with their communities in shaping the future of their cities together (i.e. Decidim Barcelona, Empatia in Milan, Participatory Budget in Puerto Alegre, ChangeMakerSpace in Singapore, etc.), based on the belief that open and participatory governance is the key to making cities livelier, more inclusive and sustainable, while boosting urban innovation and competitiveness. Citizens, each with their own background, knowledge and expertise, represent a collective intelligence and are those that daily live and experience the city, representing valuable on-the-ground antennas, providing both input in terms of evolving needs and unique insights of urban dynamics and trends. This is why many initiatives are aimed at introducing multi-level governance models, including emergent ones, across the different policy sectors, which see the local government at the centre of a virtuous circle, with the role of "civic activator".

The degree of citizens' involvement has evolved and intensified over the years (Figuereido 2016), as well as the tools put in place to support such processes. Mostly, they consist in a combination of more traditional participative methods, like focus groups and workshops, and new ones, like web-based cooperation platforms, posing new challenges in terms of skills, methodological approaches and organisational assets required to manage them, passing from simple sharing and consultative moments to the setting-up of structured co-design and service prototyping paths (Tomkova 2009) (Bentivegna 2002). These practices need a robust governance structure, introducing progressively an empowerment of citizens in the decision-making processes (Sørensen et al 2015) and expe-

rimenting at the same time new forms of interactions between city makers, adopting community involvement as a key point for the city management, service improvement and public innovation (Sørensen et al 2012). A significant example is represented by the citizens' engagement policies that the Municipality of Athens has been implementing since 2013, also in response to the persistent economic crisis, which required a collective effort and call for action for improving the quality of life of the city. This turned out into a massive campaign aimed at empowering people to be active on the public scene, bridging the gap between the local administration and those citizens who otherwise would remain unseen and marginal to decision-making processes. The synAthina platform[1] represents the virtual arena in which formal and informal groups connect and cooperate to lead to simpler, faster and more sustainable solutions for the city of Athens. Four are the keywords characterising the process: Collecting, Connecting, Sieving and Incorporating. It is not only a matter of hearing voices, but of favouring cooperation among actors and picking up best and most feasible ideas to improve local services, launch new ones, or adapt procedures or regulations, based on citizens' needs, to test new pathways for a network management, supported by ICT Tool (Albareda 2016). Since its launch, 379 groups of citizens and institutions in cooperation with 115 sponsors have been animating 3,201 activities hosted in the platform.

Similarly, in Lisbon, the Local Development Strategy in Priority Intervention Territories initiative (Bairros e Zonas de Intervenção Prioritária de Lisboa BIP/ZIP) recently labelled as URBACT good practice[2], has been providing an integrated toolbox to sustain effective intervention in deprived territories while permanently engaging all relevant community players. Following a mapping phase based on a composite index, which identified 67 Intervention Zones, a Local Partnerships Program was launched, financing and supporting 232 local community projects between 2011 and 2016, bringing together 532 entities among stakeholders and other partners and impacting an average of approximately 98,600 inhabitants each year.

Another meaningful example is represented by the increasing number of public administrations applying for the Engaged Cities Award[3], assigned by the Cities of Service coalition[4] to the most successful city-led strategies adopting participatory approaches to co-create and implement solutions to pressing local problems.

The 2018 edition saw three winning cities: Tulsa in Oklahoma (US), for its data-driven policy, Santiago de Cali (Colombia), which set-up local councils to engage communities in the fight against violence and crimes at the neighbourhood-level, and Bologna (IT), for its collaborative practices, which have become over the years a consolidated modus operandi of the local administration across all policy fields.

## Bologna: a city where cooperation stems from the past

Bologna, the first in Italy adopting, in 2014, a Regulation on Public Collaboration between citizens and the city for the care and regeneration of urban commons[5], has paved the way to approximately other 150 Italian municipalities, which have introduced similar forms of shared administration. Still, Bologna remains the main ground of experimentation, where the Regulation represents one of the elements characterizing a wider process nurturing a circular model able to enhance urban resilience and to generate new alliances and shared values, by disclosing the hidden potential of the city, starting from the promotion and enhancement of its spaces.

The administrative history and organization of Bologna testifies the collaborative tendency of the city. As a matter of fact, Bologna has been the first Italian city to decentralize the power to the local environment by dividing its territory into Districts to ease administration. At the same time, to prevent the inhabitants of the peripheries from feeling marginalized, a series of civic centres were set up offering a wide ensemble of cultural, recreational and assistance initiatives providing a concrete answer to "loneliness". Still today, neighbourhoods reconfirm themselves as being the ideal scale where to encourage and experiment new forms of citizens engagement and for testing a model of circular subsidiarity, through ad hoc instruments created to foster the collaboration between citizens and institutions.

As a matter of fact, cooperation and activism represent a remarkable stock of social capital and can significantly influence the social, economic and political development of a territory (Agger et al 2016), being its growth determined not only by economic factors, but also by the social and institutional fabric characterizing it, as Bologna and the Emilia-Romagna Region witness (Putnam 1994).

In 2001, the Italian Constitution introduced the subsidiarity principle, profoundly changing the way the relationship between institutions and citizens had been since it was conceived, providing that State and local authorities[6]"shall promote the autonomous initiatives of citizens, individually and in combination, to carry out activities of general interest, on the basis of the subsidiarity principle ".

But, despite Bologna had included that principle within its Statute, it is only over ten years later, in 2012, that the need to set up a regulatory framework becomes urgent. It seems that the process which lasted over two years - making Bologna the first city in Italy adopting, in 2014, a Regulation on Collaboration between Citizens and the City for the Care and Regeneration of Urban Commons, started following a request made by a group of citizens to do themselves what could seem, at first sight, a simple operation: refurbishing a bench in a public garden. But the growing number of such instances, thus demonstrating the civic engagement of the Bolognese community, was also raising a series of concerns, in terms of bureaucratic constraints and legal implications of having private citizens operating in public areas. This situation made it evident that a regulatory framework was needed, so that managing together

with citizens could become a structural and permanent policy, with a series of mutual benefits, both for the community, and the administration, especially in a context characterized by the persistent economic crisis, which risked to affect both community welfare and the level and quality of services provided by the administration to its citizens (Iaione 2013).

In 2011, the debate around the topic of the commons was also brought to the attention of the Italian public debate following the public consultation on water. As the definition of commons evolved over the years, it also expanded in terms of categories, reflecting the changes brought about by the globalization and by technological innovations, gaining traction against the twin lapses of the state and the market, wrestling back some form of citizen control on the urban process (Zhang 2017). These New commons (Hess 2008), often reflecting a sort of a counter movement to privatization, have come to include natural landscapes, city parks, but also intangible goods, such as knowledge and digital platforms.

And it is in this way intended by the Regulation, which defines urban commons as "Goods, tangible, intangible and digital, that citizens and the PA, also through participative and deliberative procedures, recognize to be functional to the individual and collective wellbeing, therefore requiring their activation to share the responsibility of their care or regeneration to improve the collective enjoyment of such goods[4]".

The Regulation sets the rules and the procedures allowing active citizens to submit proposals of care or regeneration of urban commons and to enter into Collaboration Pacts with the Public Administration, at the end of a co-design process better defining scope and terms of the collaboration.

Since its approval, the Municipality received 575 collaboration proposals, allowing the implementation of 408 Collaboration Pacts and the engagement of more than 7,000 people[8]. Despite most projects foresee interventions on public gardens, schools, buildings and streets, or deal with graphic vandalism removal, a good percentage of proposals addresses other issues (social inclusion and socialization, gender gap, digital divide, urban creativity and culture). The data referring to the first two years of implementation of the Regulation (2014-2016) show that, if the majority of proposals came from organized groups, like legally recognized associations (52%), economic operators and Foundations (24%), schools and parents associations (7%), committees and social streets (5%), a good number of projects derived from single citizens and non-organized groups (12%)[9].

## New tools and initiatives for collaboration and social inclusion

This new collaborative paradigm has been tested through Collaborare è Bologna, an initiative promoted by the Municipality and managed by the Foundation of Urban Innovation, aimed at boosting the already existing "collaboration culture" of the Bolognese com-

munity, while easing the sharing of information, technologies, resources, spaces, knowledge and competences. Coherently with this approach, in 2014 a municipal digital platform, Comunità, recently renamed Partecipa[10], was launched: a social network with civic goals, an arena where citizens are encouraged to meet, exchange and create, and where all collaborative projects are mapped, published and accounted. Collaborare è Bologna has become, over the time, an overarching city policy framework supporting the identification of most of the priorities included in the Urban Innovation Plan[11], adopted in 2016, bringing the concepts of civic imagination, collaboration, recovery and adaptive reuse of places and buildings at the centre of a policy aimed at enhancing urban resilience and innovation.

The same principles characterise the Participatory Budgeting initiative[12], with 1 million Euros allocated both in 2017 and in 2018, which saw more than 1,800 citizens participating in public events and labs in both editions and respectively 14,584 and 16,348 people voting for concrete projects at neighbourhood level.

All these programs, accompanied by targeted communication campaigns, are devoted to raising people's awareness about urban challenges and their active role to transform the city in a more liveable place, while creating a sense of community and trust in the public administration action.

The creation of resilient communities through the activation of collaborative Living Labs and the setting-up of local ecosystems of stakeholders is also at the centre of ROCK (Regeneration and Optimisation of Cultural heritage in creative and Knowledge cities), funded by the Horizon 2020 project of the European Union, which is developing an innovative, collaborative and systemic approach to promote the effective, sustainable regeneration and adaptive reuse in historic city centres[13].

This last project allows the Municipality, coordinator of the project and replicator city, to test innovative practices at operational level, with the idea to adopt the project initiatives as a pilot to check the effectiveness of ROCK circular approach proposed. Thanks to

*7. Art. 2 of the Municipality of Bologna's Regulation on collaboration between citizens and the city for the care and regeneration of urban commons, (2014). Retrieved from: http://www.comune.bologna.it/media/files/bolognaregulation.pdf*

*8. The full list of Collaboration Pacts is available at the Partecipa section of the Municipality of Bologna: http://partecipa.comune.bologna.it/*

*9. 2014-2016, Due anni di Collaborazione (2016), Urban Center Bologna. Retrieved from: https://issuu.com/comunedibologna/docs/report_patti_scenari_comunebologna*

*10. Retrievable at: http://partecipa.comune.bologna.it/*

*11. Verso il Piano per l'Innovazione Urbana di Bologna (2016). Retrieved from: http://www.comune.bologna.it/ponmetro/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Verso-il-Piano-per-lInnovazione-Urbana-di-Bologna.pdf*

*12. Bilancio Partecipativo. Retrieved from: http://partecipa.comune.bologna.it/bilancio-partecipativo*

*13. H2020 ROCK project website: www.rockproject.eu*

the progressive building of a local ecosystem of stakeholders, the implementation of hearing and co-design initiatives promoted by U-Lab (Bologna Living Lab), the Municipality, in collaboration with its main partner - the University of Bologna, is working to increase the exchange of experiences, information and data between the different actors, to produce new knowledge and culture, especially linked to the potentialities of Cultural Heritage-Led Regeneration processes (see Table 1).

These processes are based on 4 main phases: 1) Knowledge Inventory, to provide a coherent and comprehensive framework of the successful experiences in heritage-led regeneration at city level; 2) Sharing & Modelling, to create a linkage between different cities interested in heritage-led regeneration by assuming the lessons learned and the mentoring process as a tool to achieve a systematic set of strategies and scenarios to foster regeneration and innovation processes; 3) Piloting & Demonstration, based on the scenario modelling, to implement a piloting process in specific demo-sites to achieve a large transformation impacting on cross-sectorial fields; 4) Assessment & Upscaling, to monitor and measure the progress of the process and to give corrective inputs to maximize the replicability potential after its end. These phases follow a looped structure aggregating different ecosystems of stakeholders, depending on the faced issue, enabling multi-level collaborations, measures and tools, to maximize the impacts on each pilot site. The monitoring feedback loop will result in an iterative stream addressed to enlarge and maximize the upscale and project exploitation potential.

ROCK methodological approach for knowledge exchange is based on two main scales: the local level and the transnational one.

Concerning the first, the ecosystem of stakeholders acts as a co-designer (in collaboration with the University and the Municipality) in the transformation process of the experimental site, as a facilitator to involve other contacts and communities in the inclusion initiatives of ROCK, and as an evaluator to make progressive adjustments, to maximize impacts and to create more consciousness about heritage-led regeneration processes. The combined work of ROCK partners and the local ecosystem is useful to assess integrated plans to manage urban contexts, starting from identifying and analysing threats, barriers, social conflicts affecting historic city centres, promoting unconventional planning strategies including a regulatory and governance model which could be transferred to other functional areas. Moreover, this multi-actor approach fosters effective collaboration between formal and informal players, to exchange knowledge and competencies between policy makers, stakeholders and city users, taking into account the different interests (Flyvbjerg et al 2004).

At international level, the Knowledge exchange is based on a mutual exchange between ten European cities, started from a mentoring process on best practices already implemented in the specific territories. After this first phase, cities improve the sharing and transfer process through the adoption of specific tools (Platform, Atlas, unconventional financial schemes) and the constitution of thematic clusters (i.e. participatory approach, new governance models, –CH

adaptive reuse) defining a common way of cross-city collaboration, finding shared solutions for Cultural Heritage-led regeneration to be tested in specific sites, exploiting the potential of transnational cooperation and knowledge exchange.

## Future Research Branches and Conclusion

The methodology is under test in an operational environment, identifying the most effective strategies and solutions to improve sustainability, accessibility and collaboration in the pilot areas. The combination of technological and social infrastructures and services supports the integration between socio-economic and sustainable growth to enhance the local development and the CH-Led regeneration process, moving from a proactive communities' engagement. The difficulty is therefore to determine how multiple socio-technical systems can interact and evolve together, how their institutions should be adapted, and how such processes should be coordinated and, if possible, facilitated. Several interlinked issues (sustainable development, urban revitalization, new values creation, climate change), could be faced to the identification of some trends and drivers that can be recognised as important key factors in developing new approaches for Cultural Heritage regeneration. By fostering a multi-party cooperation and a co-creation of values with the communities, this combination will produce different outcomes:

- new cooperation opportunities between PA, ecosystem of stakeholders and Citizenship with specifc agreements for managing historic spaces and their CH as commons (following the Regulation of Bologna Municipality);
- effective and shared policies able to accelerate the regeneration of vulnerable districts in Bologna;
- improvement of accessibility and social cohesion support (i.e. active/ visible participation of different categories of people during the initiatives);
- increased awareness and participation in local decision-making and wider civic engagement in the historic city, adopting these labs as an arena where conflicting interests are capitalised for the common good;
- new financing opportunities (shared business collaboration platform; PPPs creation). During the ROCK project, Bologna Municipality and its local partners have become agents of change capable of carrying out actions triggering a positive interaction with external parties, stakeholders and end-users.

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# KNOWLEDGE INSTITUTION AS CITY AGENCIES DEPLOYING A PEDAGOCY "IN, WITH AND FOR THE URBAN"
## The case of SALO (Finland)

**By Jens Brandt, Swetha Rao Dhananka**

## Knowledge institutions and the urban agenda

*"Evidence based policy is a 2006 illusion - policy is increasingly driven by politicians' ability to harness our collective cognitive biases & prejudices - for evidence to have a meaningful intervention in policy - it must be used to build movements of civic awareness. This is perhaps why - focusing efforts on replicating successful policy - will not work - politics and context are particular not generic and are fundamental drivers"* (Johar 2018)

While there exist vast amounts of publications and books on best practices for positive urban change accompanied by conferences, seminars and so forth, the resources that feed into such activities seem not to match the concrete results on the ground. We argue that when it comes to the urban as a complex and dynamic fabric of territorial, discursive, socio-economic and political forces, the mainstream types of communication, learning, production and transfer of adequate knowledge tend to reduce the character of the urban to "fit all" model.

In this chapter we argue that to bridge a common urban agenda at the supra-national EU-level, as foreseen by the Amsterdam pact, but with very local knowledge requirements, there needs to be an exchange about hyper local, sensory learning of the city and situated deliberation. This could lead to collective action to trigger transformational urban processes to be disseminated at larger scale. Such a situated pedagogy implemented Europe-wide will advance the principles of the Amsterdam pact, focusing on identified priority themes, horizontal and vertical coordination, impact assessments of governance and implementation processes, exchange of knowledge in evolved partnerships to be scaled up to the European level. The paper is divided in 3 sections to argue for the need of a situated pedagogy of the urban. In the first section we explore the notion of the urban especially seen through the work of the French sociologist and philosopher Henri Lefebvre to look for explanations why the current knowledge sphere is reductive of the urban. Conceptual underpinnings are enriched with relevant types of pedagogy. We contextualise our argument on knowledge institutions by discussing such particular actors in cities that are creating "local hubs of knowledge" and argue for a new role for higher education institutions to take on more independent and open agency to catalyse and facilitate a process of "pedagogy of the urban".

In the second section, we use these concepts to unfold and analyse the case of "pedagogy of the urban" in city of Salo, Finland. This case is linked to the EU financed project Urban Education Live with academic partners in Sheffield, Ljubljana, Bucharest and Tampere - the latter being the lead partner. The case tells the story of how the educational partnership to develop a new high school curriculum involving civic engagement becomes the occasion to produce local knowledge hubs to trigger processes for situated "learning and doing".

## Abstract

While a common urban agenda at the supra-national EU-level, as foreseen by the Amsterdam pact has been established, there are very local knowledge requirements to harness the potential of an individual city and to tackle its social challenges and relay them regionally. To articulate local knowledge specificities for regional imperatives and inter-city cooperation, there needs to be an exchange about hyper-local, sensory learning of the city and situated deliberation.
This chapter argues that urban transformations rather than (innovations) ought to be borne by bottom-up processes where individuals come together through common urban experiential learning to shape resilient networks of solidary urban communities.
We first, contextualise our argument on knowledge institutions by discussing such particular actors in cities that are creating "local hubs of knowledge" and argue for a new role for higher education institutions to take on more independent and open roles to catalyse and facilitate a process of "pedagogy of the urban". In the second section we analyse the process of "pedagogy of the urban" induced through a partnership financed by the EU project 'Urban Education Live' to develop a high school curricula involving civic engagement to produce local knowledge hubs in the Finnish city of Salo. We finally conclude by presenting a new situated model in view of engaging and creating conditions and access mechanisms for participation in knowledge co-production for "in, with and for the urban"

## Keywords

Situated pedagogy, experiential learning, sensory learning, urban knowledge, knowledge institutions, Amsterdam pact

Third, we conclude by presenting a new and situated model for exchanging and producing new knowledge - "in, with and for the urban". We will present a new pedagogy and curricula called Active Citizenship or ACCITI that feeds into a concept for a "University Field Unit Network" or UFUN, which builds local "urban capacity" that could shape resilient, self-organised networks of solidary urban communities.

Our argument is rooted in the premise that urban transformation rather than (innovation) ought to be borne by bottom-up processes where individuals come together through common urban experiential learning to shape resilient networks of solidary urban communities.

## Situated pedagogy to transform urban communities of learners to communities of practice

It is in the nature of cities that they are so complex. Varied socio-economic-political forces, routines and new trends are played out at different scales with regional rayonance. Nevertheless, policy mobilities, offer the temptation to address challenges and to create intervention models that are based on best practice or evidence based policies that are implemented in a "one size fits all" – but such an approach is reductive. It does not pay justice to the importance of the particular ways in which place co-constitutes identities of inhabitants through cultural mediation (Dimick, 2016). The French sociologist Lefebvre called the urban an "abstract space" where the mechanisms of the market and bureaucracy makes it impossible for the citizens to appropriate their city and address the problems they face such as inequality and segregation. Lefebvre likens the industrial gaze on the urban with the enigma of the black box: "They know what goes in, are amazed at what comes out, but have no idea what takes place inside" (Lefebvre 2003a, 28). In other words, the urban is a "blind field": *"We focus attentively on the new field, the urban, but we see it with eyes, with concepts, that were shaped by the practices and theories of industrialization, [which] is therefore reductive of the emerging reality"* (ibid., 29).

While decoding the urban is challenging, it also represents a creative and exploratory space to learn, unlearn and re-learn collaboratively and re-appropriate it to make it productive and cohesive. Kitchens[1] (2009) laments that pedagogy has been "placeless" and appeals for a "a situated pedagogy that connects the curriculum to the everyday lives of students and is interested in identity and self-formation, but also social-formation and the relationships between the two. He asks students to pay attention to their environment, and listen to what places have to tell us." In such an approach, learners decode the environment politically, socially, historically, and aesthetically, thereby ascribing space performative and transformational qualities. In this way pedagogy moves beyond just knowledge institutions and more towards communities, as knowledge producers and also as learners, as they perceive their environments in new light. In other words then (ibid.), pedagogy

can even become public pedagogy that incorporates place-based education. As Sandlin et al[2]. (2011) identify public pedagogy is still under-theorised. Within the available theoretical developments, the 'public' is seen as a homogenous entity and is hardly examined for its diversity and the different levels and modality of engagement that diverse publics in an urban setting may require.

Urban publics are highly These in turn allow to work with highly complex configurations of stratified populations with different identities that relate to dynamic issues and networks. These networks embody certain types of resources and competencies that can work in a trans-disciplinary way to address urban challenges.

Only a complex and dynamic learning modality can then do justice to transform the urban. Lave and Wenger[3] define situated learning as social co-participation that compels to question the social engagements in diverse learning environments. Schindel Dimick (2016) stresses the critical need for place-paced education that is coupled with a critical pedagogy in Freirian understanding. Critical pedagogy, she defines, embodies critical consciousness that facilitates decolonization of and re-inhabitation of place. Decolonising deconstructs hegemonic understandings related to place by reflecting issues of marginalization and engagement in transformative action (ibid, 817). Re-inhabitation re-establishes productive relations through "living well" (ibid, 817). "Living well" can be strengthened by informed, knowledgeable and nurturing action. Ideas of "living well" are mediated by culture and identity that co-constructured by the experiential lessons offered by place. Place hence, becomes central in the production of "selfhood in its social, cultural and political macro- and micro-contexts" (ibid. 819). By coupling critical pedagogy with place-based education, experiential learners can come to form a community of practice. Kolb (1976 in Miettinen, 2000) conceptualizes four steps in experiential learning: 1) The concrete experience, 2) Observations and reflections 3) Formation of abstract concepts and generalizations and 4) Testing implications of concepts in new situations. John Dewey theorized that only a reflective experience had to be triggered by a breach, inadequacy and contradiction of habitual way of action in pursuit then to solve problems faced in habitual ways of action (ibid, 66). Learning is hence a process, whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience.

Our understanding of a situated pedagogy "in, with and for the urban" requires bringing about a situation to learners that exposes a contraction in their habitual ways, to trigger reflection on the bases of critical consciousness and the importance of place as co-constitutive element of their individual and social identities.

Such a triggering situation can be created:

1. through a sensory exploration of the urban questions: What are the complex dynamics of the urban community within a particular urban space/setting? Who are the actors and what is their power relationship? What arenas of deliberation and expressions are possible to forge an agenda for collective actions?

2. through a situated pedagogical effort that enables citizens to act in an exploratory way to discover possibilities, problems and

*1. John Kitchens (2009) Situated Pedagogy and the Situationist International: Countering a Pedagogy of Placelessness, Educational Studies, 45:3, 240-261, DOI: 080/00131940902910958*

*2. Sandlin, Jennifer A., Brian D. Schultz, and Jake Burdick. 2010. Handbook of Public Pedagogy. Education and Learning Beyond Schooling. New York: Routledge.*

*3. Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger (1991) Situated Learning. Legitimate peripheral participation, Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press*

potential resources.

These two approaches will be demonstrated in the empirical case of the city of SALO.

## Knowledge institutions as city agencies

We would like to propose not to constrain "city agencies" to formal bureaucratic entities of the municipality, but rather to view "city agencies" as living labs, which are embodied by formal knowledge institutions (universities, schools, research institutions and urban think tanks) or by informal knowledge institutions such as civil society organisations and neighbourhood associations –. Such a perspective on knowledge institutions represents a chance to work in a manner that is much more situated within super site-specific local nodes.

We argue that formal knowledge institutions such as higher education institutions can trigger and moderate a process of creating and establishing nodes of informal knowledge institutions that can emerge as a network of communities of practice.

We argue that Higher Education institutions embody a unique role for efforts in a place-based situated pedagogy both because they hold knowledge and could innovate methodology to trigger transformational predispositions in learners. More importantly universities (still) can act as a more open, proactive and independent actor working in an exploratory way that can discover problems and possibilities that are often overseen by other actors in the city. These work in a more focused and reactive way - mostly the public and private sector but also the NGOs that are driven by solving problems. Social work as a discipline and especially community practice include the approach of an open engagement with communities, they too are most often driven to seek out problems and solve problems collectively. Probably, the approach most similar to how we view the role of universities is the German social work tradition called "Gemeinwesenarbeit". It is a professional and civil society oriented working field, which aims to support the articulation and implementation of collective concerns.

The university as a public knowledge institution has varied possibilities due to its inter- & multidisciplinary potential. While most will argue that universities can be very powerful and risk-averse conservative institutions, we point to the concept of basic research and the "Pasteur's Quadrant" that has been coined by Donald Stokes in the book of that name (Stokes 1997). Stokes argues for the value of the position between the basic and applied research - what he calls use-inspired basic research. We argue that the very open and exploratory element of basic research has value when it comes to discovering what is happening in the black or the blind field of the urban mentioned above.

One example that illustrates both an example of a type of city agency driven by a higher education institution is the Pratt Centre in New York City. The centre works as a "mediator" between Pratt Institute - the educational institution - and the outreach program to urban communities in New York City. On an organisational level the Pratt Centre is linked to the Pratt Institute as being a part of the research department and as such has a higher degree of independence, while still being part of the overall higher education institution. The centre works as a coordinator of students and researchers working in the field and works on three levels: First, being directly engaged in urban communities solving problems in an everyday context. Second, working with empowerment and advocacy planning - inspired by Davidoff, with the aim of building local capacity to act on their own. Third, working on policy reports and papers that address issues that have been discovered in during community work.

While more contemporary practices such as CUP - Centre for Urban Pedagogy - have a very interesting approach to tackling social injustice etc., the approach is fundamentally reactive.

We are trying to push for a view of the urban, from which something new can emerge. This is where universities could take on a more proactive role. Universities do not need to be requested by community groups to engage. Such a perspective contrasts the American tradition of community outreach programs.

Another example from New York is the NGO called "596 acres" that identifies and locates unused publicly owned land by analysing the publicly accessible records of land ownership. They then make this information accessible by producing an online map and placing posters onsite to encourage people to take action in these spaces. This information about overlooked possibilities is then combined with a pedagogical offer for local citizens, which involves giving a course in how to (self)organise and realise the project they may have.

In the same spirit a conference took place in 2016 in London entitled "how to do it" (https://how2doit2016.wordpress.com/). Its aim was to disseminate strategies of how to (self-organise). It brought together people from all walks of life to learn from each other how to bring about concrete radical social change in a context. The workshops included sessions regarding organising and mobilising in a participatory way, creating own media and engaging with art and culture.

Scaling up lessons from super site specific work that produces complex and dynamic knowledge, research questions, projects etc. will need a network of Knowledge institutions - universities but also NGOs and other actors that have the relevant capacities to be engaged in the local action, should come together. While formal knowledge institutions producing knowledge through scientifically recognised valid methods are conventionally viewed as holding authority over a particular subject, increasingly knowledge as commons and indigenous forms of knowledge are getting recognition. The universities' community engagement could foster an approach where they are no more looked upon as subjects, but rather as partners in knowledge co-production. Local inhabitants know their

lieu the best and this knowledge, could be spread over nodes and network, by crystallising common process by determining some urban constellations. In sum, community engagement is less a research activity for building academic case-studies, rather it should be part of a public mandate with effect of enhancing the communities' well-being by recognising them as knowledge and learning partners as well. Learning communities could lead to better social cohesion and hence an urban fabric that is more solidary and resilient. The diversity of actors included, is an indicator of the acknowledgement of different types and sources of knowledge. Some existing networks, which are linked to the United Nations are: GUNI - or Global University Network for innovation (UNESCO), network of learning cities (UNESCO) or the UNI network - UN-Habitat's partnership with universities worldwide.

## The Salo Case

The main goal of Urban Education Live (UEL) project mentioned above is to develop new models for collaboration between Universities and urban communities. It is an EU funded (JPI Europe) funded collaboration between academic partners in Sheffield, Ljubljana, Bucharest and with Tampere School of Architecture as the lead partner. In this case we will focus mainly of the pedagogical experiments done by the Tampere Team developing new curricula with a local high school in the Finnish town of Salo. The city has been hard hit by globalisation when the Nokia factory closed as it was bought by Microsoft. The factory had contributed to 95 % of corporate taxes paid in the municipality.

The more specific goal for the Tampere team was to develop new curriculum at high school level that feed into a mutual learning process with the university students and researchers: An educational link between a more engaged university and urban communities.

In this case the team was able to work in an experimental way by "co-opting" the art classes in the High school of Salo - Salon Lukia - for 3 periods (75 minutes each) during 2 or 3 weeks. In all, we did four experiments from May 2017 to May 2018. Each experiment involved two different classes that allowed for testing and comparing different approaches.

May 2017 - During 3 weeks we tested a process with 3 elements: A - What is there: Perception and dialogue. B. What could be there: Looking for problems and possibilities for what the future could bring C. How to get there: Civic entrepreneurship - how to become active citizens and organise new initiatives.

August 2017 - During 2 weeks we dived into the use of smartphones as a tool for telling stories as short videos and looking at what separates and connects people.

March 2018 - During 2 weeks we developed and tested a game format.

May 2018 - During 2 weeks we looked at a new approach to "situated storytelling" both using a higher degree of context sensitivity - explorations - and working on how to express how places feel in words and images.

In the following, we present some of the most important elements of these 4 experiments:

### 1. The urban and situated - connecting the spatial and the social.

The goal of a first exercise was to give a more clear idea of why space or places are important. We did this in a series of simple spatial transformations and explorations. First exercise was one minute silence sitting in the classic classroom setup (rows) and discussing how that felt. One observation was "new" sounds like the air conditioning that sparked a discussing on how we filter our sensory input in everyday life to keep things simple and how an enhanced sensitivity and openness can be achieved.

After sitting in rows the students were asked to rearrange the chairs and tables to form a large circle. Then this was the subject of a discussion - how did that feel? Mostly students felt more exposed and vulnerable sitting like this, but one group actually thought that it felt better to be able to see each other and not least being more present because they couldn't sit and look at their smartphones.

Finally we rearranged one more time to form smaller groups that was asked to discuss how that change felt. Clearly students feel more comfortable in the smaller groups and in that sense they also came to the overall conclusion of the exercise that the way urban space is organised influences how we feel, work - and ultimately live our lives.

2. How does it feel here and how do we talk about that?

An exercise that tries to wake up a higher sensitivity for the surroundings of the students. The students would be blindfolded and deprived of the visual sense that often dominate the other senses. They would walk around the classroom following a sound and after overcoming the first confusion - bumping into walls, chairs and stumbling over steps - the other senses become stronger. How does the space smell or sound? How does it feel when I touch the hard or soft surfaces? And how does these sensory impressions change when we move around?

Once this exercise is done, the students are asked to remember how the different places felt and write post-its that are added to those places. The students are then asked to "vote" by adding little

dots to the post-its with words. This forms the base for a discussion about the places and how they felt. Often the same places are experienced in very different ways and especially the sense of smell can trigger some strong memories going back to childhood.

Apart from discussing the concrete findings the main point with this exercise is to awaken the awareness of the richness of such sensory experiencing of the spaces and begin to work on how to express - and discuss - those experiences.

3. Stories and storytelling

The groups discussed what is a good story that sparked a discussion on what difference it makes when the stories are "peer to peer" especially in social media - how stories that are told by somebody like yourself has a special quality.

We touched on the difference in telling stories through images (more than 1000 words) books and movies that were more like a finished product and mostly produced by professionals - as opposed to the "peer to peer" stories.

We discussed how face-to-face dialogues have richness since the dialogue includes a more layers of communication: the sound of the voice, body language and the socially produced situation (the example was sitting at the bus stop and waiting for the bus).

Another class discussed first how they enjoyed stories that could make them relax such as TV shows and movies which then lead to how music was the medium that could convey emotions very well (best sounds and music was when it had a "wavy" character)

4. Games as a driver for change.

In the first class we tested the element of chance/challenge and with the other class we tested the element of time and how places change and can be changed.

For the class that worked with places in the time machine the most straightforward part was to go back in time but it was harder to go forward in time and imagine something new. Yet some ideas managed to both reflect the dreams of the students and the history of the city: The empty shopping centre/bus station became an indoor skate ramp that would follow up on a reputation that Salo used to have as a hotspot for skaters attracting people from Helsinki and Turku.

The challenge game would push the students playing the game to do things that would make the experience of a certain location more intense. One example was to make participants see the city from a waterpower overlooking the city of Salo. Another challenge was to hit a metal sculpture and let the sound change the experience of that space - small transformations that also points to the more

active role of the students.

5. Introduction to civic society initiatives in vague spaces.

The first week (of the first three week experiment in early 2017) was focused on experiencing and expressing what was there. The students especially noticed many empty shops and run-down buildings in the centre of Salo - ugly and empty were some of the more common words used to describe the experience.

The following week the students were asked to imagine what they themselves would dream about in Salo. To inspire the students we visited a number of "civic initiatives" - Pro Viljavarasto, Ihme & Kumma, and Kulttuuritalo - that in many cases where growing out of exactly the same empty shops and abandoned buildings. This would raise the awareness of what kind of places that are open to such new and unpredictable initiatives - the vague spaces of the city.

6. Own actions and the sense of being able to change and engage in the future of the city.

The last week of the three-week programme the students would work in groups on ideas that they themselves could engage in - how to realise their good ideas - organisation, money, communication. The students were asked to present their ideas by answering the 3 questions: What, Why and How?

The proposals often both reflected the situation in Salo and their own dreams but also the first small steps into realising these dreams - contacting the owners of buildings or got the plans of the empty shopping centre to better illustrate their idea.

The first learning of how to go from the dream to a more thought out project would more importantly give the students a - brief - experience of actually being able to engage and change their own situations or space.

7. Situated storytelling

The "situated storytelling" in and about Salo used two questions: What is special here? And how has it changed. The lesson was done "on site" where we met at the central market square and used a stage in one corner as an open air classroom. Since they would use twitter to document the stories it was possible instantly to see the stories and discuss the tweets at the end of the lesson.

The last lesson in the two weeks was again in the "open air or public space classroom" and this time we asked the students to pose the same questions to people at the market square. Interviewing strangers turned out to be problem only for a very few students. This part of the experiment is quite significant seen in the broader UEL

perspective, where the social and situated mapping of the Tampere UEL team is envision initially to be done by the high school and university students.

Some first considerations on the 4 experiments:

1. Why is space and the stories we can tell about - or with them - important:

The exercise that is described first in this text where students sense the space (in silence) and change the way they sit works as good first "explainer" that in itself is using space and how it can change to discuss how this affects how the space feels. This exercise can then be "repeated" in urban space where we move around to distinctly different places and discuss how the difference feel and how it affects how we work together and ultimately how we live our lives

2. Sensing, talking and taking space.

The blindfolding and moving around the spaces following a sound works well to give attention how space is perceived and especially by giving more attention to the other senses such as sound, smell and touch. In the first experiment in May 2017 we did that and it worked well in spite of doing this in the classroom which is not very rich in a sensory sense. We could still work very well with the naming and talking about the experiences - not least to see how the same place can be experienced radically different by different people.

3. Mapping and storytelling tool

While we have been working with a rather old mash up with twitter this is no longer working very well since some of the functionality - the location - in twitter has been change. A new tool with a similar basic function would be the ideal: the collective mapping of stories about - in and with - the places that in real time - but gradually - can show new patterns of where and what is important.

4. Introduction to civic society initiatives

The first experiment worked very well by visiting various local initiatives that could be examples of "active citizenship". Where the students the first week saw the many empty shops as a very negative thing we began to look at the possibilities and openness for new initiatives that these places also have. The best examples to show the students are those where they can most easily identify with - the type of people, the character of the initiative etc. - in order to work as an inspiration for them and their own work.

5. Organisation and Action!

What the 4 experiments did not have enough time to do was to

actually work on some first simple steps in a process to realise the dreams of the students. In the first experiment we just touched this stage by asking the students to not only come with a good idea but also work on how to realise it. In an ultra-short time they did such first steps such as calling the owner of a grain silo to discuss the idea of making a climbing wall there (the owner was positive).

6. Situated storytelling and citizens researchers

The experiments where high school students would engage and interview local citizens points to the possibility of seeing the students – high school and university - as citizen journalists and "community researchers", as it is known in anthropology where non academics conduct research. This would not only engage local citizens and build up a local agenda but also produce imperial knowledge that can be used EG for research projects.

7. Basecamp and local hub.

While it is good to start in well-known surroundings for the students, it is quite clear that the ideal is to work on site both to avoid wasting precious time getting to and from the area we work with, but most importantly because "being there" and a situated approach is the whole point. How to not tell stories about the space and the city but to work in, with and for the urban. The basecamp can be appropriated by the students and as such already be one concrete experience for students in changing space.

A basecamp can be used for both the gatherings and discussions internally with the class, but eventually also opening up this discussion to the public and even being the first steps towards a "Local Hub".


**Summing up the cases and analysing these**
The experiments in Salo point to a new method of how universities can engage in urban communities by establishing an "Educational link" and begin a process of "deep immersion" based on this collaboration. Especially the social and situated mapping that discovers overseen problems/possibilities and new patterns that show where and what is important in a (urban) community. Our own analysis of the experiments described above has led to 2 new initiatives where the first pilot will be tested April 2019: ACCITI or Active Citizenship - Strengthening civil society and fostering Urban Entrepreneurship. The other initiative is "University Field Unit" or UFU that is where a version of a "City Agency" is driven by a mutual learning process that benefits both the research and learning of universities with the ability not only to initiate an "urban capacity building" that strengthens civic societies, but also to take advantage of the open and more independent character of research that makes universities an unique actor in urban communities.

## Conclusions

These experiments in Salo, embedded in a situated learning approach, point out to a new method of how universities can engage in urban communities by establishing an "educational link" and begin a process of "deep immersion". Based on this collaboration, methods were demonstrated to situate and discover overseen problems, possibilities and new patterns that show where and what is important in an (urban) community.
The experiments described above have led to two new initiatives where the first pilot will be tested in April 2019: ACCITI or Active Citizenship - Strengthening civil society and fostering Urban Entrepreneurship. The other initiative is "University Field Unit" or UFU. It is a version of a "City Agency" that is driven by a mutual learning process that benefits both the research and learning of universities with the ability not only to initiate an "urban capacity building", but also to take advantage of the open and more independent character of research that makes universities an unique actor in urban communities. The Salo experience echoes the lessons documented by Schindel Dimick (2016) about working with youth through a place-based approach with an imperative of situated and experiential learning yields augmented levels of environmental awareness to promote sustainability and fosters community action and responsibility.

In our opinion such an engagement from formal knowledge institutions can be only fostered, if incentives for local community involvement are elaborated in partnership with other city agencies and the academic framework. Such an approach would offer more scope for direct societal impact than the current incentive regime of "publish or perish". Acknowledging communities as partners in co-creating knowledge in the urban and not merely as case studies "to publish upon" – gives them more self-esteem that enables their agency. Such recognition in turn has the capacity to transform geographies of authoritative knowledge that has historical underpinnings of global power constellations and is also closely linked to the publishing incentive regime. Universities that are well-funded and score high in journal impact factor ratings, make their mark in authoritative knowledge geographies. Geographies and actors that are left out in the publishing and funding race go unacknowledged in the knowledge production. A more equal partnership in knowledge-production also compels to innovate methodologies of research and engagement, where traditional criteria of validity and reliability could be enhanced. An additional criterion could be the quality of trust networks within the nodes and network. This in turn, could also influence the quality, modality (open access) and scope of dissemination and exchange from situated urban learning and practice that is deeply place-bound.

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