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Body, Town Planning, and Participation

The Roles of Young People and Sport

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

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Cover picture: Ferrara: an unused door nearby one of the students bus stop.
Photo by Antonio Borgogni, 2006.

To Luigia, Angiolo, my loved ones and those who sustained me in this enterprise,

they know the why.

ABSTRACT

The complexity of the challenges currently faced by the European cities requests integrated answers that can be offered only through an interdisciplinary and flexible approach in the governance.

A pioneering, while deeply rooted in the history of the cities, perspective could be provided through the observation of the urban environment by the point of view of the body. This ground-breaking viewpoint should be integrated with the implementation of citizens' participation in planning to ensure the sustainability of the actions; this study focused on the involvement of young people.

The relationship between body and town planning evidences a lack of systematic and specific studies, primarily considering those connecting theoretical and empirical aspects.

The research had been carried out following two levels of hypotheses. The first, at theoretical level, aimed to demonstrate the connections between the body and the town planning. The second, at empirical level, intended to prove the pragmatism of the participation as a way of planning the city.

The purposes of the research were the analysis of the relationships among the body, the public space, and the town planning; the description of the participatory methods and techniques used to plan the spaces; the emphasizing of the specific needs and wishes of the young people; the observation of the places in which the planning meets the body's ways of using the spaces.

The overall objective of the research was to investigate experiences of participatory planning of public spaces in four study cases chosen for their town planning history and for the participatory and body facilitating policies: Barcelona, Paris, some cities in Finland, and Ferrara, in Italy. Within each study case, several sub-cases have been examined.

The research was qualitative, interpretative, deductive, socio-diachronic, and idiographic based on a multiple and comparative case study method. The tools were observations, key informant interviews, and documentary research.

According to the results of my study, the theoretical hypothesis is proved: the body has been a disregarded protagonist of the urban scene. The empirical hypothesis is largely demonstrated even if the study brings out that the participation is an effective way to plan the city when the projects are custom-made and based on an accurate study of the context: there are no answers that can be applied throughout. The involvement of citizens in town planning might constitute the appropriate answer to the increasing requirement of enhancing the direct, deliberative forms of democracy and the sustainable development. The good town planning practices are built around the very substance of the body that represents a true indicator of the quality of life in the urban environment.

Keywords: body, town planning, participation, young people, sports, sustainability.

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research represents and unifies the paths of my professional, educational, and scientific lives. Those paths have been always interwoven, even too much, with my personal life.

After my studies on Physical Education in Bologna, whereas carrying out my studies on Pedagogy, I became member of the research group on psychomotricity of the University of Bologna. The group official name was "Research group on the theme of the corporeity" but our main unofficial name was "Toothbrush group". The meaning was to stress the attention to the everyday life gestures together with the physical activity and sports movements. When I was finalizing the M.Sc. thesis on Pedagogy, speaking with Prof. Andrea Canevaro, supervisor both of my thesis and the group, I expressed the feeling that the study of the body in the educational contexts was not enough to explain the multifaceted realm of its possibilities to find adequate levels of expression in the persons' life.

He suggested me some books about town planning and sustainable mobility that, together with the studies on complexity, opened the way to the wide, and partially unexplored, field of study concerning the relationship between the body and the city.

I dedicated the first years of the nineties to theoretical studies on these matters. That period of economical, civil, and political crisis in Italy was also a moment in which new sensitivities were growing up. Among these, the sustainability, a new glance on the citizens' participation, a new attention towards social issues, disabled people, childhood, elderly people. The theme of the participation caught my attention and was enduringly included in my researches.

In the town where I live, Ferrara, I proposed my reflections and the draft of a project to the local Committee of UISP (Unione Italiana Sportpertutti), the largest Sport for All Association in Italy.

We took the decision of presenting the project *Il corpo va in città* (The body goes to the city) in 1995. The unexpected success of the conference facilitated the establishment of contacts with local administrators, and the start up of action-researches. The participatory planning actions had as a background the idea of a public space in which the body of the everyday life could express.

In 1998, the first of many journeys to Finland, allowed me to understand several points of connections among the subjects I was studying.

In 1999, an international conference on these themes in Ferrara, sealed the agreement with the local Municipality and the Faculty of Architecture. In 2001 I began to collaborate, as fixed time professor in the Course of Sport Sciences of the University of Cassino, and as seminar coordinator in the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Ferrara. In Cassino, I met the right sensitivities to carry out my researches on the body, physical activity, and sport. In Ferrara, I had the possibility to make researches and actions on the public space and

participation and to recruit students and architects who collaborate in the action of *Il corpo va in città*. The gap between the two, apparently very dissimilar, academic and associative paths had been filled by the three themes of the body, town planning, participation. Afterwards, after a relevant development, *Il corpo va in città* turned out to be a social promotion association developing researches, actions, EU projects involving young people and children. The collaborators of the association have been young architects, educationists, and sports educators.

These several paths: research, fieldwork, social and political actions, international relationships, came to a synthesis in 2005 when I met Prof. Kimmo Suomi, thus having the opportunity to apply for a position as a Doctoral student at the Jyväskylä University.

From the acceptance of my research plan by the Faculty of Sport Sciences, the paths are connected or, rather, the seams should have become more resistant.

I would like to thank those who have allowed, endorsing and criticizing, me following those several paths from a professional point of view.

In the University of Cassino, Prof. Giovanni Capelli, Prof. Loriana Castellani, and Prof. Nicola Porro, who not only understood and encouraged my studies but also, from 2009, when I got my permanent position in the University as Assistant Professor, let me to include my PhD research in the main research fields of the Department and as important subject of teaching in the Faculty.

In the Faculty of Architecture in Ferrara, Prof. Romeo Farinella and other scholars who assisted me and allowed to discover the pragmatism of the Morin concept of emergency as discovery of new understanding produced by the contacts between different knowledge.

In UISP, Eden Virgili (+) and Manuela Claysset, who immediately trusted in the idea of a sport for all that needed to find the public space as main stage. In the interview I administered to Eden in 1995, he said that the city should have been rethought building body-motorways instead those for cars.

In *Il corpo va in città,* Elena Spettoli, the sociologist who shared the first researches with me and those collaborators who deeply believed in the innovative programs of the association.

In Italy, Serafino Rossini, the coordinator of the "Toothbrush group", who does not like to be called my mentor, with whom I share a long history of discussion about body and educational issues.

In Finland, Keijo Kuusela, who introduced me in the Finnish way of life and, with a long-lasting view, put me in connection with some of those who contributed to the development of my research, first of all, the supervisor.

I would like to close this list thanking the key informants for their availability, which allowed me to study the cases, and hospitality, which permitted me to understand the familiar, friendly, and social context of my research.

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The theoretical background

At the early stages of the study, I defined five fields of research: Body, Visibility, City Planning, Participation, and Young People. The 'Sport' was conceived as a sub-field of particular relevance inside the Body field. Moreover, I individuated six transversal categories: gender, cultures, periods of city planning, age groups, space and place, political matters related with urban spaces.

All these fields and categories concern public space that is the stage representing and including people, infrastructures, and the landscapes of the research.

One of the most recent and comprehensive treatises on the Body (Corbin et al., 2005) confirmed the need of an interdisciplinary glance to afford the complexity of the subject. I propose the approach used by the Phenomenology, often mentioned by the authors, as one of the more appropriate to deepen the above mentioned fields because of the relevance of the inter-subjectivity, of the bodily experience, and of the perception (Merleau-Ponty, 1945).

According to Courtine (Corbin et al., 2006), the 20th Century discovered the body. Moreover in the last decade of the same century the concept of the body changed taking several directions. It is just the case here to mention the issues connected with the post-human body and with the bio-politics linked to the recent scientific discoveries on Genetics.

As a development of the Phenomenological approach, the concept of 'living' the inner body, the body as internal environment, and the outer body, the body in relation with the others, with home and public spaces (Galimberti, 2002), is relevant for the aims of the research. The study of the conditions to feel 'at home' in public spaces crosses all the fields and the categories.

As a consequence of the approach proposed by the Phenomenology, several themes and fields highlighted in the study can find an interpretation.

The theme of the visibility and of the image of the body, for example, is deeply rooted in cultures and is undergoing changes above all because of the migrants diverse behaviours and, more recently, owing to the impact of the combination of the internet with the use of the new digital portable technologies. The internet has become a sort of new shop-window of the body and some of the social interactions (Goffman, 1959) have been moved on the face-to-face but virtual level allowed by the webcam or on the anonymous world of the electronic chat, where the hiding of identities, genders and ages is a significant part of the game. The virtual scenery has been added to the urban scenery as place where the body can show itself. At the same time, it is worth to highlight the positive role of social media and, in general, of the internet in the democratization of the information and in allowing people connecting for social or specific interest aims. I can mention here the ultimate reality games, which develop cooperation but, above all, the possibility to get informed through direct channels and, in a more specific sense, the role of the internet in the involvement of the citizens in planning areas or services.

As far as the exposition of the inner body is concerned, starting from the beginning of the last century the progresses of the technology applied to medicine has made the body increasingly transparent: radiography, ultrasound, Computerized Axial Tomography. Thanks to the optic fibres, we can now talk about a body speleology showing the living body from inside. (Corbin et al., 2006.)

At the same time, in the city scenery, bodily and sport practices tend to be increasingly jailed into specialized boxes: gymnasiums, stadiums, and other sport facilities, in which the range of difference of the gestures is limited and the sport practitioners learn and develop behaviours and gestures similar to their own. Moreover, the houses are provided with alarms and devices to increase safety. Thus, the body is forced into defined spaces where it can be protected from dangers and injuries that may come from the 'real world'. Nonetheless a growing tendency is detectable in the more advanced experiences; in a scattered and dissimilar way, the body is regaining the public spaces. This tendency is readable above all due to the modifications in the urban mobility concept and in the progressive change in the concept of sport including everyday physical activity.

But, if the body withdraws, the urban scenery becomes dangerous, even if just in the perception of the people and not in reality. This process sets up a descending spiral in which the body retreats into itself, also pushed by impressive advertisings inviting people to 'play tennis during a bus ride' or 'walk or exercise in your bedroom': people do not climb staircase but take the car to go to gymnasium where they pay to practice 'step'. These pressures help to create an artificial world and to remove sport from the city scenery. The process, started with the invention of the stationary bicycle in 1968, is nowadays arrived at the Wii Sports and the Wii Fit, whose new Plus version promises "tailored workout to meet your personal goals, count the calories, and train body and mind" (Nintendo, 2012).

Strictly connected with these themes is that of the play: where can children play hide-and-seek or traditional games? How do they go to school or playground? Which level of autonomy and which skills do they achieve during their growth? From the health point of view, in fact, it is by now a scientific evidence that the lack of exercise leads to the increase of the risk factors opening the way to the Non Communicable Diseases (World Health Organization -WHO, 2010; Sassi, 2010), and to several psychopathologies (Gray, 2011).

These urban and social sceneries refer to a city planning epistemology yet imagining a 'sand box' city with specialized space for every function of citizen's everyday life. Nevertheless the city planning frame has experienced radical changes. Since the nineties, the economically advanced European countries, have witnessed the consolidation of a phenomenon of city reorganization progressively changing the way of living the city and its spaces. The process of growth, typical of the most important urban regions in Western Europe, as well as re-defining the map of city centres, is also changing the social habits and the processes of cultural identification between citizens and urban areas (Farinella, 2005). The urban space always tends to develop many centres widespread on the territory, individual mobility seems to represent a necessary condition to live the city, and, in addition to places of social identification in the historical and consolidated city, there are new centres well represented by the model of the suburban arcade centres, one of the spaces highlighted by Marc Augé (1992) as non spaces (*non-lieu*) that, in a way not forecast by the French sociologist, in the last decade have nevertheless begun to play several urban and social functions as, for example, a meeting place for youngsters but also as shelter against hot weather and sultriness for the elders in Mediterranean regions; functions, like the latest, recognized as services and improved by the Health Care System.

Residential areas often don't coincide either with free time and commercial places or with working places, and during the day a person moves several times. Such a model of city organisation produces new and not always favourable conditions, in particular for the weakest categories of citizens like children, disable, and elderly people, who are often unable to use all the spaces and areas at their disposal in the contemporary city. Even though there's a great difference from one situation to another, also depending on the organising ability of each country and city, it can be observed a common discomfort, which makes the urban experiences difficult, mainly for the above-mentioned categories of people.

The principal problems of the urban rehabilitation is the physical organisation of the city, including the efficiency of its public transport network, the quality and democracy of the public space, and the safety, probably coming out emphasized, which always defines the weak categories' spaces of movement within the city.

During this reorganization almost all the European countries, starting from bigger cities, have experienced, even in different ways, the phenomenon

of immigration, which has also changed the way public spaces are lived. This process influences the use of the public space for sport and leisure purposes, either in sports fields and playgrounds, either in informal spaces. Sometimes the process is watching migrants play well known sports in the hosting countries like football or basketball, sometimes they have carried almost unknown sport in the urban scenery like cricket or ecua-volley[1], a game played by Ecuadorians similar to Volleyball in which the net hangs higher.

In the same period, on the frame of the processes of changes due to the growth of the so-called post modern sport, it has been possible to observe the growth of non-formalized urban sports like skate-board or parkour which have changed the perception of sport in urban areas and show a very interesting ambivalence between visibility and wish to hide.

Moreover, in the last decades, the increasing attention to environment and the affirmation of the 'new' sustainability paradigm, the consciousness of a decreasing quality of life in urban context, the diffusion of Agenda 21 after the Rio Summit (1992) and the Aalborg Commitment (1994), the changes undergone in the political scenery between the end of eighties and the beginning of the nineties, supported the birth of many participatory processes; within them, several were directed to town planning.

In urban theories the participation appears more as an enclosed factor or as a cultural possibility than as a relevant ingredient of the project. It is often a disregarded factor of city planning. There are examples in every country; all the countries investigated in the research mention the participation in their official acts but it has not often been accepted by a binding legislation. On this frame, there are experiences of participative planning with children, adults and also with elderly people but not many, in comparison, with young people.

This is the one of the main reason because I chose young people as the main age group of the research. Young people are the great absents of social and educational policies, the more difficult age group to interpret, the faster in changing. The body has a crucial role in their way of life; often they use public spaces in an unconventional, even outrageous, way; they live the public space as an embodied space. They are the true users of benches, low walls, boundaries or hidden corners of public parks. Their feeling of belonging is very emotional and many times they reject to participate in actions 'thought for them'. For these reasons, they often generate or become object of conflicts with other age groups, especially elderly and sometimes adults; these groups often considered their presence in public space as a danger independently of what they really do. Sport is often one of the aims of the gathering of boys while girls participate or watch, chatting among themselves. The presence of both sexes

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[1]   Ecua Volley is a game played between two teams of three. According to ecuavolley rules, the net hangs at a height of 280cm., players are allowed almost to catch the ball before throwing it over the net, a skill disallowed by orthodox volleyball. (retrieved May 2, 2012, from http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ecuavóley, and personal observations)

and the gender category is also very important in the different perception of the safety in public spaces (Jacob, 1961).

The participation can also be considered one of the key elements with which a space can become a place, thus implementing the feeling of belonging of the citizens. Several scholars investigated the conditions to transform a space into a place. Vertinsky and Bale (2004) wrote that spaces are places without life, emotion, body; Eichberg (1998) reminded as we can find spaces and places everywhere but a place is unique because the one who recognizes a space as a place actually recognizes (a piece of) his/her identity in it. The body which passes through a space, the emotions carried with it, the meanings which people bring with them, the life, these are all elements which, according to De Certau, a place can be transformed into a space because "a space is a practiced place" (1984, p.117) . In the last citation it is worth to notice the opposite use of the words in De Certau; nonetheless the meanings remain the same pointing out the difference between an anatomical, bearing in mind the physical aspects, and a physiological, paying attention to the functioning, viewpoints of the space/place category.

The categories of space and place lead us to that of the political matters related to the control of spaces, above all, public. The control of the space often coincides with the control of the bodies (Foucault, 1975); spatial rules are made by the body and reciprocally produce the body (Nast & Pile, 1998); sometimes, even, pedestrians are stated as disturbers of the traffic (Solnit, 2000).

In the last decades, these themes have been joined by the issue of environmental sustainability and, more recently, by that of the healthy life styles. If the seventies and the eighties witnessed the fostering of the awareness about the risks of the pollution, the nineties saw the increasing concern about public health and the start up of many campaigns, actions, and projects. A similar process of increasing awareness followed by action-plans occurred, with ten years of delay, about active lifestyles. In the last year we have assisted at a boosting concern, at political level, about non-communicable diseases. More recently, this issue has been connected with the planning of the physical environment as one of the crucial factor facilitating the physical activity. While there are evidence based data about the connection between active lifestyles and those diseases, the issue of how the physical environment influences the physical activity is facing the challenge given by the huge amount of interrelated variables (Barton, Grant, and Guise, 2010; Ward Thompson, Aspinall, & Bell, 2010).

The concurrent and reciprocal bottom-up, applicative, and top down, theoretical, starting points of the research rendered necessary to establish a wider frame of reference able to contain the disciplines and the process of transfer of the knowledge from theory to practice and vice versa. The ambition was to give, if not homogeneity, at least certain readability to the frame with the aim to contribute to the building of a true epistemology.

1.2 The development of the research plan

As I described here above, at the beginning of the research, I had defined five fields of research: Body, Visibility, City Planning, Participation, Young People.

A more in-depth study of the fields made me aware that there were different levels of logical types (Russell, 1903; Russell & Whitehead, 1925; Bateson, 1979) in the quoted fields, so I chose four of them as general fields of research: Body, Town planning, Young People, and Participation.

Visibility, in fact, is the possibility of the body to be visible, or hidden, in the city setting: it depends on psychological attitudes and the city landscape: it is strictly linked to the Body and Town Planning and can also be related with the transparency of the democratic way of planning and decision making.

The public space as research's stage, is the place in which all the fields are represented, the knot of all the issues related to the research plan, the privileged arena in which: bodily experiences are played; the planners apply their urban knowledge; young people meet each other; results of participative processes are more visible; the kind of sports activities we are interested in this research is practised; different age groups gather; people from different countries and ethnic groups play and embody their cultures. Public spaces are the stage on which the conflicts or the 'compli-cities' are expressed. With the neologism 'compli-cities' I would refer here to all the supportive unwritten and not ruled behaviours facilitating the city life.

By the town planning point of view we can trace the origin of the concept of public space (Mumford, 1961) as the western culture has known, referring to the Greek's agora and the Roman's forum and even before dating back till the Mesopotamian cities of the 4th Millennium BC. Hippodamus of Miletus (5th Century BC) was probably the first to formalize the agora in the planning of Piraeus' with the new grid plan. Mumford states that, despite the fact that the grid plan had been used before in Ionian areas, Hippodamus was probably the first to understand that the pattern of the city represents or should represent the pattern of the social order.

Obviously, nowadays, the concept of public space includes media and virtual spaces more and more giving 'bodiless' opportunities to meet and discuss.

For the aim of the research I would refer to a physical concept of public space as freely accessible not only from a theoretical/legal point of view but also as a space in which everyone can gather, stay, play, and express safely.

During the development of the plan, the bibliographical and documentary research aimed to provide a more detailed study on the latest issues on the body and town planning. Meanwhile, I continued the systematization of the studies and the materials produced over many years of research and work on the borders of several fields of knowledge: body, town planning, participation, education, physical education, and, more recently, public health.

1.3   The purposes and the frame of the research

Morin (1986), referring to interdisciplinarity, wrote that what emerges from the contact between different systems of knowledge is unknown to the systems themselves. According to Morin, the whole is greater than the sum of its parts, because the sum of its qualities or properties it is not enough to know the whole ones: new properties or qualities appear, due to these parts organizations in a whole, these are emergencies.

The interdisciplinarity is the true area in which this research moves and orientates using tools and handcrafted compasses. The rugged boundaries between social sciences, town planning, body issues, and sport sciences are the space in which the research has been carried out. I aimed at transforming that space in a lively and welcoming place in which each involved professionalisms can recognize a broader field of knowledge and some directions to enhance its research area towards a more transdiciplinar, not merely interdisciplinar, studies. Mentioning inter- and trans-disciplinarity, I refer here to the meanings used by Piaget (1972) when stated that while interdisciplinarity is the field of collaborating disciplines but remaining inside their epistemologies, transdisciplinarity means a reciprocal contamination of disciplines which can lead to a new, common, epistemology. Moreover, the space or place is shifting, the epistemological fields are sometimes interweaving, sometimes using the epistemologies of the others, sometimes drifting away.

The purposes of the study are

1) The analysis of the connections between the body and the public space investigating, from a historical point of view, the relationship between the body and the town planning both at theoretical and empirical levels. This analysis is carried out in Chapters 2 to 4.

2) The description of the methodologies of planning through participative processes investigating either the methods used for structured projects financed from the public administration either the informal process of appropriation of urban spaces. I deal with these aspects in Chapter 5.

3) The highlighting of the specificity of the needs and wishes of the young people as age category in relationship with the public space and with the other citizens. These issues are faced in Chapter 5 and into the results of the observations described in Chapter 7. This purpose has been developed less than expected because the number of specific town planning cases carried out by young people was lower than expected.

4) The observation of the physical places in which that relationship can be observed: the object of the investigation consists, in this case, in the results of the intention of the planners matched with the real life occurring in the built

environment. The identification of the role of sport and bodily practices in the process of construction of the public space. The observations are described in Chapter 7.

These purposes had been the results of a personal cultural navigation among fields of knowledge started with the higher education studies on physical education, continued with the studies on pedagogy. During the studies I had, as a 'red thread', the increasing awareness about the need to give more adequate answers to the educative and societal problems posed by the relationship among the body, the movement, and the public space. This awareness led me to expand the field of my studies from the school to the urban environment.

This had been the context in which I carried out my study and research path that has also been influenced by a privileged sight over a more democratic way of participating at the public life and sensitivity to sustainability. This has been the background that helped me to define the frames, the references, and the fields of the research.

1.4 The objectives

The overall aim of the research was to investigate experiences of participatory planning of public spaces in the four study cases; more specifically the research aimed at studying sub-cases involving young people. The focus is on spaces used for bodily practices and sport and on the way young people use and modify them.

The specific aims of the research were to find evidences of the role of the body in town planning recent history and current practices, to discover which participatory methodologies can be successfully applied in diverse planning situations, to point out the spatial, social, and political milieus leading towards a town planning able to integrate young people wishes and needs, to identify the ways to plan spaces, and real examples of them, in which there is a balance between planning and bodily practices in the public space.

The research examined the methods of involvement, compared them analysing the applicative tools used in those cases and the criteria to develop new actions as well as unsuccessful cases. In a more general sense, the research was directed to investigate the way of living public spaces in cities, towns and municipalities used as case studies. I chose four countries, Finland, France, Italy, and Spain. In these countries I chose Barcelona, Paris, Ferrara, in Italy, and, for Finland, several cities and towns of different sizes but objects of interesting participatory actions (Helsinki, Jyväskylä, Kemio). In each of these cities and towns, I studied several sub-cases or rather, specific, local or district level situation in which a participatory process was on going at the moment of my observations or carried out in the past.

The background of the investigation is the relation between urban planning and the body.

1.5   Background assumptions

The research has been carried out following two levels of hypotheses.

The first, at theoretical level, assumed that there are connections between the body and the town planning; more specifically, that there are relationships between the body practices and, generally speaking, expressions in urban areas and the method of planning urban environment. How and how much the conception of the body and the way of town planning are connected and influence each other? Can the body, the bodily and sport practices be considered disregarded indicators for town planning?

The assumption origins by the thought that more sport and more bodily experiences are allowed in town, more safe, interactive, liveable will be the city environment. This is true not only for those practising sport but also for other citizens; we can hypothesize that the body enhance the city liveability and health. The body I'm talking about is the one that makes everyday movements, which co-ordinates its actions to climb up onto a sidewalk, which plays, rides a bicycle, skates, walks across a road, sits, shakes hands, and, even, plays sport. Bodily experiences, sport and physical activities could be one of the possible indexes of the quality of life in a town.

The second, at applied level, assumes the pragmatism of the participation as a way of planning the city.

The frame hypothesis of the applied research is that participative processes can help the development of cities in which people can experience a greater feeling of belonging therefore taking care in a better way of the public space. More specifically, the involvement of young people in planning their leisure and sports spaces can enhance their active citizenship, their positive feeling of belonging, facilitating the identification process, giving opportunities to practice sports and physical activity, and decreasing conflicts among different ages.

1.6   The statement of the problems

Due to this comparative nature, to the heterogeneity of the countries involved and to the need of gathering testimonies from the people referring experiences and not only from scholars, the research presents problems of transferability of methods and criteria.

How to deal with at least two levels of investigated worlds? One represented by the administrative, legislative, political point of view and systems, the other denoted by the facts and the real procedures occurring in the

everyday life in the interface between the systems and the citizens, roughly referring to the Habermas' lifeworld' experiences (1987)?

The double level of the investigated matter complicated the comparison among the countries. For example, referring to participation, even if the land and constructing laws of every country or administrative district contain specific indications, the real application of the procedures change dramatically among them. Referring to the cases I investigated, in Finland participatory processes are similar to a social expectable habit, in France long processes of planning involving citizens are usually carried out; in Italy, a part some cases, it is something annoying politicians and executives; in Spain, the rules seem to be adapted to contexts and, in some way, negotiated with users.

Moreover, the comparative nature of the research raises issues about the possibility to compare different situation at legislative level. In the diverse countries there are strong differences concerning the administrative levels (national, regional, local) ruling the citizens' participation, the youth, the sports, the general town planning and the planning of infrastructures for LTPA (Leisure Time Physical Activity) as the final report on Work Package 2 (Suomi & Pavelka, 2010) of the EU project IMPALA clearly shows. For example, there are not local laws in Finland while in Italy the administrative levels are four. Above all, the comparison is important at grass-root level to understand which procedures are carried out in the field in general and in the specific context of the described cases. Moreover, the quality of the involvement is substantially different and describable only observing the process.

Referring to young people, how to deal with the very different levels of autonomies among the countries since they are children and, later on, when they come at the age?

In Italy going to the primary and lower secondary school unaccompanied is prohibited while in Finland is usual. The Eurostat "Youth in Europe" statistical portrait affirms in 2007, in all countries for which data are available, women moved out of the parental home on average at an earlier age than men, but strong disparities were noted across countries. Indeed, in Finland women tended to leave the parental home at the age of 22, against over 29 in Italy, Malta, Slovenia and Slovakia. For men, the average age of independence varied from 23 years in Finland to over 30 years in Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Malta, Romania, Slovenia and Slovakia (Eurostat, 2009).

In France is between 23 (women) and 24 (men) while in Spain is between 28,5 (women) and 29,5 (men). The 2001 percentage of people living at home are represented in the following table in which Iacovu (2002) analyses the regional differences in transition to adulthood.

TABLE 1   Young people living at home in the four investigated countries (Source: Iacovu, 2002)

| Gender | Women | Women | Men | Men |
Age	20-24	25-29	20-24	25-29
Finland	25,9	3,4	53	13,4
France	52,6	11	69,9	24,3
Spain	85,9	47,1	94,2	62,5
Italy	89,3	50,3	95,6	73,2

The analytical data of the Eurobarometer "Young Europeans" survey (2007) can help to better understand the matter. In Italy the 49,6% of the respondents answer "They can't afford to move out" a the question "What do you think is the main reason that young adults live in their parents' homes longer than they used to?"; in Finland the percentage is the 36%, in Spain 32,8%, in France the 29,6%. In Spain the unaffordability of the housing is the main concern (47,7%) as well as in France (42,5%), in Finland is the 30,7% while in Italy is the 5,6%. Finland has a quite wide distribution of the source of income among 'regular job' (38,1%), training allowance or grants (19,5%), relatives (16,6%). Italians' youth have the main source of income from relatives (49,8%), from their own job 37,7% and 1,5% from allowances and grants. France and Spain show similar figures with the 45,3% and 47,5% respectively of income from the own job, the 30,4% and 34% from relatives, 3,8% and 1,6% from allowances or grants.

How to deal with the language, cultural and anthropological issues raised by the research? How to create models of survey and tools useful in different countries and, above all, in the investigated cases?

Just a glance at Europe and we can observe very different situations in north and south: thus far it isn't a banality to compare the entropy of the south with the order of the north. At the same time, we know that this splitting between north and south Europe is a straining: there are examples of well-planned urban areas widespread across Europe facilitating bodily and sport practices.

The anthropological culture of the street is typically Mediterranean although expressing in different ways, often mixed, from the south of Europe and the north of Africa. The street culture had been represented by elderly women chatting seated on small chairs on both sides of the street, by boys playing in the middle of the street or in a wasteland nearby and by girls playing throwing and catching a ball from the walls. This culture had been disappeared more and more after the Second World War. During the seventies, when higher were the use and the wish for cars as a status symbol, in Central and North Europe had birth the movement of traffic calming aimed at increasing liveability in the urban context. This process was also facilitated by the oil and economic crisis at the beginning of the seventies and followed tendencies

expressed during the sixties,. One of the main features of that pioneer movement was the recapture of the street as living space.

The two processes were in inverse proportion: while the cars progressively patronized the urban scene in several countries in Southern Europe, in Central and Northern Europe, where there was a sharp increase of the car mobility anyway, started an opposite process aimed at improving public transport, at building pedestrian areas and "30 Zones": Zurich in Switzerland, Chambery in France, some cities in Germany and in the Netherlands leaded the way.

This movement found an alliance and definitively merged, during the eighties and nineties of the 20th Century, with the boosting movements promoting sustainable development.

A relevant question here can be: it is possible to find a point of balance between these cultures? Can bodily practices and sport behaviours be an index of this balance? Can be the relation between town planning and the body part of the answer?

Other issues have been related with the gathering of data. How to find and sample testimonies of the described processes? It is worth to mention that in some cases the testimonies correspond with the researcher who observed the process, in some cases the processes are currently carried out, in some other they are concluded. Moreover, it is important to consider the diverse cultural approach to the investigated matters in the different countries and, more specifically, in the cases.

Moreover, as far as the relation between the body and town planning is concerned, the research raises important problems about the methods and resources of urban planning that shoul be improved in order to highlight the role of body practices and sport in urban landscape. It should be a matter of changing the formation of town planners and sport and body scientists to build up common languages.

A comparative definition of town planning needs to investigate the different fields of knowledge in which the discipline has been developed in different countries. In Italy the town planning is linked to Architectural or Engineering studies, in France to Geography, in England to Socio Economy, in Spain to Engineering, (Calabi, 2004) in Finland to Technology and Engineering but also Social studies, Economy, and Environment (Suomi, personal communication, December 4, 2011).

The diverse fields are also represented at level of the professions and of the sectors of the public administration. These differences can, even if partially, explain the ambiguity of the definition in different national context.

The terms for defining the discipline represent, in fact, a distillate of process of stratification and hybridization of cultural meanings, above all the sense of making order in the disorder of the town and the idea of behaving in a more urban, or in a manner more adequate to the urban context, in comparison with the indelicacy of the rural life (Calabi, 2004): town planning (city planning in USA), *urbanistica* (Italy), *urbanisme* (France), *urbanismo* (Spain), *asemakaavoitus* (Finland).

The cases I investigated in my research concern past or on-going processes of construction or rehabilitation of spaces at town or district level and how the participation of the citizens influenced the planning process.

2   THE BODY

2.1   A historical glance on the body

Referring to Galimberti (2002) and to a broadly accepted interpretation of the secular philosophy of the body, it is conceivable to affirm that Western culture does not have an appropriate notion of the body; more precisely, the body is at the same time disregarded and overestimated in our culture and, nowadays, often reduced to a dummy to wear clothes or, alternatively, delivered to its nudity to stimulate pleasures. This drift was reached through a combination of logical passages whose origin was traceable back to some Plato's concepts expressed in the Phaedo and exploited later on: only the eternal immaterial 'forms' can express the true substance while the physical body, which is ephemeral, cannot represent that substance. The 'forms' are made by the same immateriality of the intellect that understands them. The 'forms' can be considered the frame in which the intellect renders the world intelligible. 'Forms' and intellect are immaterial like the soul that tends to leave the body, its prison, to become part of the realm of 'forms'. This process may take several lives and reincarnations to be achieved.

These were the thoughts that split the human being in soul and body, handing over to the soul the privilege of the spirit that governs the matter. Plato, indeed, rightly thought that was not possible to build an objective knowledge from the body experience because the body experiences are subjective while objective knowledge requires ideas, numbers, in other words, those constructs of mind he called 'soul'. This dualism was recovered by the Christian tradition in particular by Augustine and placed in a scenario closer to the salvation than the problem of knowledge. Actually, the Judaeo-Christian tradition not housed the concept of soul, and the same Christians, in their acts of faith, say that they believe in bodies' resurrection. In 1600, with the birth of modern science, the body was reduced to organism allowing the medicine to cover the entire knowledge about it.

In that century, Descartes (1647, 2008) conceptualized the body (res extensa) and some brain proprieties as a complex, mechanic, tool. The body was, in his thought, submitted to the physical laws, which was not the case of the mind, overlapped with the concept of soul (res cogitans) depending on the scientific/secular or religious point of view. The mind, in fact, in the Descartes idea was an immaterial being without extension or motion. The two entities had a point of connection in the pineal gland. The Descartes description of this interrelation has deeply influenced the western culture and the concept of the body: the dualism is not only, even nowadays, the recurrent mentality in western culture but influences the scientific debate and the political decisions, for example in the field of bioethics. The mind controls the body that have, however, some possibility of feed backing through the pineal gland. This approach contains, in any case, the seeds of bi-directional way of thinking the body-mind problem, anyway considered separately.

The science, from the point of view of its inescapable needs of method, acts in the right way reducing the body to a mere organism; but the challenge is that is very difficult to dismantle two thousand years of dualistic culture which, after having split the human being in soul and body, finds it hard to conceive the body in its relation not merely with the soul, but with the entire world.

Here we can use the German language that uses "Körperding" (body-thing), the organism studied by the science, and "Leib" the body we know in the world of life. "Leib" is a word that has kinship with "Leben", whose meaning is life and "Liebe" which means love. Nevertheless, it is crucial to consider that the medicine's notion of the body does not concern the living body, because it does not think that the organism is 'in' the space, where my body opens up an area in which casts its intentions and promotes its actions (Galimberti, 2002).

The current consequences and the mind-body problem

This scientific/analytic approach, aimed at reducing the body to an organism/machine/device made by muscles, bones and junctures, is leading the concept of the body in western culture and is confirmed in the Physical Education classes, the only educative space intentionally and institutionally dedicated to this matter.

As Hardman (2008) stated, in fact, among the several weakness of the Physical Education worldwide, probably the most important is that the classes do not provide children with meaningful experiences. As a result of the monitoring that he is in charge to carry out for UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), he highlights the excess of competitive oriented activities inside the curriculum. I assume that the 'sportized' model of teaching Physical Education, as a sum of sports' disciplines, is strictly connected with a functional/thermo-dynamical view of the body as producer of performance.

Referring and revising Le Camus (1984) we can distinguish two main trends of the didactics: one, more technical, deriving from the military gymnastic, that needed skilled body to defend the country, concentrates on the

functional/thermo-dynamical aspects; the other, more relational, has followed the development of the studies and practices related to psychomotricity, focuses on the communicative/cybernetic aspects. The functional one is more attentive to the technical way of production of a gesture and to the performance achieved. The communicative sense of that gesture remains in the background. The communicative approach looks intentionally both towards the outer environment (focusing above all on the relation with other people, e.g. the one setting the ball) and the inner environment (focusing on proprioceptive sensations and individual skills).

The functional "Körperding" body can be studied and analysed, mainly with quantitative methods in a dualistic conceptual frame, by medicine and physiology because is considered as a (bio) mechanical system to train for improving results. The "Leib" communicative body can be studied by human sciences, mainly using qualitative methods, because is considered as a system in which body and mind create an inextricable, monistic and holistic, unity (Galimberti, 2002). Aware that my affirmation is a straining, I would also affirm that some disciplines like Sports Psychology risks to strengthen the dualism instead of reconciling body and mind.

From a theoretical and also from an applied point of view, the second, wider, concept of the body can include the first while the opposite is not possible (Borgogni, 2011). The main reference could be found on the difference between a dualistic and a monistic approach in facing the mind-body problem. Among the authors, I find significant to mention Damasio (1994) who, in his "*Descartes' error: Emotion, Reason, and Human Brain*", which raised a lively discussion among the scholars of several fields, deeply criticizes the dualism reappraising the role of emotions in the process of the decision making and highlighting the somatic marker as the pivot between viscera and brain. My colleague Davi and me, tried to use (Borgogni & Davi, 1997) the Damasio and Edelman (1997) studies to enhance a perspective in psychomotricity and physical education didactics that, taking account the latest neurological findings, could strengthen the role of emotions in the learning processes.

I am aware that the short and very incomplete history I am describing is not only an extreme synthesis but is also partial, not considering the diversity of the concept of the body-mind problem in other cultures, for example, some of the eastern philosophies that are considered more attentive to a monistic if not holistic approach. Nonetheless, the differentiation between eastern and western philosophies and mentalities is a stretch because there are also several western philosophers considered monistic; just to mention among the others Aristotle, Parmenides, Spinoza, Neoplatonism, and Hegel. However, without doubt, the dualistic vision permeates the western culture also at everyday life level. The well-known Giovenale's "*mens sana in corpore sano*" (a sound mind in a sound body) motto is a reliable example for two reasons: it clearly underlines the separation, if not establishes, a hierarchy between the elements; it has been intentionally misrepresented because separated by the context of the whole sentence. The context, in fact, is *orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano* (it is

to be prayed so that the mind be sound in a sound body) that leads to an opposite meaning than the one generally conceived.

I would stress here the period in which the two concepts came in contact, in a popular-mass way, at theoretical and pragmatic level. In his description of the phases of the psychomotricity since 19th century, Le Camus (1984) described the third phase (after the 1973) using the 'expressionism' as organizer concept, which includes theories and practices, and the body as 'meaningful or significant'. Here the body and the practises met an epistemological break after centuries in which the body was considered dumb or, at least, silent: the body, according to the author, could talk, could express its sensations, it is evolving from the former meaning of 'able', ready to fight for the defence of the country, to a true communicative sense.

In the seventies, the bodily practises opened to new activities, some of them coming from the Eastern culture, in which the body communicates, either at inner (Yoga, some Martial Arts, Taijiquan) and outer level (body expression, dance). The raise of the feminist movement contributed to bring the discourse from the performing body to the sensitive body. In some cases it is possible to point out forms of hybridization like stretching, anti-gymnastique or anti-exercise, relaxation. The psychomotricity became part of the formation of the educators, physical education teachers, psychologists, and physiotherapists.

In the book published for the exhibition *Qu'est-ce qu'un corps?* (What is a body?) held at the Muséè de quai Brainly in Paris in 2006/2007, the editor, Stéphane Breton wrote, in the introductory chapter *Vouz nous avez apporté le corps* (You have brought us the body) about a famous encounter. The missionary and anthropologists Leenhardt met, at the beginning of the 20th century, Boesoou, a native of the New Caledonian. The missionary asks if "what he has brought through his teaching wouldn't be the notion of spirit" (Breton, 2006, p. 13). The native answers that the Kanak already knew the spirit and that "what he brought them, au contraire, is the body" (Breton, 2006, p. 13). Breton wrote that, even if some scholars express doubts on the truthfulness of the dialogue, it is worth to point out the astonishment and the contradictions carried by the dialogue itself, which led to open the book, and the exhibition, starting from the idea that we don't know what the body is.

This dialogue, and its profound implications, shows us the unavoidable need to relativize when speaking about the body above all when, like in the present research, the body is investigated in relation with behaviours expressed in the public space, in relationship with the others' behaviours.

2.2 A recent history of the body

Seeking connections between the latest treatises on the body and the most relevant theoretical references, according to Courtine et al. (2006), it is plausible to affirm that a fundamental contribution to the recent history of the speculative

research on the body have been given by Maurice Merleau-Ponty (2002), Marcel Mauss (1970) and Michel Foucault (1975).

As mentioned above, Courtine stated that from a theoretical point of view the 20th century invented the body. Freud discovered that the unconscious speaks through the body by opening the issues of somatisation and the importance of body image on the self-construction. Husserl, thinking of the body as the birthplace of all meanings, opened the road to existentialism and phenomenology, above all to the relevance assigned by Merleau-Ponty (2002) to the role of the perception and his conception of the body as a place for embodiment of the consciousness: the body as 'fulcrum of the world' (Corbin et al, 2006). Merleau-Ponty (2002) wrote in 1945 that the body is our general medium for having a world. Sometimes it is restricted to the actions necessary for the conservation of life, and, accordingly, it posits around a biological world; at other times, elaborating upon these primary actions and moving from their literal to a figurative meaning, it manifests through them a core of new significance […] Sometimes, finally, the meaning aimed at cannot be achieved by the body's natural means; it must then build itself an instrument, and it projects thereby around itself a cultural world. (Merleau-Ponty, 2002, p.169)

The Mauss (1970) reflections written in 1936 on the body techniques strongly influenced the concept of the body in the 20th Century. Mauss described the body techniques as the way in which humans, in different societies, know how to use their body. The techniques must be traditional and efficient gestures because without tradition technique and transmission cannot exist.

Mauss collocated his studies on the fringes of several sciences, in those undistinguished areas in which the more urgent and relevant problems, related to the body issue, lie. He inferred the strong cultural sense of the use of the body during his anthropological researches on the field and also during the observation, for example, of the inability of the French and English armies to march to the rhythm of each other's fanfare during a common celebration march.

According to Mauss, the body is the first and most natural technical object for humans and, at the same time, it is the technical means when not the tool. All the gestures, all the expressions of the body come not only from the person but also from her/his own education, history, and society and from the place that he/she occupies in it.

As he showed at the beginning of the 19th century, the most part of the gestures and of the postures result from a social construction. "The behaviours adopted by men and women in a given society, in spite of the fact that they can seem spontaneous and natural gestures, constitute culturally developed techniques as well as effective actions" (Marzano, 2007, p. 64).

Thereafter, Goffman, in diverse studies (1959, 1967, 1971) dealt with this issues investigating, in his micro-sociological studies, the urban behaviours and interactions.

Mauss classified the techniques for sex, age, efficacy, means of transmission and enumerates them from a biographical point of view focusing his attention on adulthood. Moreover, he also describes some gestures related to sports.

Porro (2008) mentioned Mauss' theory as the point of connection between those tecniques and the contemporary sport practices. According to Porro, in fact, Mauss "grasped the meaning of problematizing and differenziating the concept itself of the body which is described in the three-fold function as a 'tool' allowing to situate ourselves in a physic world , a 'medium' useful for building the relation between psychical subjectivity and the environment, and, moreover, social 'territory' intended for beeing elaborated and narrated in different and original manners by every human culture" (Porro, 2008, p. 9).

Porro argues that the opening to an interpretation that eventually recognizes the individual body as a social construction, defined by practices, allows a phenomenological reading of the sports.

Foucault (1990) argued that as capitalism refined itself, so too have there been refinements in the ways the body is internally and externally controlled and disciplined. In the initial stages of capitalism, body control was in the form of mass military style exercise; but, as capitalism evolved into a corporate form, so too has physical education and sport, emphasising health and fitness development, linked to a high degree of individual accountability.

Markula and Pringle (2006) investigated the Foucauldian thought about disciplinary power on body. Mentioning Halas and Hanson (2001), they explain how sport and exercise programmes discipline and normalise participants to render their conforming but biomechanically or physiologically efficient bodies 'docile'. In this broad manner, we can consider fitness instructors, physical education teacher, sport scientist and coaches as 'agents of normalization'. Relatedly, we can understand how the sport and fitness disciplines are an integral part of the working of disciplinary power in contemporary societies (Halas & Hanson, 2001, p. 123).

These reflections can also be read in the light of the studies about the so-called sportization of the body (Porro, 2008). The Porro's approach to the matter is carried out using also Visual Sociology tools, which valorise the increased relevance of the image of the sportized body as normal, average body. The Visual Sociology, as the ISA (International Sociological Association) web site describes, is a relatively new discipline and methodology of the sociology aimed at analysing visual data bridging the discussion about the theoretical and practical aspects (International Sociological Association, 2012). Becker (1982), as mentioned by Porro (2009, personal communication), during the seventies and the eighties, began a comprehensive study on theories and methodologies of Visual Sociology investigating the relationships between sociology and photography and differentiating among the Visual Sociology, the documentary photography, and the photojournalism.

Moreover, I can easily shift our field towards the public health policies that have, as the mechanism of disciplinary power, the body as main focus. The

specification of the focus implies the involvement of the individuals as auto-producer of their own body/health in the frame of what Foucault called bio-politics of the population.

Having in mind these reflections, I can also infer some provisory conclusions starting from two apparently divergent directions of global policies: the insistent query for healthy and active life styles from one side and the decrease of Physical Education (PE) curriculum time allocation worldwide (Hardman, 2008). The PE curriculum must have several fields and aims, above all educative, social, and specifically physical; the health enhancing aspects, so much emphasized nowadays, are also important and not prevalent but, without doubts, represent the only institutionalized time dedicated to movement in our societies. The perspective of a bio-politics raises the suspect that, intentionally or not, there is a tendency towards a privatization – at least - of the concept of health achievable through physical activity.

Moreover, in a Foucauldian perspective, the control of the body is strictly linked to the control of the space that, together with the optimal exploitation of the time, the presence of a continuous surveillance, a strong punishing and regulative power are the crucial elements of the disciplinary system. The discipline is a tactic; it corresponds to a specific way of distributing individuals in the space with the aim to obtain the best achievable effectiveness (Cometa & Vaccaro, 2007).

As shown in the Figures 1 to 6, the regulation of the body gestures and the distribution in the space are matters strictly linked to the management of the power.

FIGURE 1   Hanna Arendt and a Nazis' running parade ("Il sole 24 ore" 25th of January 2009)

FIGURE 2   Nazis' goose step (www.alphanewsdaily.com)

FIGURE 3   North Korean soldiers (wonghongweng.blogspot.com)
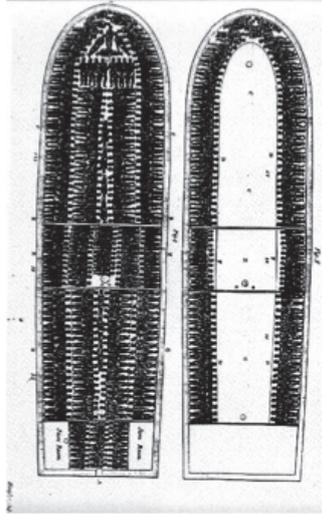
FIGURE 4   The changing of the guard Athens (http://fotoalbum.virgilio.it;)

FIGURE 5   The distribution of the slaves into the ship (unknown source; kindly given by Prof. Farinella)

FIGURE 6   American soldiers on the plane on the way back from Afghanistan (www.repubblica.it)

Thus we can argue that Foucault 's (1975) studies on body control can be easily extended to control of body expression in public spaces, such as sport facilities, including those with free access and, generally speaking, all public spaces and how they are projected. One only has to consider the use of video surveillance system, which was widely adopted and accepted for safety reasons after Foucault death.

My body is not my body anymore

Looking for connections between the body as a *weltknoten* (knot of the world) and the other fields of my research, I would propose the negation, and the concurrent overestimation, of the body during the Nazis' Holocaust as the true turn of the treatises regarding this issue. Primo Levi (1956) together with other authors like Arendt (2001), Hillesum (1990), Wiesel (1980), is one of the world recognized, testimonies of that tragedy. Courtine mentioned him in the introduction of *Histoire du corps*: " 'My body is not my body anymore'- thus Primo Levi says in the simplicity of a declaration which reminds us what yesterday was the 'inhuman' " (Corbin et al, 2006, p. 11).

The reduction of the human to the body and the theme of the body as an object is a, maybe the very background to many testimonies: prisoners are called *stuck* (pieces*)*, they are immediately separated from their relatives, the anonymity is pursued by shaving off their hair and forcing them to wear the same uniforms, they become numbers through the tattoo on the left arm, the starvation and the lack of hygiene made their bodies hostages of the weakness and frailty (Marzano, 2007). At the arrival of the trains in the concentration camps a 'scientific glance' decided immediately the direction (death or life) on the basis of the supposed utility of the body for the dictatorship (Borgogni et al., 2002).

The post-human body

Moreover, in the final decades of the last century the concept of the body had been changing and took on several directions. Worthy of note are the issues connected with the post-human body, with the bio-politics linked to the recent scientific discoveries in Genetics, the latest studies on neurophysiology concerning the role of emotions in the learning processes which have highlighted how emotions can change a neural map, and the studies on the mirror neurons.

The future of the body seems to multiply the possibilities and the directions: the malleability/transformability, the virtuality, the health, and the ecology.

The body, nowadays, is transformable by surgery, by doping, by cyber-technology, for aesthetic, for art, for fashion or to improve performances. It is more and more virtual, it is on the net and it is represented, in a sort of sublimation, in electronic games; it is also object of a powerful global health campaign wanting everyone fit to adequately fight against non communicable diseases; it is ecological and sustainable when aims at a balance leading to wellbeing.

The fast developments and the dialectic between scientific research and applied technology, is more and more showing the importance of the theme of the post-human.

Marzano (2007) argued that the post-human(ism) is based on the idea that, in the future, the humankind will go over the (supposed) banality of its condition and the limits of the body.

In the field of arts, the French performer Orlan began in the nineties to be object/subject of several plastic surgeries to modify the aspect to become a patchwork made by parts of several famous paintings and sculptures. The performance name was 'The reincarnation of Saint-Orlan'.

Nowadays, the attention is paid to the prosthesis, which allow many of us to walk or to live, and, above all, to the electronic prosthesis, which have been used till now as a remedy, like pace-maker and could become an extension of the body possibilities in a near future like the exoskeleton allowing a person to carry without effort 80% more weight than usual.

But the post human body is seeking for an artificially-improved body which can achieve better performances till grasping the super-human or, why not, the immortality. Is the philosophy of the no-limit which links these ways of thinking with every practice that can improve artificially the body performances, like doping.

The reflections about science and technology raise many ethical issues concerning the aims of the 'cyborgism' (cyber organism) and, more specifically, about the human characteristics which have to be improved artificially: who, for example, will decide which characteristics to develop and why? Is it an aesthetical provocative matter? Is it a prosthetic helpful matter to recover the sight or the use of the limbs? Is it something helping disabled to compete with other athletes like in the well-known case of the track and field athlete Oscar Pistorius? It is related to have a higher efficacy in the wars? The Figures 7 to 10, among the thousands findable, can help to reflect on these unsolved questions presenting several uses of prosthesis.

FIGURE 7   Paddy Hartley's face corsets mimic the results of cosmetic surgery procedures
(http://growingbranch.wordpress.com/tag/body-modification/)

Courtesy of DEKA Research & Development and
The Rehabilitation Institute of Chicago

FIGURE 8   An effective application of the studies on post-human body
(http://mos.futurenet.com)

FIGURE 9   The future soldier presented by US Army (http://en.wikipedia.org)

FIGURE 10   MIT grad student Conor Walsh and the leg exoskeleton he and other
researchers have developed. [Photo: Samuel Au / MIT News]
(http://spectrum.ieee.org)

Thus, the Foucauldian micro-control of the bodies, the panopticism as model,
takes the way of a control induced by the interior of the body: parts of the body
depend by the willing of the person but the willing of the person can be
influenced by the power, which, in its pervasivity, enters inside the bodies.

All these directions and possibilities can find a frame in the
commoditisation of the body: "The consumer's/consuming body is 'autotelic',
its own purpose and a value in its own right, in the society of consumers, it also
happens to be the ultimate value" (Bauman, 2005, p. 91).

Being or not the 'ultimate' value, the body has been taking several forms along the centuries and, as previously highlighted, its mental representation has been deeply influenced by cultures, religions and approaches. But the body lives "in" the space, private and public and in all the gradients between them. It spreads its visibility, its physical aspect, and its culture, in the public sphere where life occurs and where it meets other bodies. The public space, above all that for mobility, is often uncomfortable for the body while it has been designed giving prevalence to vehicles relegating bodies in residual corners of the cities. As I will describe in the chapters three, four, and five, since the seventies, new concepts raised the people awareness about the unsustainability of living in the cities. Thus the theme of the requalification of the public space was faced. The increased awareness about liveability of the cities went hand in hand with the understanding that the behavioural changes implied in the rehabilitation would not have happened without the collaboration of the people directly involved in them. Thus participatory and community actions began to be developed at local level following the main concept that a sustainable community needs participation. In this process, I argue that the role of the body has been remained in the background till now even if it has been a crucial but disregarded indicator for planning and thinking a more liveable place.

3 THE EUROPEAN MODERN TOWN PLANNING

3.1 The history of European town planning

According to Calabi (2004), a true history of European town planning started in the middle of the XIX Century when it is possible to identify a proper epistemology of the discipline. Calabi divides the history into four periods.

In the first period (1850-1914) Town Planning presented itself as an operative reaction to the "sickness of the city" (Calabi, 2004, p. 3) which appeared unhealthy and unsafe, partly as a result of the increase in the number of inhabitants due to the new way of production of goods due to the industrialization process, answering to the capitalist way of production, and the consequent birth and growing of the working class. The need for the expansion and the rehabilitation of the old part of the city became the guidelines of the discipline.

The urban situation had similar problems all around Europe. The lack of dwellings gave birth to speculative urban renewal plans. The urban renewal placed itself between the public health needs and the speculative intentions aimed at demolish in the areas more susceptible to increase their economic value. The growth of the urban infrastructure was totally random and was characterized by the lack of organized public spaces and facilities, community services, public toilets, sewage system, and the disordered popping of new buildings, shacks, and factories.

Benevolo (1971) went back over the theme of the remedial character of the town planning affirming that the birth of the modern town planning emerged after the economic movements that were creating and transforming the industrial town. The need of planning was felt when conflicts made inevitable corrective interventions. In his opinion either technical and ideological factors determined the birth of the discipline; these factors lay, from one side, on the deep changes responsible of the social and economical inequalities of the first part of the XVIII Century and, on the other side, on the evolution of the political theory and public opinion which started to consider those inequalities

unacceptable. It is worthwhile to remind that the 1848 saw the publication of the Communist Manifesto and the European Revolution.

According to Benevolo (1971), and developing his thought, the attempts to give an answer to the evil of the city can be found in two different approaches, which have conditioned the town planning till nowadays. The first can be related to "the so-called Utopians - Owen, St.-Simon, Fourier, Cabet, Godin – […] though they did not merely write about their ideal cities, like More, Campanella or Bacon, but agitated for their realization in practical terms" (Benevolo, 1971, p. xii), aimed at planning from scratch, the second included officials and specialists "who introduced the new health regulations and services into the towns" (p. xii). The first longed for theoretical communities; the second faced the problems in an analytical way without having an overall vision. The second, because the need of finding technical and legislative supports to the plan they were implementing, founded the modern town planning.

Benevolo draws attention to the fact that even the most technical achievements "had their roots firmly planted in matters of ideology, which in turn corresponded largely with the beginnings of modern socialism, so much so that the history of these early stages is to be sought in works on the history of economics and socialism, rather than in specialized technical studies" (Benevolo, 1971, p. xii).

According to Benevolo, the links between politics and town planning were missed by the interpretation given by Marxist Socialism of the failure of the 1848 Revolution, which had begun in France in February, even if some riots initiated in Sicily one month earlier, and spread around Europe and Latin America. That interpretation was too strictly political losing sight of the results given by the attempts of utopian communities and planning experiments of that time which started in the last part of the XVIII century and were strongly influenced by ideological trends.

From that moment, the developing town planning retrieved from political discussion and became a technical matter serving the new conservative ideology in power at that age. "This was the explanation for the uncommitted and dependent nature of the main experiments in town planning after 1848, behind which loomed the political paternalism of the new right" (Benevolo, 1971, p. xii).

The Benevolo's thought finds a certain confirmation in what has happened after that period onward: it is possible, in fact, roughly to highlight two main tendencies in town planning: the ideal and ideological intents of the dissolution of the city, represented by Howard and Le Corbusier and the, more political, idea of the com-penetration in the existing fabric, even if dismantling part of it, like in the case of Haussmann and Cerdà. (Farinella, personal communication, November 2011).

During the second period (1910-1945) there was a change in the dimension of planning: from an urban to a regional scale. This is the period of the origin of the 'satellite and garden cities' theme launched by Howard in 1898 and

systematized in 1902 with the publication of *Garden city of to-morrow*. The development of public housing (low quality, mainly in the first period, and low cost houses) and public transportations constituted the common denominator of the policies in almost all European countries. In the view of several reformer governments, these policies should have paved the way to social reforms.

The third period (1944-1970) coincided with the post World War II reconstruction. The themes of the city region, the residence district and the residence complexes consistent with an architectural view point accompanied the huge effort at reconstruction all over Europe (Calabi, 2004). The period led to big scale plans, to the urban sprawl through the building of suburb districts characterized by blocks of flats and the birth, or growth of existing villages, around industrial areas. This complex phenomenon often implied the development of dormitory satellite towns with few services and a lack of public transport or, in the case of industrial areas, the concentration around the factories often implied the increase of the pollution in the environs.

In Eastern Europe, immediately after the Second World War, the process of reconstruction of the destroyed city centres went hand-to-hand with an unplanned building of residential areas and the construction from scratch of new towns around the emerging factories. Several other countries followed the large housing plan launched by Soviet Union around the sixties. It was a planned answer to the need of housing units while the existing ones were overcrowded. The planning foresaw an expansion of the cities towards the outskirts in a very functional, and apparently rational way: huge blocks of flats grew in the suburbs posing problems of infrastructures and services.

The fourth period (1970 onward) has witnessed an epistemological break: projects began to be shared amongst several professionals; the idea of process joined that of plan, in a attempt to be more open to suggestions and complaints. The focus of the planners seemed to be directed towards the urban pattern. Emerging themes have been the environment and the economy in the search for sustainable development of the territory. In this period, the role of the participation in town planning, developed during the sixties with the advocacy planning in USA, is contradictory, very different from country to country and from place to place. (Calabi, 2004)

A European paradigmatic case of the transition within the periods is the Ruhr Basin. Object of the early industrialization in the 19th century because of the coalmines, the region passed through the two World Wars as crucial area for weapon industries, terribly destroyed by the bombs during the Second World War, protagonist of the economic miracle during the fifties and sixties, hit by the economical crisis of the seventies, which left the area with huge abandoned industrial complexes and a high pollution, at last rehabilitated, decontaminated and nowadays promoting itself as 'Ruhr Metropolis' as one of the most boosting and lively touristic area in Europe in which the preservation of the industrial monuments has become the main attraction for visitors.

3.2 Towards an urban renaissance

A remarkable example of planning towards a more sustainable future of the town can be represented by the reports[2] on the Urban Renaissance which are the results of the work of the Urban Task Force (UTF), headed by Sir Richard Rogers, constituted with the aims to "identify causes of urban decline in England and recommend practical solutions to bring people back into our cities, towns and urban neighbourhoods. It will establish a new vision for urban regeneration founded on the principles of design excellence, social well-being and environmental responsibility within a viable economic and legislative framework" (Urban Task Force, 1999, p. 5).

The UTF group members highlighted issues related with the ecological threat and the importance of sustainable development, the needs to activate a process of change heading the increasing power of the local leadership towards an increased commitment to public participation.

Within the "key themes and measures" it is mentioned that the urban neighbourhoods should be attractive places to live. The result can be achieved by improving the quality of design and movement, creating compact developments, with a mix of uses, better public transport and a density that supports local services and fosters a strong sense of community and public safety. To achieve this, the target is that the 65% of transport public expenditure has to be invested in projects that benefit pedestrians, cyclists and public transport users as well as the creation of Home Zones putting the pedestrian first in residential areas taking care of the maintenance, not only of the building, of the pedestrian and cycle network.

The ethos of the planning system should be changed "devolving detailed planning to the level of the neighbourhood where local people can get more involved in the decision-making process" (p. 5) also creating neighbourhoods with a mix of tenures and incomes, including opening up council housing to more of the population and establishing a Renaissance Fund for local groups to improve their own neighbourhoods.

Writing more specifically about mobility, the priority is to reduce the need for car travel introducing policies that discriminate in favour of walking, cycling and public transport: limits of 20mph should become normal in residential areas and high streets. This means, in the sense given by the report, that all the residential areas should adopt a speed limit of 20 miles per hour (30km/h zone in the rest of Europe except Malta) rendering the zone more pedestrian and cycle friendly. The residents should be enabled to have their neighbourhood designated a 'Home Zone' where pedestrians are given priority and cars move at little more than walking pace. "We want to see further encouragement for walking by reclaiming space for pedestrians and encouraging street facilities that make walking attractive. […] No urban

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[2]   The first report "Towards an Urban Renaissance" was published in 1999, the second "Towards a Strong Urban renaissance" in 2005

development or highway project should receive public funding unless it prioritises the needs of pedestrians and cyclists" (p. 9)

The Report states that Local Transport Plans should be required to demonstrate year on year the development of comprehensive cycle networks, with well defined cycle lanes, and the improvement in maximising local access on foot and by bicycle.

In the introduction of the second report, Rogers (Urban Task Force, 2005) described the successes and remaining, or new, issues after six years from the 105 recommendations included in the first report. He highlights the progresses, the challenges, and the recommendations for every chapter: the quality of design, the social wellbeing, the environmental responsibility, and the delivery, fiscal and legal framework.

I would like to focus on the first two chapters dealing with the Design excellence and Social wellbeing. The UTF presents some examples of progresses highlighting, very effectively, the interactions which occur around the crucial realm of public space: the vitality, safety and beauty of the urban neighbourhoods thus become "a key message of the Urban Task Force […] not just a matter of aesthetics, but of economics. As cities compete with each other to host increasingly footloose international companies, their credentials as attractive, vibrant homes are major selling points. (The public space) design and maintenance are the foundation for public interaction and social integration, and provide the sense of place essential to engender civic pride." (p. 5).

A part some cases in which the results were achieved, like Coptic Street, Camden, or the Greenwich Millennium Village, in Greenwich Peninsula, there are many examples in which the recommendations for integrated, spatial design that gives priority to connectivity, social inclusion, high quality public space and sustainability were ignored.

Few best-practice cities and towns have improved transport policies giving priority to walking, cycling, public transport and creating civilised public spaces but urban streets are till over-engineered to maximise traffic flow, pedestrians and cyclists have not the same rights than drivers, and public transport in most cities is totally un-integrated. The report complained about the several examples in which the Department for Transport, often dominated by highway engineers, is not integrated in the government's regeneration agenda.

About participation, the UTF wrote that too often the design is imposed on, rather than involving, communities whose representatives are still excluded from the decision making process and the implementations of the projects. UTF complains about the separation between the design team appointed for master plan and the one delivering the detailed design: a fragmented process easily creates fragmented environments. The stress o fragmentation leads me to highlight that collaborative planning, involving the diverse levels of planning as well as the stakeholders, is fundamental in assembling the built and social environment towards a more liveable and sustainable ecosystem.

The good management assured by small housing association is at risk because of the drifting of the funds toward larger scales organizations. There is the need of involving residents more directly and of increasing provision for young people reinvesting in youth services including sport, supervised open space, and spaces for music and arts.

My analysis does not concern all the matters treated by UTF but, undoubtedly, on the edge of the connections between town planning and social sciences, according to him, a more sustainable future depends on the ability to maintain a complex and interrelated urban vision in which citizens' involvement and body practices play a fundamental role.

As general considerations, Rogers underlined successes and issues. It is positively measurable a change of culture in favour of towns, the move back to the city centres (the Manchester case is mentioned), the increase (56% in 1997, 70% in 2005) in re-use of brownfields for building instead of green fields, the increase of the building density from 25 to 40 dwellings per hectare, a significant increase in investments in public transport with a greater attention to pedestrians and cyclists, some progresses in reducing the buildings' environmental impact, a growth in private investments, an allocation of 39 billion £ for the Sustainable Communities Plan, launched in 2003, and greater powers to cities and regions. Furthermore, Rogers remarked that the period of economic growth has implemented a process going on since the eighties.

The main new and remaining issues highlighted in the report are: the move out of towns of middle class families in search of better schools and environment; the failure to keep up with threatens related with the climate change; the persistence of massive inequalities due to the competition for spaces pushing up prices for housing; the too low supply for social housing; the growing housing demand remains a challenge for balancing the services for the new areas not weakening the existing urban areas; the fact that there has been too few integrated and designed urban projects internationally remarkable despite the investments in new housing; the quality of the design is not a central objective for public bodies, there is confusion in financing the development plans; the focus on sustainable communities has weakened the stance on urban regeneration.

The themes and the issues faced by Rogers and the UTF are shared with several other European countries, included those of the cases investigated in my research. The true difference among the countries is represented by the chain of command, the strategic view, the assessment and monitoring, and, definitively, by the will to transform the strategies in action. The English procedure seem to be effective because follows the needed steps: the national political power entrusts some high level interdisciplinary group to study the matter and to offer a strategic plan and recommendations, the conclusions are shared within the interested sectors of the public administration, which define a project containing the steps for the realization, the project is shared with the other administrative levels (regional, local), criteria of monitoring and

evaluation are established, the assessment of the process and of the results allows the political power to define new strategies.

4 BODY AND TOWN PLANNING

The issue raised by the combination of two so broad complex, areas of research seem to be largely unexplored. A review of the literature carried out using several data banks (SAGE, Palgrave, PubMed, Google Scholar) allows to discover articles and books in which the themes are connected through the public health or sport but, as far as my research concerns, there are probably not, or few, researches on the matter, I would argue, above all connecting theoretical and empirical studies.

4.1 From Vitruvius to the adoption of the meter

The body always had been using to have a strong presence in the history of Architecture: as early as the pre-Roman period, body proportions were the measures used in planning buildings, at least in western cultures.

Vitruvius (1st Century Before Christ) designed the first model based on body proportions. In the third book of his treatise "De Architectura" (27/23 BC), Vitruvius studied human proportions; his canons were later encoded in a very famous drawing by Leonardo da Vinci, the Homo Vitruvianus, (The Vitruvian Man) at the end of 15th Century).
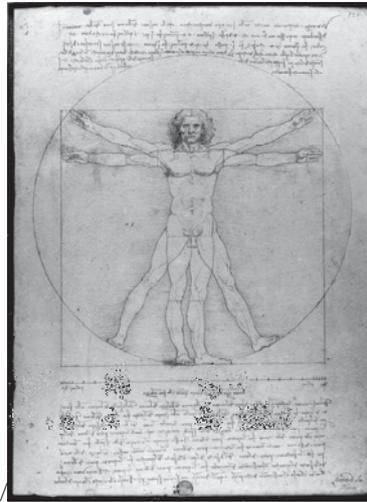
FIGURE 11   Leonardo's Vitruvian Man, end of the 15th Century (Venice, Galleria dell'Accademia; http://upload.wikimedia.org)

The architects of the Renaissance, like Brunelleschi and Leon Battista Alberti, would have been deeply influenced by the rediscovery of Vitruvius' work. Until that period, the body was of fundamental importance in Architecture. As shown in the Figure 12, arms, feets, palms were the units of measure for projects sealing the relation between body and space.

     Three centuries later, during the French Revolution, the meter, a fraction of the earth's meridian, was adopted as an objective measurement. This progressive choice implied a gap between body and space. The body was no longer the measure of architectural project.
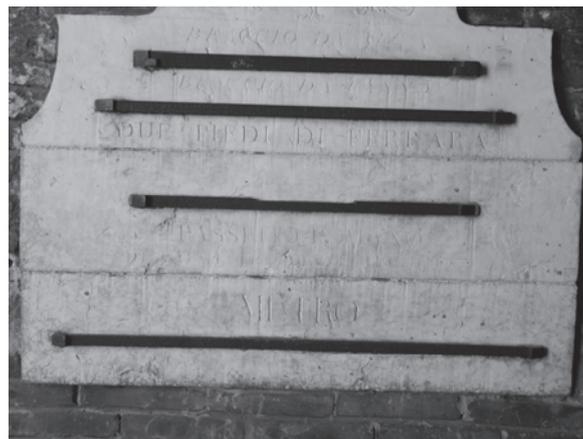

FIGURE 12   A marble plaque comparing the ancient measures with the meter in Ferrara Castle. The two first are "arms", the third is "roman small step", the fourth is the meter (A. Borgogni, 2011)

Notwithstanding, the body has been remaining a disregarded protagonist of the town planning as some issues, planners, and approaches clearly demonstrate. The body, its cleanliness, and the battle against the epidemic that affected it became the main issues of the huge urban rehabilitation plans started in the 18th century, which aimed principally at improving hygiene.

4.2 Hygiene

During the XIX century great attention was placed on the culture of hygiene in the city mostly as a result of the difficulties caused by the narrow, medieval structures that were considered to limit ventilation and facilitate the birth, the growth and the spread of diseases.

Mumford (1961) provided an excellent description of the climate of that period affirming that bringing clean air and water and sunlight back to the city were the main aims of good town planning. He bore out his thesis by mentioning Camillo Sitte who insisted on the hygienic function of urban parks as green health. According to Mumford, the cult of cleanliness derived from the cities of the Netherlands during the XVII century as they strived to make improvements like a good water reservoir and the use of wide windows. In his opinion, the cult was later accentuated by the scientific discoveries of the XIX century. He affirms that the Cartesian dualism dominated until that moment and the body, totally separated from the mind, had not been the subject of a systematic, health care.

According to Mumford (1961), nevertheless, later on new discoveries and theories put together physiological and psychological processes and the care of the body became a sort of moral and aesthetic discipline. It is worth to notice that this period was coincident with the beginning of the first phase (1860-1945) described by Jan La Camus (1984) in his book on the history of the practices and theories on psychomotricity.

In this phase he suggested the parallelism between body and mind as the organizer concept (*concept organizateur*) of studies and practices regarding the body, thus taking the dualism theory some steps forward; the body in this phase was considered as skilful (*adroit*), ready to defend the country, and the first concept of psychomotricity appeared.

Mumford continued his analysis affirming that during the same period, Pasteur's studies on Bacteriology revolutionized the concept of the relation between the inner and outer environments: bacteria grew in a dirty environment but disappeared through use of water, soap and sunlight. Lister, after reading Pasteur papers, found that carbolic acid solution swabbed on wounds markedly reduced the incidence of gangrene. In the same period, Florence Nightingale brought a decisive contribution to the setting up of new rules for cleanliness and ventilation.

Widening the field, I can mention that, during the same period investigated by Le Camus, Hebert (1912) developed the Natural Method aimed

at carrying out daily physical activities equivalent to those produced in the open air in the natural state, in order to compensate for the lack of movement caused by modern behaviour and social commitments. Hebert is also considered the gran father of the postmodern parkour practice (Atkinson, 2009).

In Paris, for example, the theme of the hygiene is present since the XVII century. We can refer to Victor Hugo's description in *Notre dame de Paris* (The Hunchback of Notre Dame) of the area around the cathedral and of the "court of miracles" in the Paris outskirts.

The first sewer was built in 1734 under rue Montmartre. The network developed slowly, but after the outbreak of plague and cholera epidemic in 1832 and 1849, was adopted a major policy environmental rehabilitation of the city, with a strong increase of its extension. This was also the case of many European cities like the British industrial cities (Healey, 2005).

In 1850, the prefect for the Seine Haussmann and the engineer Belgrand, designed the Parisian sewer and water supply networks, which has been maintained till nowadays. Thus was built in 1878, almost a century and an half ago, a double - for drinking water and for non-drinking water- water supply network and a sewer network, which was 600 km long. Palaces were then forced progressively by the law to adapt discharges as to not throw more rainwater or service directly in the Seine, but in the sewer.

The culture of the water

The theme of the cultural conception of the water and its availability is crucial for understanding of the true revolution that linked the body practices, hygiene, and town planning.

Vigarello (Corbin et al., 2005, Vol.2) reminded as the word bath (*bain*) in the Courtin dictionary in 1826 showed the distances with the practices of ablutions between nowadays and the beginning of the XIX century: "the water is described as a complex environment, strange, and pervasive" (Vigarello, 2005, 2, p. 299). The effects of the bath were differentiated according to the temperatures for their medical effectiveness while the cleanliness and the well-being were almost not mentioned. The hygienists thought that the warm water and too many baths riled and released organic substances. These aspects came, in a more hidden way, together with the shame and the fear for the awakening of the desire suggesting bad thoughts. The practice of the partial ablutions was suggested in the treatises on the toilette. On the contrary, in Paris the swimming in the Seine was highly recommended for the pupils during the summer (Vigarello, 2005).

The city landscape changed in XIX century also thanks the changes in the water flow. Vigarello (2005) wrote that the arrival of the Ourcq channel (1837) in Paris allowed a sharp increase of the public bathhouses from 16 in 1817 to 101 in 1839. While there was not any connection of the water until the flats, there was an improvement of the water availability in the districts. The hygienic furniture for the bourgeoisie included cabinet de toilette for the partial ablutions, public bathhouses for the baths, and, for the privileged, families the

bath delivered to the flat by promptly newborn private companies. The increased availability of water posed the issue of the rebuilding of the sewer system. In Paris, after 1852 the new houses of the main districts were provided with branch pipes either for entrance and exit flows. Thanks to new aqueducts the water supply per capita grew from 7,5 litres in 1840 to 114 in 1873. At the end of the century, the more prestigious flats begun to be equipped with bathrooms.

The growth of the public baths, inspired by English experiences, is strictly linked with the shifting of the water from private to popular substance, more and more available and affordable, It is worth to note that public or semi-public –reserved to group of families - baths and saunas developed in Finland in the same period, Proust (1877), reminding that in 1861 in Europe the urban population was 1/5 of the rural one, highlighted, at the same time the huge increase of the population of the cities. He mentioned Paris, in which the inhabitants had grown from 627.000 (1801) to almost 2 million (1877) and London, where, starting from the almost one million inhabitants in 1801, the population quadrupled in 1877.

His treatise allows understanding the dramatic changes undergone during that period in the cities and towns in Europe. Industrialization, growth of the city dwellers, problems in managing the exigencies and the products of the everyday life, challenges given by the new exigencies of the mobility, political movements, and scientific findings contribute to the need of a reconfiguration of the urban life.

Vigarello (2005) underlined as these processes, so important from the body point of view, changed also the contemporary imagination of the city, reorganizing the mental representations. Moreover, the new everyday practices of the baths and of the water, at the end of the century presupposed a change in the perception of the body as an inner space: a new way of allowing the liquids flowing into the body. The water is considered more and more cleaning and cheering, either in the privacy of the high-class flats, either in the functionality of the public baths.

The city became the metaphor of a body animal with feedings and disposals, hidden networks of capillary, tunnels as true organs of the city. The city's imaginary changed, "the space is maintained drained, covered, with an underground network in which the flows accelerate and multiply" (Vigarello, 2005, p. 307). To confirm the metaphor, the sewing underground network developed hand-in-hand with the underground and the surface mobility; the London metro system transport was inaugurated in 1863, and the Paris one in 1900.

The change in the city scene involved also the privacy: "spatial conquest, the bathroom, expands the flats […], psychological conquest too, the privacy of the place imposes itself insistently; all has to be designed to avoid the presence of third persons. […] Space strictly private, in which each one enters alone. […]. A new time 'for oneself'. The history of the cleanliness pursues here the construction of the individual (Vigarello, 2005, p. 308).

The green spaces represented the second theme contributing to the dramatic changes in the city. France, together with Great Britain, was probably among the first countries to plan green public spaces, an idea that other countries were quick to follow. Until the XIX century, cities did not have public green spaces: the London square gardens were mostly reserved to the house owners who were in possession of the keys. In Paris, the Bois de Boulogne and Vincennes became the property of the City in 1852 and 1860 as part of the plan to rehabilitate the entire city providing a park at every cardinal point. After that period, the theme of the balanced relationship between built-up and green areas has even if neglected during the periods of post-war reconstruction and speculation.

Capelli (personal communication, 2011) referring at the urban mobility issues, asserts that like sustainability nowadays, hygiene could be considered the key word of town planning during the XIX and part of the XX century; as an example to explain the relevance in town planning, I can remind that many Faculties of Architecture in Italy had Urban Hygiene as a subject until few years ago.

4.3 Le Corbusier

Mumford concluded his dissertation on hygiene writing about "the Le Corbusier admirably hygienic Esprit nouveau" (1961, p. 587). The Le Corbusier theory, in fact, was strictly linked to issues of hygiene and, more specifically, to the theme of airflow.

According to Le Corbusier, the true connective pattern of the city is composed by the green areas: public parks and green belts assure a relation between homes and town.

From a socio-political point of view, it must be reminded that the problems of the industrial cities at the turn of the XIX and XX centuries, faced by Ebenezer Howard in the project of the Garden City, which became a true reform movement, and other prominent planners, greatly influenced Le Corbusier's thought. A better society would have to be based on better living conditions. His idea of a new city matched with the theory of a new man. This explicitly political view needed alliance with strong powers that could carry it out on a large scale. His contacts with the Vichy regime are discussed even nowadays. Mumford E. (2000) stated, "these inconclusive efforts overlapped with the Le Corbusier's unsuccessful attempts to work with the collaborationist Vichy regime in France, after which he became in 1943 an opponent of the German occupation" (p. 6). It is historically true hat he went to live in Vichy after the Petain's government settled in the city. His theories had a strong effect on the city planning and architecture in eastern European countries mainly Soviet Union in which he participated strongly on the debate between neo-classicism and functionalism. Jacobs affirmed, "Le Corbusier was planning not

only a physical environment. He was planning for a social Utopia too" (Jacob, 1961, p. 22).

The Le Corbusier unit of measure (Modulor) was based on the proportion of the human body. He was inspired by Vitruvius, by the Leonardo's representation of the Vitruvian man, and by the work of renaissance architects, above all, Leon Battista Alberti. The proportion of the human body was the main base to define the Modulor, but also the golden ratio and the Fibonacci sequence of number played their role in the definition. "The Modulor is a measuring tool based on the human body and mathematics. The height of a man with an upraised arm may be divided into segments at the points determining his position in space, his feet, his solar plexus, his head, his fingertips. These three intervals produce a series of the Golden Section" (Le Corbusier, 1950, p. 55).

Le Corbusier thought that it was universally applicable to architecture, to mechanical things, at human scale and fulfilled a wide range of harmonious measurements (Le Corbusier, 1950).

The graphic representation of the Modulor is a stylized human figure with an upraised arm next to two vertical scales (Figure 13).
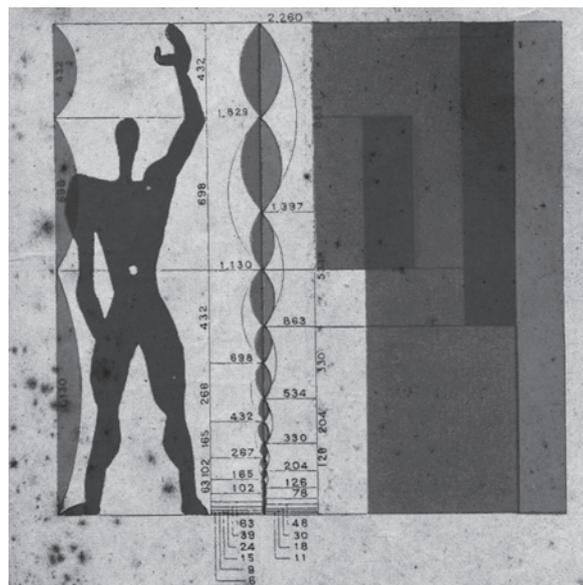

FIGURE 13   The image of the Modulor 1 (http://www.perego1963.it)

Le Corbusier published Le Modulor in 1948, followed by Modulor 2 in 1955.

As well as other parts of his theory, the Modulor received many criticisms: among which the fact that it was connected more with mathematical convenience than with real human proportions, and the fact that the female body was not considered. These criticisms induced Le Corbusier to modify (1955) the Modulor. Nowadays I can add to these criticisms the fact that Le

Corbusier's one thought was 'the' body, or an average, undefined, body, corresponding to the healthy male body, while, nowadays, our attention is drawn to the different bodies of all people, taking into consideration different shapes, abilities, ages, as well as cultural anthropological issues. Also Healey (2005) criticizes the standardization of Le Corbusier body, which leads to "standardized needs" (p. 99). Nonetheless, the Modulor is a crucial attempt to define a new relation between the body and town planning, which constitutes the topic of my research.

Le Corbusier used the Modulor scale in the design of private and public buildings. Probably the most famous, the Unité d'Habitation apartment building in Marseilles, a version was engraved near the entrance./

In the Le Corbusier town planning theory, a crucial and very controversial issue, is, once more, the role of the body in relation to the system of mobility. In his thought, the pedestrians walk separated from the traffic, this choice would allow the traffic to flow more quickly and create more safety for pedestrians who would become the protagonists in the city scene thanks to a network of paths among the tall buildings designed to have green space between them. These principles constituted the basis of his town planning theory known as Ville radieuse (The radiant city) published in 1935.

FIGURE 14   The original cover of the book *La ville radieuse*
             (www.fondationlecorbusier.fr; © FLC/ADAGP)

After having many projects of towns rejected by several local administrations, after the Second World War, he succeeded in building some *unite d'habitation* and, at town planning level, the Indian new town of Chandigarh. Le Corbusier conceived the master plan of Chandigarh (1951), taking over the Mayer and Nowiczki plans, (Gattamorta, Rivalta, 1993) as body shaped.

With a 'clearly' defined head (the Capitol Complex, Sector 1), heart (the City Centre Sector-17), lungs (the leisure valley, open and green spaces – Sector 3, 10, 16), the intellect (the cultural and educational institutions), the circulatory system (the network of roads *Les sept vois de circulation* -7 Vs) and the viscera (the industrial area). These systems, as shown in figures 15 and 16, are

distributed in a gridiron plan. In the intention of the author, the concept of the city is based on four major functions: living, working, care of the body and spirit, and circulation. The living part is constituted by residential sectors while Capitol Complex, City Centre, Educational Zone and the Industrial Area represent the working part. The Leisure Valley, Gardens, Sector Greens and Open Courtyards assure the care of body and spirit. As Le Corbusier (1959) wrote in the 'Chandigarh edict' contained in the Chandigarh College of Architecture website "the city of Chandigarh is planned to human scale. It puts us in touch with the infinite cosmos and nature. It provides us with places and buildings for all human activities by which the citizens can live a full and harmonious life. Here the radiance of nature and heart are within our reach" (Chandigarh College of Architecture, 2012).

The sectors are self-sufficient organs with space for living, working and leisure; all the services are at less than 10 minutes walking. Le Corbusier, in the edict, describes the the sectors as following the city is composed of sectors. Each sector is 800 meters by 1,200 meters, enclosed by roads allocated to fast mechanized transport and sealed to direct access from the houses. Each sector caters to the daily needs of its inhabitants, which vary from 5,000 to 25,000 and has a green strip oriented longitudinally stretching centrally along the sector in the direction of the mountains. The green strip should stay uninterrupted and accommodate schools, sports fields, walks and recreational facilities for the sector. Vehicular traffic is completely forbidden in the green strips, where tranquillity shall reign and the curse of noise shall not penetrate (Chandigarh College of Architecture, 2012).

The city was thought surrounded by a 16-kilometre greenbelt; the choice was to ensure that no development could take place in the immediate vicinity of the town, to avoid the growth of suburbs.
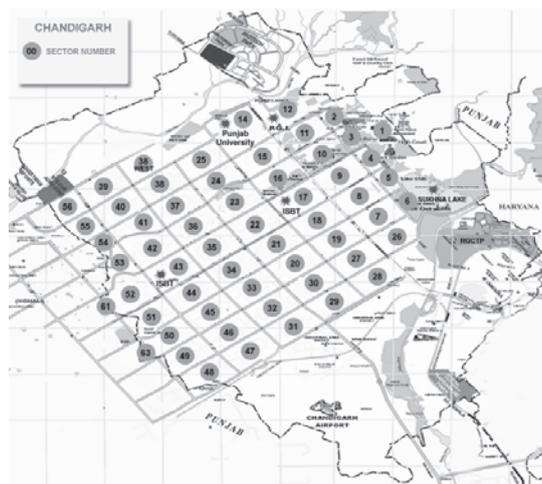

FIGURE 15   The map of the sectors in Chandigarh Interactive Map; (Chandigarh Official Website: http://chandigarh.gov.in/)
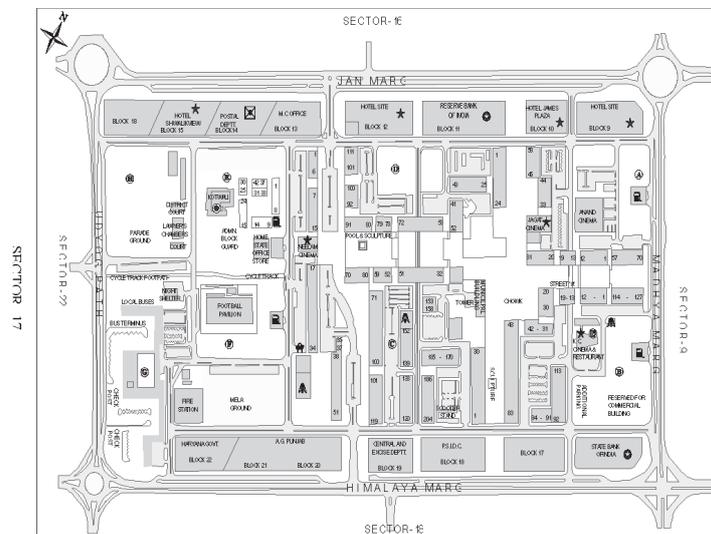
FIGURE 16   Chandigarh Master Plan: sector 17 (Chandigarh Official Website: http://chandigarh.gov.in/; retrieved on the 13th of April 2012)

As mentioned in the Chandigarh official website, Sunand (1987) affirmed that from his early studies in urbanism, Le Corbusier had identified the motor car as the central factor of modern town planning. His initial, primarily aesthetic, quasi-Futurist response to the motor car and to rapid movement in the cities had, by 1950, metamorphosed into a theoretical solution to the problems of modern traffic -- a graded system of circulation, from crossing continents to walking to the front door (Chandigarh official website, 2012)

The V1 is the system of the highways connecting the city to others, while the V7s are the streets leading to individual dwellings. Cycle and pedestrian paths (V8) were added only later.

Nonetheless, the design does not seem to explicitly refer to the body as Takhar (2002) stated "One of the symbols that have been put to use endlessly is the way in which the city plan itself is to some extent reminiscent of the human body, with the Capitol separated from the body of the lower number sectors. But can anybody say that they can see it on the ground? I am not too sure of it, and in any case, why make a city look like a human body?" (Takhar, 2002, p. 205).

FIGURE 17   The satellite image of Chandigarh (http://maps.google.it/)

In spite o the role reserved to the body in the city planning, he received a lot of criticism. His previous town planning proposal, La *ville contemporaine* (The contemporary city, 1922), was accused of segregating the pedestrian circulation by glorifying the role of the automobile as a means of transportation. Mumford (1961) highlighted that the hybrid within huge skyscrapers and the organically designed environment was a sterile attempt, which deprived of sense the pedestrian circulation amongst the buildings. Jacobs wrote about the "unrealistic superficiality" (Jacob, 1961: 345) of coping with several issues, among which, the mobility of pedestrians in relation to the other forms of mobility.

The post Le Corbusier Chandigarh has been object of a sharp increase in the population, 140% in the 1961-71 decade (Chandigarh Administration Official website, 2012, "Le Corbusier" section) due also to the change of status in capital of two territories and Union Territory capital. This entailed the need of new small houses, more in accordance with Indian habits, as well as multi-storeyed housing/flats for low and medium income families. This enlargement, which remained on the frame of the original plan, implied the building of the 31 to 47 sectors. The Sectors 48 to 56 have been added more recently. Until nowadays, the local administration has dealt with the new exigencies respecting the Le Corbusier plan while the moment is arrived to cope with the physical limits of his planning. In any case, the around 900.000 inhabitants city, with a density of 7900 per square kilometres, seems to sustain the impact of the growing population and of the differentiation of housing and living exigencies. It is one of the wealthiest, cleanest, and at the top of the list in the Indian Human Development Index (Wikipedia, 2012).

The Le Corbusier relevance in the study of the relationships between the body and town planning remains fundamental for his rediscovery of a planning based on body proportions and for the ambiguous attention drawn to the body expression in city planning. Nonetheless, his indubitably geniality, led him to superimposed ideal, I would say ideological, concepts in the everyday life organization of the people that were mainly theoretical hypothesis applied in the real life without an in depth study of what, behaviours, attitudes, gestures, occur every day in diverse cultures. This is evident, for example, in the description of the choice not to forecast elevators in the main administrative buildings like Secretariat and High Court: "three thousand employees arrive every morning at the same time [...]. The American system of elevators is, in this case, unworkable. The costs would be huge and without usefulness because the rush hour is only one time in the morning. It has been taken into account that Indians enjoy walking, imagining outer ramps with a low inclination, from where to watch beautiful views of the landscape and of the architecture of the Capitol complex. It has been thought that the three thousands employes would have simply continued their promenades until their offices' doors every morning" (Le Corbusier, 1967, p. 136, as cited in Gattamorta & Rivalta, 1993, p. 36).

4.4 The last perspectives: the centrality of public space and light mobility

4.4.1 Traffic calming

Continuing my very synthetic parallel history of urban planning and the relevance of the body and coming to the second part of the 20th century, I can affirm that, in European countries, the body was the protagonist of the city scene until the first half of the 20th Century. I refer, here, at the period before the Second World War in which most of the mobility into the city was pedestrian and many handicraft works were carried out on the street. Like J. Jacobs (1961) reminded, the sidewalks were the place embedding true life, hosting dozens of urban and social functions including children's play. After the Second World War, with different speeds from country to country, a process of disappearance of the body from public space began. The cars, status symbol of the new affluent society, had dominated the urban scene till the seventies. Starting from that period, new environmentalist sensibilities grew up and were transformed in policies in countries, which demonstrated major sensitivities (Germany, Netherlands, Denmark, and Finland). On the frame of improving urban liveability, one of the issues was about to think new ways of mobility, new green areas and more liveable urban spaces.

Starting from the seventies, in fact, new theories in planning went hand in hand with the traditional ones in Europe. Healey (2006) wrote about the argumentative, interpretive and communicative turn in planning theory as a part of a broad wave of reflection on identity and epistemology of the western thought occurred in the seventies. She underlined as this movement began when "studies in the philosophy and sociology of science began to show that science itself was socially produced framed by constructs which were held together only because groups of scientists believed in them" (Healey, 2006, p. 36).

Radical changes in the mentality of planners came about following the introduction of citizen participation in the process. Among the first important examples we can mention the Dutch *Woonerf* and the German *Urbanes Wohnen* (Urban Living). At the same time new concepts in planning public spaces and mobility were asserting themselves: traffic calming, or traffic civilization, spread over Europe. Excellent results were achieved in Chambery, France, by Michel Deronzier, in Switzerland by Lorenzo Custer. In Italy, some results were achieved thanks to the work of the Association *La città possible* (The possible city) in Turin and Piedmont (Gandino & Manuetti, 1998).

All these measures, showed in the Figures 18-22, focused attention on greater expression of the body in the urban context and the involvement of citizenship in town planning and in urban rehabilitation, which also included residential roads.

FIGURE 18   Permanent table tennis in a residential street in Germany ('80); (La città possibile, n.d.).

FIGURE 19   Humps in a residential street in Germany ('80); (La città possibile, n.d.).

FIGURE 20   A resting area in a residential street in Germany ('80) (La città possibile, n.d.)

FIGURE 21   A parking layout creating chicanes to slow the vehicular traffic in Germany ('80); (La città possibile, n.d.)

FIGURE 22   One of the first residential streets in Zurich ('80) (La città possibile, n.d.)

4.4.2 Shared spaces

Nowadays, probably the most advanced experimentation on these matters is that using the concept of Shared Space as a new approach to public space design. The experiment, called 'Shared Spaces' was funded by EU grant in the frame of the Interreg-North Sea programme. It developed pilot actions in the Netherlands (Province of Fryslan, Municipalities of Emmen and Haren), Germany (Bohmte), Denmark (Middlefart), Belgium (Oostende), Great Britain (Suffolk County Council) (Shared Spaces, 2008). The experiments have shown the advantage for people using the body to move around the town as well as a decrease in road accidents due to the elimination of road signals. The striking feature in all the cases is the absence of conventional traffic management measures, such as signs, road marking, humps and barriers, and the mixing of all traffic flows (Figures 23, 24). Monderman (2006), the head of the Shared Space Expert Team, affirmed that shared Space gives people their own responsibility for what "their" public space will look like and how they are going to behave in it. Monderman observed that the behaviours of individuals were more affected by the built environment than by signals and, in general, regulations. Traffic signs no longer regulate the traffic, people do the main part

of the regulating by themselves. The principle is that road users should consider each other and return to their everyday good manners negotiating their movements directly with others. Experience shows that the additional advantage is that the number of road accidents decreases in the process. Other authors who worked to develop and apply the concept have been Ben Hamilton-Baillie and Jan Gehl.

FIGURE 23   An example of Shared space, the Netherlands
              (http://www.sharefoundation.eu/en/shared-space)

FIGURE 24   The same cross road with cyclists and vehicles
              (http://www.sharefoundation.eu/en/shared-space)

4.4.3 Active city

The active city approach could be an answer to several issues related to the town planning and to the services and functions organization.

The approaches on urban liveability

Till nowadays several approaches tried to give their answers to the problem of urban liveability.

From the health point of view, the city has to produce policies aimed at reducing pollution having a multi-task approach; one of the most important tasks is to reduce the impact of the mobility by private cars. Moreover, the proposed solution to obesity and in general to non-communicable metabolic diseases is, always, to walk, cycle, either for commuting or for leisure, and practice physical activity having the adequate infrastructures nearby home.

The World Health Organization European Healthy cities network, which counts around 90 members in 30 countries, is committed to six main aims: to promote policies and actions for health and sustainable development with an emphasis on determinants of health, people living in poverty and the needs of vulnerable groups; to strengthen the national and international cooperation in the context of health and urban regeneration; to generate and promote expertise and good practices; to promote exchanges within the network and among networks; to play an advocacy role through partnership with other agencies concerned with urban issues; and to increase the accessibility of the World Health Organization European network. The WHO's definition of healthy city very clearly draw the multidimensional approach: "one that is continually creating and improving those physical and social environments and expanding those community resources which enable people to mutually support each other in performing all the functions of life and in developing to their maximum potential" (WHO, 1998, p. 13).

For the town and mobility planners, the theme of the public space is becoming more and more crucial and their direction clearly goes towards a rehabilitation that, more or less intentionally, facilitates the body expression (meeting, walking, cycling).

From the point of view of the policies aimed at promoting safety, more the public space is used, I like to say, "stomped", more the citizens pacifically guard it.

In a perspective of equal opportunities, the city should allow everybody to benefit from every kind of services included very free infrastructures or way of move around.

One of the variables to take into account is the mentality to move inside the city in the fastest possible way using private means. This represent, nowadays, evidently an impossible game to play in the city but there are mentalities pushed by lobbies committed with the development of the road network, of the parking lots and, generally speaking, with the infrastructures facilitating the private mobility.

The active city

The active city vision could gather those approaches making an original synthesis going further along the path of 'zero emission' policies and offering an integrate network of opportunity for body expression. It can represents several needs: from mobility to playgrounds, from health policies to the offer of organized indoor and outdoor activities, from communicative and educative campaigns of involvement of citizens; in this sense, the frame could include

approaches centred on walking and cycling (represented for example by Walk21 association of cities, European Cyclists Federation) thus lowering the threshold of the accessibility of the context. The city scene deriving from these approaches is safer, healthier, equal, more sociable, accessible for all (Figure 25), and eventually more active.

FIGURE 25   An active city allows everyone's body to express (Borgogni, Jyväskylä, 2010)

International institutions support the active city approach: WHO, WHO Europe, EU, which have produced documents and books on the specific subject.

Many documents and researches have highlighted the role of the supportive environment in promoting physical activity, among the others: Larkin (2003) who posed the question of the relationships between city design and obesity; Leslie et al. (2005), who made a pilot study on walkability focusing on the perception of residents in several neighbourhoods and using the validated questionnaire NEWS (Neighbourhood Environment Walkability Scale) they invented; Edwards, Tsouros, (2006 and 2008) who, in behalf of WHO, linked, in a comprehensive guide, the health and active city approaches; Owen, Cerin, Leslie, et al. (2007) who worked on walkability focusing on adults; Schoeppe and Brauback (2007), who worked on residential environment for tackling the obesity; EU Working Group "Sport & Health", (2008) which, dealing with the EU Physical Activity Guidelines faced the issue of environment and urban planning; Rütten (2011) who dealt, in the comprehensive view offered by EU-funded IMPALA project, worked on the classification of the spaces for leisure time Physical Activity and faced also the social aspects of the participation in sport in the EU funded BIG project; Suomi, (1998, 2008, 2010) who worked on the involvement of citizens in planning active environments; Barton, Grant & Guise (2010), who dealt with the issue of enhancing health and sustainability through shaping adequate neighbourhoods and giving several practical suggestions and presenting case studies; Ward Thompson, Aspinall & Bell (2010), who offered a multidisciplinary approach on studying the relationships between environment and health opening the field to well being.

I would focus on two of the above-mentioned texts because they are guides or manuals presenting a wide view on the investigated matters.

The planning guide A Healthy City is an Active City (Edwards & Tsouros, 2008) offers a comprehensive sight to active living proposing a three stage planning process. The need of a planning integrating public, civil, and private sectors is highlighted as a precondition to achieve results. The built and the social environments, as well as specific settings (schools, workplaces, neighbourhoods, leisure and sport, health care) are described through a clear analysis and provided with recommendations. The guide identifies also tools to develop the plan, examples of best practices and a list of key sources to go in depth on the main matters of the guide. The main message coming from the guide is the complexity of the approaches needed to render a city more active. This represents a stimulating issue from a theoretical point of view but, above all, a tremendously challenging matter for policy makers.

Among the publications selected in the guide, only two appear in the section "comprehensive city plan": the Turku "Active Living" project, and the Brighton "More people...more active...more often". I would focus on the first because of the personal experience during my first visit in Finland. I was there in 1998 with an Italian delegation. Among the other visits, we followed the presentation of the Turku "Motion 2000" project that had anticipated the current "Active Living". Only recently, I realized that while following astonished the presentations, we were not able to understand the true level of advancement of that project which seemed us at very high level but not matching the sensitivities of the majority of the delegation.

The second text is the manual Shaping Neighbourhoods – For Local Health and Global Sustainability (Barton, Grant & Guise, 2010) that provides a wide description on how to act at local level to render more sustainable, accessible, walkable, ultimately healthy, a neighbourhood. Every chapter presents also case studies and the last chapter is dedicated to a checklist to organize in the better way the strategy. The guide is mainly addressed to planners, designers, and community groups. The "focus is on the physical fabric of the neighbourhoods" (p. xii). The main themes concern the neighbourhood as local human habitat and the management of that habitat by voluntary cooperation. The authors declare, "it is not about social programmes (health, education etc.) or economic regeneration policy as such, but does deal with their implications for and interactions with space and place" (p. xii) The guide refers to the 'spatial planning' approach.

The comprehensive sight is explained in several figures. Some of them, like the Figure 26, are very useful to understand the complexity of the interactions among the built environment, its design, availability, and maintenance, its characteristics (light, noise, safety, appearance, distances, social networks etc.), and the main features of physical, mental, and social health. A lack of some positive characteristics or the excess of others could lead to several kinds of problems or raise risks factors.
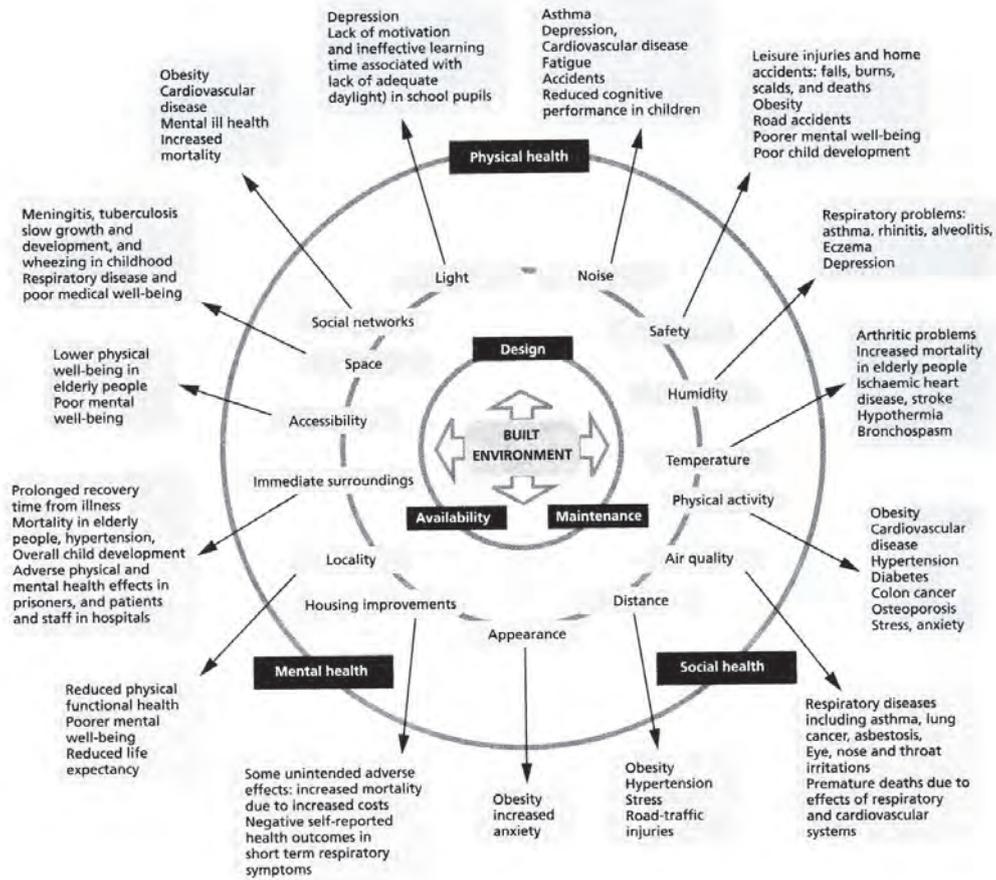
FIGURE 26   Health Problems with potential links to the built environment (Rao et al. 2007 modified by Barton et al, 2010, p. 35)

In the Figure 27, the determinants of health and wellbeing are expressed in a progressive level from the inner environment of people to the neighbourhood to the global ecosystem.
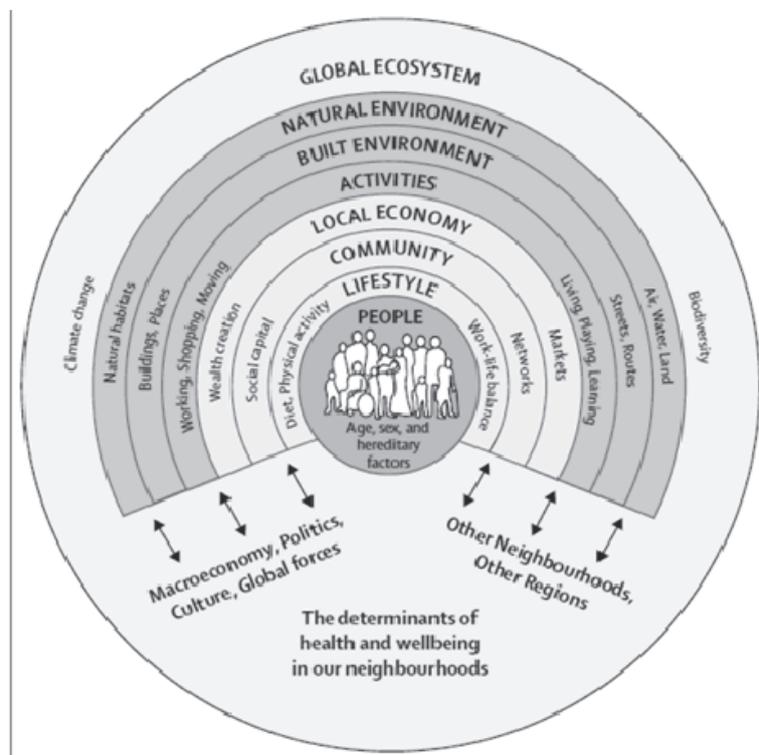
Figure: Health map for local human habitat
Based on public-health idea by Dahlgren and Whitehead.

FIGURE 27   The determinants of health and wellbeing in our neighbourhoods (Source: Rao et al, 2007 modified by Barton et al, 2010, p. 41)

Going more in depth the physical supportive environments it is worth to note a tendency in building light infrastructures to exercise in public spaces as showed in the Figures from 28 to 32 showing pictures taken in diverse countries.

FIGURE 28   Barcelona, Beach gym (Borgogni, 2009)

FIGURE 29   Novi Sad (Serbia), an outdoor gym on the banks of the Danube river. (Borgogni, 2011)

FIGURE 30   Copenhagen, outdoors training furniture. (Borgogni, 2012)

FIGURE 31   Dakar (Senegal), an outdoor gym (Borgogni, 2012)

FIGURE 32   Dakar (Senegal), a public and free training session for citizens (Borgogni, 2012)

It is worthwhile to point out in these examples, as also the authors of 'Shaping Neighbourhoods' underline, the role given to the social capital "whether or not a local community can be said to exist depends not only in individual and household choices but the degree to which people meet in local schools, shops, pubs and clubs, enjoy chatting on the street, feel at home in the neighbourhood" (Barton, Grant & Guise, p. 25). It is an easy way to link these aspects to the description, given by Jacobs (1961), of the quantity of social roles, which, for example, a neighbourhood retail shop play during a day.

The issue of social capital and the Jacob's citation lead us to a figure representing the level of friendliness of a neighbourhood in relation to the traffic rate. This kind of graphic representation originally comes from the social (1969) and territory (1969) diagrams of Appleyard used by several authors (Rogers, 1997; Gandino & Manuetti, 1998). The representation of the Figure 33 here below come from a research carried out by Hart (2008) in Bristol. It is very clear the different social capital achieved in different streets of Bristol (UK).

Probably, the main message about the Active City approach coming from these books is that, ultimately, it is fundamental to adopt a wide perspective towards a sustainable environment and an interdisciplinar approach to the issues. A 'healthization', an 'architecturalization', a 'sportization', a 'sociologyzation', are 'impossible games' in this situation. Every approach will lose the major part of the context not achieving sustainable results. Moreover, the risk could be to achieve the task only for some social classes without modifying the situation for disadvantaged people.
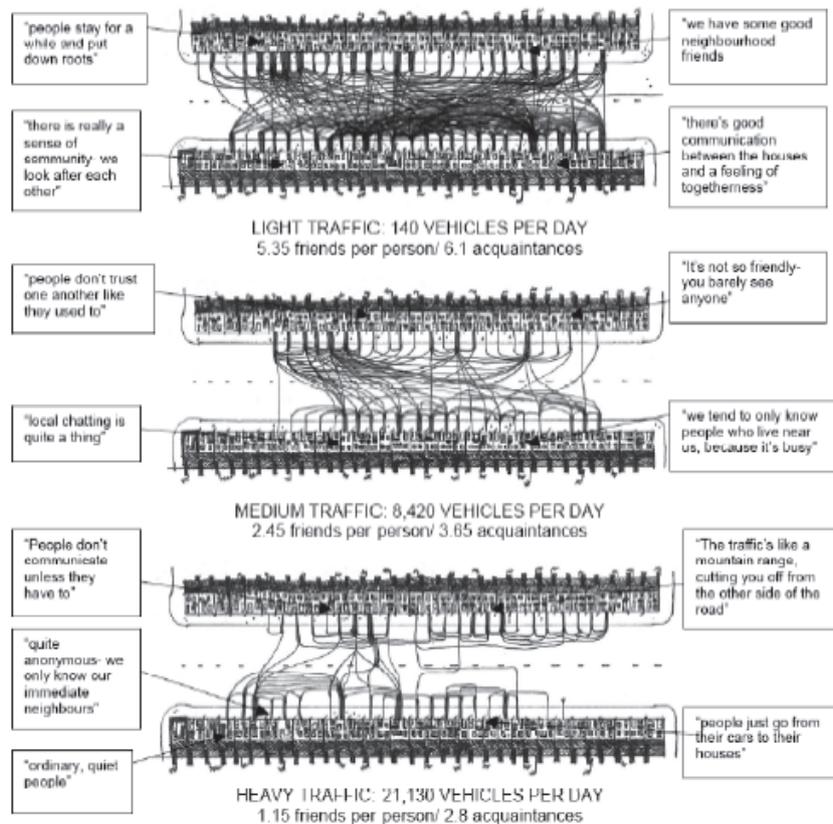
FIGURE 33   Community interactions in three Bristol streets: lines represent the friendships or acquaintances, dots represent where people are said to gather and chat (Hart, 2008, p. 128)

4.5   The social construction of public space

4.5.1 The social space

People not only use but also physically construct the space. People physically change the space intentionally or unintentionally with a continuous interaction between the structure and the human agenticity; people provide the space with meanings building the sociality, the spirit of the space itself. As shown in the figures 28, 29, 30, 31 in the previous paragraph, the sport practices can lead to a reconfiguration of the space, more or less designed for sport. The perception of the space changes dramatically when used for physical activity. Along the wall of Ferrara, whose case will be treated in chapter 7.3.4, on the 9th of September 2012 I met 217 people jogging, walking or running along 2.8 km.; this not only implied a perception of safety but also a sort of empowering and motivating

"being in the right place" sensation. Moreover, the figure 33 of the previous paragraph helps to understand the social relevance to allow the body expressions in a residential setting. These complex processes, meeting, walking, chatting, playing, belong to the fragile but indispensable social capital of the city.

According to de Certeau (1984), the people make the city transforming a physical into a human and social environment. People give the time to the city; people transform the space in place. As I mentioned in the introduction, the de Certau meanings for the two words is the opposite than the one used by Eichberg (1998) and Vertinsky and Bale (2004) but the concept, even contrariwise, remains the same: they all stress the difference between the physical attributes of an area and the meanings that precisely the same area adopts when used by people.

De Certau, writing about the practice of walking in the city, highlights as the city "is defined by the possibility of a threefold operation: 1) the production of its *own* space (*un espace propre*): rational organization must thus repress all the physical, mental and political pollutions that would compromise it; 2) the substitution of a nowhen, or of a synchronic system, for the indeterminable and stubborn resistances offered by traditions […]; 3) the creation of a *universal* and anonymous *subject*, which is the city itself " (De Certau, 1984, p. 94)

FIGURE 34   The "Città Ideale" (The ideal city) painting, by Anonymous Florentine (end of the 15th Century). (Wikimedia commons). (Public domain)

I would enhance these reflections saying that, in fact, in the famous *La città ideale,* the ideal city, painting by the Anonymous Florentine painter, no life, no bodies, appear.

The painting, dated back at the end of the 15th century, together with some others of the same period, represents one of the attempt of the Renaissance to describe the cultural utopia of the new city through a rational and symmetric, scientific design.

The magnificent painting is one of the highest representations of the aesthetic dream of a city in a society that was opening to the renaissance, more scientific, culture after the Middle Age. In any case, with a little bit provocative attitude, I would say that the painting can be considered an example of what de Certau explains as "univocal scientific strategies, made possible by the

flattening out of all the data in a plane projection, must replace the tactics of users" (De Certeau, 1984, p. 94).

By contrast, few years later, Bruegel the Elder (Figure 35) represented the true life of the villages during the same age: spaces full of people, dances, meals, and games. A way of painting the social conditions of peasants putting the infrastructures in the background.

FIGURE 35   "Children's games", by Peter Bruegel the Elder (1560). (Wikimedia.org). (Public domain)

The two approaches represent a totally different mentality: from one side the body, highlighted by Renaissance artist and architects also thanks to the rediscovery of Vitruvius, is used to establish the proportions and dimensions of the buildings and of the spaces; nonetheless, it is a mere tool that disappear at the moment of the representation; on the other side, the description of the true life exalted the body practices as a measure of the space.

This kind of dichotomy is traceable in interior design as like as in the urban furniture design, often more attentive to the aesthetic than the functional and ergonomic aspects.

Several times, during lectures, I compared the Bruegel painting with the image taken by an advertisement of well-known firm selling clothes for children. The children, dressing the shirts, pants and skirts of the firm, play in the same position of those in the painting but they look artificial and, watching the faces, forced to pretend to amuse their selves when playing. The comparison is maybe too brutal but my intention is to raise the attention towards the lack of free play in children, which also means to play wearing adequate dresses.

The development of the so-called postmodern sport and the tight inter-relation with the use of the public space lead me to propose in the Figures 36 and 37, an up to date version of the Bruegel painting displayed in the previous figure.

FIGURE 36   A playground in Bolzano (Italy) with children and adolescents. (Borgogni, 2011)

FIGURE 37   The playground is partially structured and partially self-structured by users, Bolzano (Borgogni, 2011)

But I would like to drive my reasoning beyond the border of the town planning and architecture. I would here to stress the, fully epistemological, need in social sciences to go over a certain mentalist and ideological approach in reading the urban context starting from the representation and construction of the city by the side of the people. The town is made by behaviours and, also nowadays, by visible and invisible tracks and paths as shown in the Figure 38. It is sufficient to observe the "paths of the body" that shorten curve or pass through the lawn to remind the body and social construction of the space and the planner forgetfulness of the body in planning the town.

FIGURE 38   Ferrara, a path shortcutting the way between two streets (Borgogni, 2011)

The city is to bring nothing but the basis of stimulations to the population and it is the people who are responsible for making it come alive and giving it any meaning. Moreover, it is people who order city space, making it real for them. In effect, the city provides pen, ink and paper and it is the people, namely the pedestrians, who provide the story.

De Certau, referring to Searle (1965) launches a comparison between the walk and the language affirming that "the act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language or to the statements uttered" (De Certau, 1984, p. 98). The 'enunciative' functions, at this comparative levels, are three: they allow an appropriation of the topographic parameters by the pedestrian, as who speaks appropriate the language, it is a spatial realization of the place, as the speaking is an acoustic fulfilment of the language, and, eventually, it constitutes relations, as the act of speaking allows the starting of interaction among persons (De Certau, 1984).

According to De Certeau "to walk is to lack a place. It is the indefinite process of being absent and in search of a proper. The moving about […] makes the city itself an immense social experience of lacking a place" (p. 103).

This action of lacking a place is explained by the awareness that "the ordinary practitioners of the city live 'down below', below the threshold at which visibility begins. They walk – an elementary form of this experience of the city; they are walkers, *Wandersmänner*, whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban 'text' they write without being able to read it" (p. 93).

I agree, as Wodtke (1998) stated, that the space, once defined, only remains thus defined for as long as the individual defining the space remains there and that the definitions are fleeting, one replaced by the next as a second pedestrian assumes the position of the first. (Wodtke, 1998)

At the same time it is true that the city is built by inhabitants no only unintentionally, through their political choices and, sometimes, through participative processes or referendum, through their behaviours confirming or disconfirming the 'neatness' of the design, of the shapes, of the previewed functions, screaming clearly 'yes' or 'not' towards the town planners willingness. (De Carlo, 1992).

Moreover, my personal feelings are decisive for my understanding and my wish to create or modify the space. The space when I play is 'my' space even if shared; there I learnt to play basketball and met the first girl's interested glance. Walking down the street heading to my house, I can assume a careless, inattentive attitude because I know the context. Canevaro (1994) stated that a children's friendly city is, above all, a city allowing errors, in which a mere error, for example crossing the road in the wrong way, could have a low possibility to become a tragedy

Walking near my house my emotion changes if my partner is or not at home. My house in Ferrara, in fact, is named *my house,* it is not 'that address' to me. As I regard it from the outside, I am able to visualize the space beyond the walls; to others, the walls just appear as brick walls, and the space within, if it even exists at all, is incidental.

Pavese (1951) poetically interpreted the feelings when going to an emotionally connoted place:

I will pass by Piazza di Spagna

It will be a clear sky.
Streets will open
on the hills with pines and stones.
The turmoil of the streets
won't change that stillness in the air.
The flowers sprayed
with colour will make eyes
at the fountains like amused
women. The stairs
the balconies the swallows
will sing of the sun.
That street will open,
the stones will sing,
the heart will beat shaking
like fountain water –
this will be the voice
that will climb your stairs.
The windows will know
the smell of the stone and of
morning air. A door will open.
The turmoil of the streets
will be the turmoil of your heart
in the lost light.

It will be you – still and clear.

Galimberti (2002) wrote about the feeling of living the space as familiar: "housed by a space which doesn't ignore us, amongst objects speaking our real

life, amongst faces we don't need to recognize because in their glances there are the traces of the last greeting. To live means to know where to put the dress, where to seat at the table, where to meet the other. […] To live means to transfigure things, to give them meanings transcending the raw objectivity, to take away them from the anonymity which holds them in their "themselves", to return them to our usual gestures allowing our body to feel among "its things", near to itself" (p. 69). But the description of an inner home-world can be enlarged to the outer public-world: to live is to know where walking, playing, cycling, do sports.

Goffman (1971) wrote about interaction rituals as supportive and remedial interchanges as everyday behaviours allowing every society, and every individual in the society, to collocate her or himself into a recognizable frame.

Lefevbre (1991) distinguished several kinds and levels of spaces. Among them, the social space is described as the more complex and producing its own meanings. Therefore, the social space is a socially built product that influences not only the spatial practices but also the perception. This argumentation opens the way to a reflection about the connection between the space and the power that uses the space to reproduce itself and its form of society. The society produces the space and the space helps the power to control, or to dominate, the society.

All this processes shape and define the physical and immaterial space in a reciprocal progression, which is face to face, socially and or politically controlled.

4.5.2 The body goes to the city

Communication and diversity

The two types of violation of the systemic structures that mainly concerned Gregory Bateson (1972, 1979) were the decrease of the communication and the elimination of diversity. Both of them (the inner diversity and the plurality of the communicative channels) are essential to allow a system to survive facing changes.

I would affirm that the body gives a crucial contribution to maintain a reasonably level of both of those elements. The body, in fact, participates at the communicative network at two levels: it emits signals, intentionally and unintentionally, and tangibly allows the meeting. A third communicative direction, which is within the person, between body and mind, has been examined in Chapter 2.1 in a synthetic way.

Body and public space

In the last years a new trend has been consolidated across Europe: the phenomenon of the *movida*, started in Madrid as a reaction against the limitation and the rules during the Franco dictatorship, has spread in different ways in many European countries contributing to the birth of street bars. More

recently, the street bar phenomenon has been increased by the provisions limiting the smoking in bar and shops in several countries. As often happens, positive and negative consequences have been arisen by this fact. The noise and disturb caused by the presence of hundreds, sometime thousands, of people in the city centre, the behaviours of drunk people, the diffusion of drugs. On the other hand, it is possible to mention the revitalization of the cities centres, the positive role on safety due to the presence of people late in the night, the rehabilitation of some districts and the recovery of some buildings especially in some old city centres like Genoa (Pirlone, 2010).

Diamanti (2007) expanded the concept of the *movida* to the idea of sleepless night (*notte bianca, noche en blanco, nuit blanche*) which, born in Paris in 2003 with cultural objectives, has been expanded till becoming an infinite party. Diamanti points out that the transformation leads to an institutionalization of the event and, at least in Italy, to a replication of the habit even in the smallest town and to a repetition during the weekdays, usually on Wednesday and/or Thursday.

People, usually alone, plunge into a big bunch experimenting the 'others'. To escape from the ordinary life, they breathe the feeling of euphoria of the party. Thus, they try to protract and reproduce the event many times. The result is that – Diamanti wrote about Italy but I suggest it can be applied to a larger geographical dimension – the crowd substitutes the community and, at least, the society. A crowd of undistinguished people who meet without seeing and knowing. During the sleepless nights, the others are without name and voice; they stay, around us, not to stay alone. Even the transgression, suggested by the experience of the night, vanishes when the iteration prevails, when it becomes a mass, usual activity: the crowd as a therapy for loneliness. These events answer to a request of community without satisfy it because it does not build real relations.

These sour reflections lead me to think the role of the body in that context. I would focus on the relationship between the body and the city, intentionally neglecting the reciprocal, inter-subjective, communicative role of the bodies.

While the facilitation of the body expressions in urban context is one of the factors of the maintenance of the city-system, I think, at the same time, that too much bodies risk to act towards the city like any organic or inorganic element towards the body. Too many bodies for a too long time risk to become poisonous for the city system. This is the case of prolonged events like festivals, useful and appreciated from a touristic point of view but often not accepted by a majority of the dwellers. In the European cities, the market is held one or two times per week and not every day. There is, I assume, a sort of auto-limitation in the history of human being, at least in European culture, that does not allow the presence of two much bodies for a too long time in the same place.

I suggest that the phenomenon of the *movida*, the loneliness, the crowd and the body-related issues could be analysed using the micro-sociological approach of Erving Goffman.

Referring to his work (1971) it can be useful to start from the concept of "participation units". Goffman described them as individuals who "navigate streets and shops and attend social occasions either unaccompanied or in the social company of others, that is, they appear in public either in a "single" or in a "with". These are interactional units, not social-structural ones. They pertain entirely to the management of co-presence. I take them to be fundamental units of public life." (Goffman, 1971, p. 19).

Starting from this definition, he focused on a crucial, for the aims of this matter, description of the differences between singles and individuals a single is a party of one, a person who has come alone, a person 'by himself' even though there may be other individuals near him and he has cause for talking to them. A single, then, is an individual, but not all individuals are singles, those who are being active in a special capacity (p.19).

Moreover, I argue the multifaceted dimension of the same person in different contexts: the same person can be single and/or individual in the family, in the job place, in diverse, for example face-to-face or virtual, social groups holding several roles.

From a person to the crowd the step is easy to do, a 'with', in fact, "is a party of more than one whose members are perceived to be 'together'. They maintain some kind of ecological proximity, ensuring the closeness that ordinarily permits easy conversation and the exclusion of non-members who otherwise might intercept talk" (p.19).

The difference, in the *movida*, is that there are many groups like the one described in the same place, the attention is very limited, the conversation is not easy because the noise of the voices and of the music and because the fluidity of the situation, which assures rapid passages facilitating the hopping among groups.

Trying to extract synthetic meanings from these reflections, I would propose the use of some 'conceptual couples' as emerging: visibility/invisibility; anonymity/protagonism; single body/mass body; proximity/distance. Moreover, I would state that not the words express the meanings but the play between them, the 'loose space', I can say the '/' slash, the distance, the barriers or links between them, essentially represent the relationships.

Moreover, the *movida* confirms several categories described by Goffman as "the territories of the self" based on the concept of claims. These are the personal space, the stall, the use space, the turn, the sheath, the possessional territory, the information preserve, and the conversational preserve.

Nonetheless is when Goffman wrote about "supportive interchanges" that his analysis perfectly matches the sense of the socio-cultural-urban-infrastructural phenomena described above.

The interpersonal ritual, as Goffman reminded in relationship with the Durkheim division of the ritual in two classes, positive and negative, have a dialogistic character. When a ritual offering occurs, when, that is, one individual provides a sign of involvement in and connectedness to another, it

behoves the recipient to show that the message has been received, that its import has been appreciated, that the affirmed relationship actually exists as the performer implies, that the performer himself has worth as a person, and finally, that the recipient has an appreciative, grateful nature (p. 63).

Goffman explains the ritual in term of "prestation" and counter-prestation mentioning the importance that the word had for Mauss (1954).

"When we focus on minor rituals performed between persons who are present to each other, the giving statement tends to be followed immediately by a show of gratitude. Both moves taken together form a little ceremony—a 'supportive interchange' " (Goffman, 1971, p. 64).

Goffman wrote about three general circumstances for activating supportive interchanges, which include body contacts: business, accident, and ceremony. About the latest, Goffman states "contact can occur because the avowed and controlling purpose of one or both of the individuals is to perform a supportive ritual to the other" (Goffman, 1971, p. 71).

Here I can, somehow, close the circle started with the reflection of Diamanti: in the *movida*, the aim to gather is the gathering itself. It is a ceremony that plays the role of supporting the psychological needs of the participants who, staying together, create a mass-body and, occupying public spaces, determine changes in the behaviours of the city dwellers and in the use of the infrastructures. These changes can be positive or negative because of the ability of the public administration to manage the situation in a sustainable way, for the need of the people who participate, either for the other citizens or for the city system.

4.5.3 A timeless sight

The book "The Timeless Way of Building", by Cristopher Alexander (1979) offered some relevant contributions to my research. First of all it offers a general explanation of the architectural and town planning rules, then it faces the crucial, for the aim of the research, theme of the interaction between infrastructure and people's actions; furthermore, at epistemological level, helps to give a wider frame to the interdisciplinary approach as a structural fabric of the research.

Alexander introduced the concept of the "quality without a name" which is findable in every space or buildings, or infrastructure contributing to make us feeling comfortable, safe, definitively, most alive, free, and "whole". This central quality as a "root criterion of life and spirit in a man, a town, a building, or a wilderness" (Alexander, 1979, p. ix) is the key concept of the timeless way. The timeless way of building is "thousands of years old and the same today as it has always been" (p. 7). Alexander uses some pictures to explain the concept: Paris, a courtyard, and a porch. It doesn't matter if they are ancient or new, prestigious or familiar but, according to him, they live.

The way to accomplish this quality is through the study of the pattern language, a sort of architectural DNA, apparently simple rules of thumb, which

explains and demonstrates the connections within and among buildings, or parts of buildings, landscape, people, and behaviours.

According to him, the more than 200 patterns form a true language with rules and symbols capable to express any sentence (buildings) or discourse (towns).

Alexander used a very uncommon and poetic language to describe his thought being at the same time assertive and very anti dogmatic while affirming that the person capable to achieve this level is not an architect but has to be full of innocence and egoless and "but though this method is precise, it cannot be used mechanically. [...] Indeed it turns out, in the end, that what this method does is simply free us from all methods" (p. 12-13) being open to a true relationship with the environment. In the last chapter, named "The kernel of the way", Alexander presented a sort of reciprocal process of embodiment between builders and building while inviting the reader to imagine to build a porch containing the details that render it alive. He stated "finally you learn that you already know how to create the ageless species which is the physical embodiment, in buildings, of the quality without a name, because it is a part of you" (Alexander, 1979, p. 548). But the path to achieve that awareness passes through the mastering of the pattern language and beyond acting like only nature does.

Another contribution brought by Alexander is about the connection between structure and agency through the analysis of the patterns being part of the architectural, town planning and social discourse. Just as an example, the pattern of events he calls "watching the world go by" (Alexander, 1979, p. 70) can be explained only considering the whole system created by the actions that occur and by the surrounding space. "We sit [...] on the front porch, or on some steps in a park, or on a café terrace, with a more or less protected, sheltered, partly private place behind us, looking out into a more public place, slightly raised above it, watching the world go by" (Alexander, 1979, p. 70).

There is an inextricable link between the space, which allows, and the actions of the people walking and acting in the space; they are indivisible and form a pattern of events in the space itself. This pattern can help to interpreter the themes of the transformation of a space into a place through the changes in the spaces caused by the users.

A more theoretical reflection stimulated by Alexander is about the epistemological break readable in the character of his approach. The holistic style, the attention to the connections among elements, the interest drawn to sensations and the period of writing (seventies), permit me to make a tentative of assembling several approaches and events occurred during the seventies and, to a lesser degree, the sixties as a prodrome. I would just mention here the study of the complexity as a true epistemology carried out by Bateson (1972, 1979) as a part of a scattered group of scholars, findings and new theories in several disciplines or, above all, bridging the disciplines. Among the theories, an partial list could include the General System Theory (Von Bertalanfy, 1968), the change of the method in the social research (Morin, 1977 until 2004), the

dissipative structures and the end of certainty (Prygogine, 1977, 1997), the autopoietic systems (Maturana and Varela, 1980), the increased relevance assigned to sensations in urban planning (Lynch, 1960). These theories and approaches, had been developing in the same period in which began to change the consideration of the body and the body practises, which witnessed the issues posed by the feminism, the rising of the concept of ecology and, later on, of sustainability, the experiences of participative planning and the first traffic calming actions. These processes were, in my opinion and in a broad sense, part of a social, political, and scientific climate that produced, or brought to a synthesis, studies and sensibilities commenced in the previous decades having as a turn the 1968 protests.

4.5.4 The benches as indicator of urban liveability

Among the many kinds of street and urban furniture, the benches represent a key element for the body facilitation and for the accessibility.

I propose the benches as indicator of urban liveability: more, and more comfortable, benches on the public spaces mean a more liveable, safe and body-friendly city.

It is not a case that diverse city policies correspond to diverse choices concerning benches. In some Italian cities, for example, the benches have become the symbol of the fight against immigrants; in Padua, Treviso and Trieste they were removed from several squares and streets.

The benches play an important role in the urban setting, they are useful as meeting points, to rest, to sleep, to chat, to watch, to read. The roles are either functional and social: allowing people to rest, they open the public space to the categories having walking difficulties; they are usual meeting points for adolescents, elderly people, migrants; from a bench we can watch a landscape, a street scene, an event; they are sleeping place just for a rest or become beds and shelters for homeless.

Benches are with or without back and arm rests: these features change the way of use from a functional and social point of view. The armrests are a very interesting characteristic: they allow elderly and disabled people to stand up; the municipalities put armrests to prevent people sleeping on the benches.

The benches allow the body to stay in the public space, to walk longer, to exchange information, to enrich the city-system making the diversities more visible.

Moreover, as shown in the Figures from 52 to 59, the benches are object of the creativity of the designers.

In Barcelona, at the beginning of the 2000 an innovative single bench appeared with great success while the area of the Forum was furnished with concrete single, in line or curvilinear, benches like shown in the Ficures 39-41.

FIGURE 39   Single benches, Barcelona (A. Borgogni, 2009)

FIGURE 40   Single in line benches, Barcellona, Forum Area (A. Borgogni, 2009)

FIGURE 41   Curvilinear benches nearby a playground, Barcelona, Forum Area (A. Borgogni, 2009)

In Ferrara and in Italy new furniture join the old one and the tradition of the informal appropriation of the space and a certain tendency in managing the situation by their selves bring to somehow surprising results like in the Figure 42.

FIGURE 42   A chair placed at the bus stop, Ferrara (A. Borgogni, 2011)

On the other hand, In Italy, it is possible to observe ancient and old benches supporting each other, or old infrastructures transformed into seats like in the Figures 43 and 44.

FIGURE 43   An old stone bench supporting a modern one in bad shape, Jesi, Italy (A. Borgogni, 2009)

FIGURE 44   Informal appropriation of space for seating outside a street bar, Jesi, Italy (A. Borgogni, 2009)

The Figures from 45 to 48 concern an example of 'moving benches' following the adolescents' wishes and needs in a district in the outskirt of Ferrara. It represents an innocent vandalism, the benches are, in fact, in good conditions, made with the good intentions to render more confortable the space turning it into a place.

FIGURE 45   Ferrara, the space where originally the benches originally were posed (A. Borgogni, 2011)

FIGURE 46   Ferrara, a bench moved in the shadow under a pedestrian bridge (A. Borgogni, 2011)

FIGURE 47   Ferrara, two benches moved paired (A. Borgogni, 2011)

FIGURE 48   Ferrara, four benches moved in circle. (A. Borgogni, 2011)

In Porto (Portugal) besides the single benches like those of Barcelona, have been recently introduced garden chairs, sometimes positioned around table. These chairs are fixed to the ground only from one side allowing to be moved in different directions (Figures 49-51).

FIGURE 49   Single and normal benches, Porto (A. Borgogni, 2009)

FIGURE 50   Garden chairs with table, Porto (A. Borgogni, 2009)

FIGURE 51   The use of the garden chairs, Porto (A. Borgogni, 2009)

In Paris there is a wide range of examples of benches, from the more traditional to the more innovative. Among the most innovative are the ones situated in the playgrounds designed by Atelier de Launay. These are somehow without a defined shape or, as many of the Atelier's furniture, not exactly defined for a specific function (Figures 52-55).

FIGURE 52   La Defense-Courbevois playground with benches (Atelier de Launay, n.d.)

FIGURE 53   La Defense-Courbevois playground: adolescents seating (A. Borgogni, 2009)
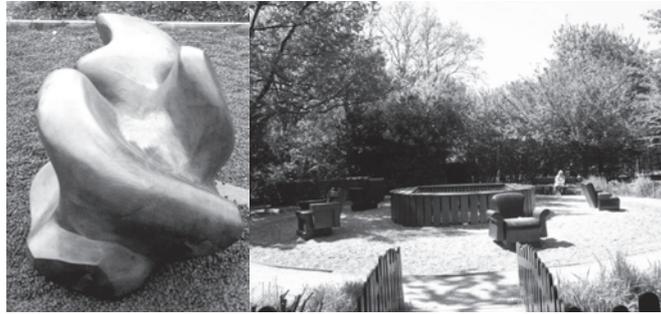
FIGURE 54   A bench designed by the Atelier (Atelier de Launay, 2002)

FIGURE 55   Parc de Sceaux, armchair benches (A. Borgogni, 2009)

In other cases benches can represent a way, sometimes very functional, sometimes less, to satisfy designers' whims and artistic creativity, as in the following cases shown in the Figures 56-59.
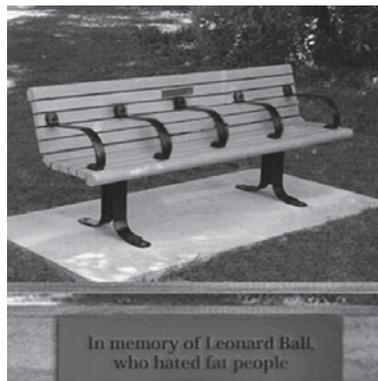
FIGURE 56   A very explicit message in a donated bench
               (www.nowthatsnifty.blogspot.com)

FIGURE 57   Asculpture bench (www.nowthatsnifty.blogspot.com)

FIGURE 58   A changeable-side bench (www.nowthatsnifty.blogspot.com.)

FIGURE 59   An artistic bench – Campidoglio, Turin, Italy (www.repubblica.it.)

Moreover, the benches can also represent the symbol of the freedom of occupying the public space and a way of sustaining homeless people like the association *Les bancs public* (Public benches) in Paris (www.lebancspublics.fr). The volunteering association helps the 5000 Parisian homeless people in several Paris district like Boulogne-Billancourt and the 16th Arrondissement. The last project is called 'From one to another – Changing gaze' and aims at creating permanent relationships between homeless and integrated people.

4.6   Classifications of the spaces

Rütten (2011), as shown in the next figure, proposed a classification of the spaces for leisure and sport. In the EU funded IMPALA (Improving Infrastructures for Leisure Time Physical Activity in the Local Arena) project, Rütten divided the Leisure Time Physical Activity Infrastructures in Sport facilities, Leisure Time Infrastructures with specific opportunities for physical activity, and Urban and natural spaces usable for physical activity. The aim of

the project is to identify, implement, and disseminate good practices of Leisure Time Infrastructures. The frame of the project is to connect supportive environments with public policies concerning health.
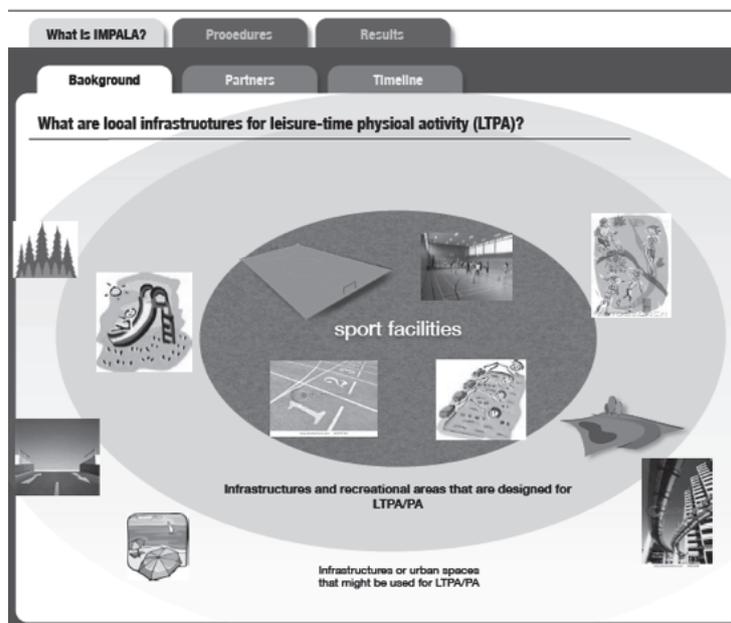
FIGURE 60   The representation of the classification of the spaces (Rütten, 2009)

I would go further on the analysis of the second and third parts of the classification proposed by Rütten.

From the double point of view of the town planning and of the use of the infrastructures and environments, I propose a threefold classification: they can be part of the historical heritage of the town; objects of recent interventions; objects of informal appropriation, places hard-won by 'human bodies'.

As a part of the historical heritage, the spaces like parks, walls, and buildings, can be preserved, rehabilitated, and abandoned or disregarded. As object of recent interventions we can speak about specialized spaces like playgrounds, skate parks, jogging/walking path, and not specialized like sidewalks, cycle paths, green areas. As object of informal appropriation, we can observe heavy or light modifications including body 'traces' like paths.

In every case, the main distinction is between environments allowing and environments not allowing the expression of the body, which, I would stress this concept once more, is much more broader than physical activity.

The classification can help to measure the real will of the Public Administration to promote physical activity at every level because highlights the potential role of the existing spaces to be valorised for facilitating physical activity and body expression.

The policies to promote physical activity, in fact, only partially correspond to the construction of specific facilities. In several cases, in fact, hidden behind the undervaluation of the unstructured spaces, there are cultural limits, above all by the part of decision makers, strong economic interests, and the unawareness of the possibility to adopt a proactive management of potential conflicts.

The interplay between structure and agency

Rütten suggested a schema (Figure 61) to explain the interplay among factors at operational and political level in which the bi-univocal relationship among levels and factors helps to understand the continuous process of interplay between structure and agency.

The political level, in which the policies strengthen the participation of the community and the latest contributes to the building of the public policies, creates more supportive environments that develop personal skills (intended as being able to control health determinants) through the practice of physical activity which is strengthened by the policies.

The Rütten theoretical approach, defined as cooperative planning, aims at developing infrastructures empowering the communities through the increase of their levels of collaboration.

It refers also to the collaborative planning approach developed in Finland during the nineties by Suomi (1992, 1998) opening the field to participatory planning not only in the town-planning field but also in social and political projects aimed for example at involving socially disadvantaged groups. (Rutten, 2009).

These theoretical model proposed by Rütten, transformed in methodological approaches adaptable in several contexts, not only explains in a very clear way the relationships among the elements but it is also a true graphic explanation of what Healey (2005) mentioning, above all, Giddens (1990) and Forester (1999) maintained. Healey reminded that the Gidden's meaning of structuration is based on the relationship of the structure inside and outside ourselves. We are at the same time makers and made by social and cultural process. "Structures are 'shaped' by agency, just, as they in turn 'shape' agency" (Healey, 2005, p. 47). In particular the many planners' accounts described by Forester (1999) evidence as it is an everyday choice for planners (as for other professionals) decide not to follow the rules, but to change them in a transformative way.

This interwoven process allows also to explain the use of the infrastructures and the light modifications of the space occurring when used.
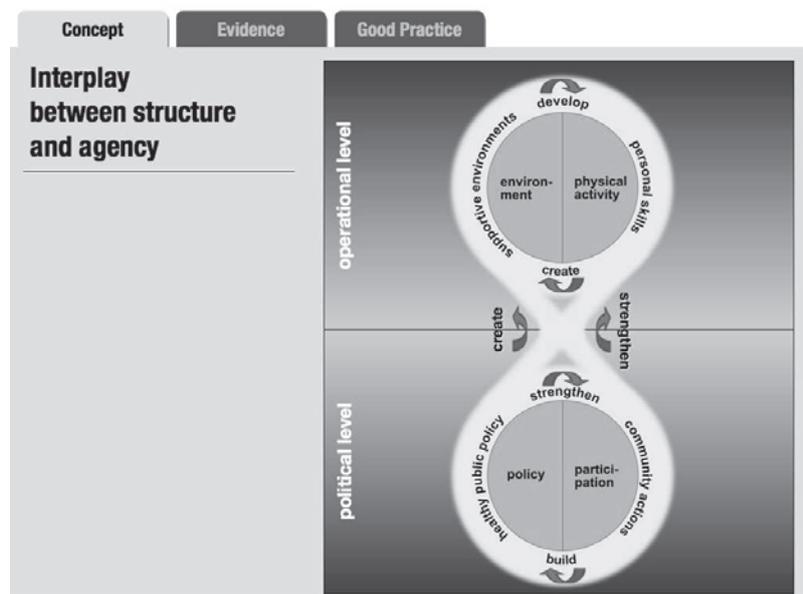
FIGURE 61   The graphical representation of the interplay between structure and agency (Rütten et al., 2010)

4.7   The red thread: the body regains the public space

Concluding the chapter, I argue the existence of a red thread that, with different speeds, has joint the European countries after the seventies. The quest for a more sustainable environment, which has started from some more sensitive countries (central and northern Europe), highlights the reasons of the body, although in a hidden or disregarded way. Cases of diverse direction, or worrying delay, are findable in countries that recently joined the EU and in regions of the other countries.

The conflict is vast and regards cultural sensitivities, behaviours, and comprehends, as ghost protagonist, powerful lobbies.

In the specific field of the bodily practices, the people attention, and somehow concern, for health and fitness is developing both indoor and outdoor practices even if the outdoor activities are the most practised. In fact, the Eurobarometer (2010) data showed as the 79% (48% in parks and in the nature, 31% while commuting) of the people practising sport or physical activity in EU do it outdoor. Among those, the so-called post modern sport is receiving a growing attention above all by male young people.

This development has been officially enhanced by EU documents like the White Paper on Sport (2007), that promoted the idea that sport covers a wide range of activities enlarging the narrow meaning which had been associating during the last decades, including, for example the active commuting.

The widespread alarm for the disappearance or the retrieval of the body from the public space remains high but the interests playing in the field and pushing ahead the body are becoming more and more convincing. The ultimate moment was when, during the nineties, the health sector realized the connection among health, physical activity, and environment.

The process will last for a long time. The disquiet, instead, concerns which economical sector will take the leadership in the process. Comparing the data showed by Hardman (2008) about the general decrease of Physical Education time allocation worldwide with the declarations of every government about the concern on obesity and Non Communicable Diseases, the scene can acquire a more clear perspective. The fear is that if the only institutional-public-delivered to everybody time dedicated to movement declines, the risk of a privatization of the health-through-movement category raises. The necessity of general public policies able to integrate the several body expressions grows. Thus, I can say, the body and the public space encounter the same challenge among the uncountable gradients between privatization and institutionalization.

The Figures from 62 to 66 would like to show that the relationship between the body and the public space is deeply cultural and depending by the grade of autonomy the bodies are allowed to have or gain in the town's spaces drawing an old and new stage showing or representing the body through signs or very diverse human powered or body-supporting means of transportation.

FIGURE 62   Women seated, Essaouira (Morocco), (Borgogni, 2006)

FIGURE 63   Amsterdam, the main railway station's bicycle parking (Vannini, 2007)

FIGURE 64   Trieste (Italy), the walk to school experience (Pedibus) organized by *Unione Italiana Sport Pertutti* (Visintin, 2011)

FIGURE 65   Barcelona, a goal drawn in a wall (Borgogni, 2009)

FIGURE 66   Mariehamn (Finland) a walking frame parked at the bus stop lead to think at the several physical and social context allowing the behaviour (Borgogni, 2010)

5 PARTICIPATORY TOWN PLANNING AND YOUNG PEOPLE

5.1 A recent history of participation in town planning

The theme of participation leads us to the differences in the concepts of democracy and, mainly, to the distinction between direct, semi-direct and indirect democracies and, more specifically, between deliberative and representative democracy.

This reflection is even more important in a period and context highlighting the disaffection to political matters and to a transformation of the governance towards a post-democracy model based on knowledge. The changing and decreasing role of the legislative assemblies and of the traditional parties implies a redefinition of the role and methods of the democratic processes themselves. The fluid and less structured space of the public and political arena needs to be managed through views and tools allowing citizens and stakeholders to take part on the debate. In this perspective, there is the need to reconsider and assess the relationships between informal and institutionalised deliberative and representative dimensions. The forms of participation are more than in the recent past. In the field of town planning, for example, after the development of internet technology, in fact, the grassroots processes of informal appropriation of the public space are nowadays interwoven with digital opportunities.

In a so expanded field, a crucial issue has become that of the rules, methods and tools of the participation. Indubitably, a flexible and more attentive to the processes way of interpretation is needed.

The deliberative democracy relies on the possibility of a popular consultation and public deliberation that accompanies the voting. It clearly appears that the manner in which this process is carried out becomes decisive for the real participation of citizens and for the results.

Eichberg (2004) drew a fresco of the connection among democracy, sports, body, and movement in which describes the parallelism between forms of

democracy and sports. Eichberg split the field of representative democracy in competitive (majority) and proportional systems.

The first model, as a method of determining winners and losers "corresponds to a certain type of sport that focuses on victory by a knock-out or a goal […] is familiar in boxing and soccer" (Eichberg, 2004, p. 18), two sports developed in Great Britain, and matches with the British political system in which the democracy is built antagonistically.

The proportional model corresponds, according to Eichberg, to sports that "produce a broader range of outcomes. […] When performance is measured in centimeters, grams, seconds or points, it can finally summed up in a ranking table. […] In such sports, a complex set of results is generated, one which mirrors the individual performances of the participants" (pp. 18-19). The democratic identity is built starting from a patchwork, which express, in a proportional way, a multiplicity of positions.

Eichberg (2004) proposes the folk, or popular, games as the parallel form of sports for the participatory democracy. As the victory in folk games resides in the "current participation, joint activity and mutual exchange […] *and* it is not the result but the process that counts" (p. 19), so in participation the "common mutual communication and interaction" (p. 19) becomes decisive. According to him, this is a typical process coming from grass-root organizations; it plays the role of the joker in the tripartite metaphor composed with the troll and the golem. The troll, as "the demon, as a picture of the human ugliness, is part of our existences whether we like it or not" (p. 64), is the uncontrolled market. The golem is the state while the joker is, exactly, "civil society, the people. […] Where two main actors clash […] there is always a third figure, suddenly giving to the game an unexpected turn" (p 65).

It is easy here to establish another parallelism with the Cooperative games (Kooreman, 2002) and the differences between zero-sum and nonzero-sum games (Bailey, 1994).

In zero-sum games "there is a single fixed or constant rewards that […] must be divided among the respective players. This means that one player can gain only to the detriment of other players" (Bailey, 1994, p. 325). In nonzero-sum games, the amount of rewards is variable and the competition is not necessarily the best strategy for a player. "Allowing one's opponent to gain does not necessarily mean that one will lose, and the optimum strategy for all players may be to cooperate thus maximizing the gain for each" (p. 325)

Some of these kinds of games have also been developed for social sciences and used for workshops aimed at developing communication and decision taking processes. I was personally involved during a training course in one of the most used game, the 'Prisoner's Dilemma'.

In the field of bodily practices, the ring-a-ring-a-roses is a typical nonzero-sum game for children as well as the parachute games, either for children and adults, in which the aim is to toss a ball together and the reward is the number of tosses achieved together or the harmony of the collective collaborative gesture itself.

There is obviously a gradient between forms of games and sports, it is possible, for example, to highlight the cooperative and communicative aspects also in games that are theoretically zero-sum or vice versa, as well as there is a gradient in the forms of democracies between deliberative and majority.

The perceptive and intentional straining made by Eichberg, in any case, allow me to say that democracy, as the everyday life in the city, are based on an implicit complicity, which it could be better to write as 'compli-city', built around the substantial respect of codified, written, and unwritten rules, the *agraphoi nomoi* of the ancient Greece.

Eichberg remarked these concepts when writing that democracy means "to move in rhythm with the others […] to play the game together, […] to co-operate in a team, […] to elect the leader, […], the right to bodily difference, […] to divide power" (Eichberg, 2004, p. 129-130).

Moreover, Eichberg reminded as democracy takes time and is characterized by a physiological slowness of the decision making process. This is one of the aspects of participatory planning that is very difficult to communicate to politicians and technicians: the involvement, the listening, takes time to be carried out.

He completes the list of parallel meanings between democracy and bodily practices writing about space: "the human right of bodily freedom implies the freedom to move around in one's country […]– and to be at home in one's country. It includes the right of the 'tourist' to encounter diversity and the right of the 'homebody' to be 'among one's own'" (p. 131).

Eichberg referred here to the 'everyman's right', the right to roam the land freely, even if respecting written and unwritten rules, diffused especially in Scandinavian and Baltic countries, United Kingdom, Czech Republic, Switzerland. This right is, in my opinion, an extraordinary example of the equilibrium between individual and collective rights relying in the people awareness of the importance of the public land as a common good.

The present work analyses the dimension of deliberative democracy through participatory processes aiming at planning public spaces. In this sense, being aware of the risks of romanticism and demagogy, the participation can be considered a nonzero-sum game based on complicity in which, through the process of getting involved, everyone can gain a better quality of life through the improvement of the neighbourhoods, of the spaces, of the services.

The meaning of participation in the context of my research concerns the individual or associative participation in interest groups with the aim of developing town-planning actions at diverse scales. Some of the investigated cases are at large scale and are taking or took long time to be carried out; others are smaller and last one or two years. In every case, at city, district, and small community level, the meaning of participation is similar: the enhancement of the relationship between the political and technical powers and citizens in planning the living environment. Most of the time the process is top-bottom when the power involve citizens in sharing the planning; sometimes there is an auto-involvement and auto-organization by the citizens, leading to a

confrontation with those who have the power to take decisions influencing large sectors of the population. In every case, the 'participants' are stakeholders who develop their personal or collective interests through the action of planning.

The focus is mainly on the sense of the shifting from representative to deliberative democracy, or, to be more precise, on the relationship among the elected representatives, the public officials and the citizens. In fact, the focus should also be on the relations within the public administration, mainly between politicians and technicians, and between the technicians of the different sectors. The difficulties in communication within the public administration are often the main reason of the failure of town planning participatory projects.

Burke (1969), as cited by Fagence (1977) mentioned the almost three invariable criteria for any participatory project: "the essence of democratic representation (i.e. by elected members) is not prejudiced; the frequently unheard expressions of some private interests are given due weight; the strategy or means to be used should be enduring" (Fagence, 1977, p. 256). Fagence insists on the key factor of the willingness of both technicians and policy makers in really having citizens involved in participation. I would add also their motivation in taking part of the process. Without these conditions, techniques can become "merely subterfuge" (p. 257).

5.1.1 The Skeffington report

The Fagence's book explains the situation before and after the Skeffington report 'People and Planning', a milestone in the history of town planning and above all, of the participatory planning.

According to Fagence, the report (1969) came at the end of a period whose hallmark was the clamour for citizen participation in planning. Nonetheless, at least for Britain, it can be considered the result of a discursive process started twenty years before.

A Committee headed by Lord Skeffington, Parliament Member and Minister of Housing and Local Government of Great Britain produced the homonymous report. The aim was to report on the best methods of involvement of citizens in the formative stage in the making of development plans for their area.

The work ended with nine recommendations appreciated and criticised by many observers but anyway stimulating discussions and improvement in the planning procedures. (Deakin & Wright, 1990)

The Royal Town Planning Institute often reminds the role of the report in changing the planning mentality. In the 2003 'Community Planning' document, for example, the report was mentioned as gathering the first experiences of working with communities carried out at the beginning of the sixties. The report influenced the subsequent legislation in the early 1970s. Publicity and consultation became required components of the statutory planning system providing local people with opportunities to comment on and object to

development plans and planning applications. Planners in the 1970s embraced this new responsibility with some enthusiasm, and time and effort was spent preparing exhibitions and organizing public meetings.

Despite the enthusiasm, the response from the public sector was typically disappointing. Gradually this led many types of council to reassess their commitment to public consultation and to carry out only the minimum necessary to meet the requirements of the planning acts. However, some planning authorities stayed committed to the principle of participation and devised new strategies to overcome the barriers to engagement. This commitment allowed enriching the planning profession with a wealth of experience of working with communities and valuable examples of good practice to which refer.

An interesting issue faced by the report is related to the need of different techniques recommended for active and passive citizens. Associations of citizens are considered as active; for these subjects the report foresees a community forum. The passive are supposed to be involved by a social catalysts as well as community development officer.

As mentioned above, Fagence presents a large description of both cultural and political approaches to participation. I would highlight the parts that can enlighten my treatise.

The participation, according to the author, is mainly based on an idea of redistribution of power amongst citizens in different situations. The different situations often coincide with the different level of motivation to the planning process. The theme of motivation is crucial in understanding the positions of the elitist theories compared with the participative approaches.

5.1.2 The planning process

Among the representations of Plan-making process presented by Fagence, I would highlight the Geddesian model, for the importance of the author and for the stress he gave on the relation between space and social processes. Fagence reminds that the apparently simple sequence of Survey-Analysis-Plan in town planning is the basis of every planning action and is what remain after having removed "the particular contextual trappings, the esoteric embellishments and elaborations" (Fagence, 1977, p. 102). The survey consists in all the preliminary work of assuming the information from several point of view, the analysis is, precisely, the part in which the information are analysed in a systemic way to allow the start of the planning action. Geddes emphasizes three means of involvement: communication and education through exhibitions, the participation in collecting information, and the proposal of different or alternative plans to those proposed by the institution. He also stressed the importance of involving schoolchildren who, through learning-by-doing, could testimony to their parents the importance of being involved in town planning. From this point of view, it is possible to consider Geddes, already known as precursor of Ecologist movements, as a forerunner of the many projects

involving children and adolescents, which started to be carried out in Europe during the nineties.

5.1.3 The participants

For the aim of defining the participants, Fagence preferred to use other studies than the Report. He mentioned a technical study (Department of Environment - DOE, 1971) in which the participants werere listed as follow: neighbouring planning authorities, public bodies, district councils, the public, the local planning authority and the technical staff, the group of local planning authorities like umbrella organization supervising the aggregate interests of the authorities, national and regional government. Another study (Roberts, 1974) divides participants in three groups: the planners, the community and the external factors – public or private groups not usually involved. Moreover, he introduces also a more qualitative approach (Beishon, 1973), which differentiates between dynamic and passive participants. Nonetheless, Fagence made a compendium of the above-mentioned studies individuating five main groups: the elected representatives, the public servants, the public (*en masse,* the interest-differentiated, individuals), the external agencies, and the consultants. Within the competences of the last group, Fagence reminds that they can be experts engaged by the other groups because their skills. He does not mention the role of facilitators among them.

Mentioning Verba and Nie (1972), Fagence defined the six general classes of participants: the inactive, the voting specialists, the parochial participants, the communalists, the campaign activists, and the complete activists. They are distinguishable by the grade of theoretical involvement in any kind of participative process.

The inactive refrain from any kind of involvement; the voting specialists exhaust their political activity in the act of voting. The parochial participants are mostly interested by specific and personal issues and not interested by a commitment in general themes. The communalists can be defined political and apolitical at the same time while they are active but with low level of involvement in political parties, they can show a high degree of civic commitment and information possession. The campaign activists are considerably better informed, nearer to political parties and efficacious than the average; they can adopt extreme positions to support causes while the evidence of their loyalty can reduce their commitment to the welfare of the community as a whole. The last class, that of complete activists, register high level on psychological involvement, efficacy, skills and information, and a high sense of contribution on the general welfare. Fagence underlines that these levels of involvement are a rare occurrence.

In my opinion, these kinds of classification are important for those invested in the role of facilitators who have to decide methods, techniques and tools based on the expectation of the decision makers and of the expected participants.

In carrying out participatory planning often happen to meet all the above-mentioned types of citizens. Sometimes even the most passive come to a meeting or are part of a survey.

The approach "Every Citizen a City Planner", that Fagence attributed to Van Cleef (1966), was based on the idea that to attain a successful plan the assistance of the individual citizen is needed. Giancarlo De Carlo (1992), the first Italian planner who carried out participative projects during the planning of a workers' district in Terni in 1972, very well defined this assistance. He wrote that "the city's general idea cannot be defined using points but by vectors forming a variable mark, with vertexes and edges changing position without compromise the whole coherence. After which, on the concavity or convexity, can proceeds for punctual projects. At this scale it s not possible anymore to ignore the wishes of the local communities, which, also if not involved in the decisions, end up to be implicated in the effects of the decisions; they can allow or are against, and in the latest case there is no more possibility of maintenance; the environmental indecency becomes unavoidable. This is true, in particular, for the collective facilities – the network of minor services which is weld with the principal net of the infrastructures – where the collaboration of the local communities is the most important condition for succeeding" (De Carlo, 1992).

5.1.4 The methods and the tools

The need of assistance has to be organized using the more appropriate methods for the specific situation while, as Fagence underlined mentioning Bolan (1971), the preparation of a plan is also a promotion of a cause; it is never a pure technical task but a social process which entails social relations.

As Fagence pointed out, the methods have a decisive influence on the results, or rather, the manner of deciding will determine that one can decide and the following results. The manner is represented by the means of participation that the author presents as "conventional" or "innovative". Amongst the conventional, or most commonly used, he mentions exhibitions, public meetings and hearings, information documentation, questionnaire surveys, documentary reporting and the role of the media; moreover, as other means, he cites ideas competitions, referenda, public inquiries. Amongst the innovative methods, he wrote about the Delphi, the nominal group, and the Charrette, while mentioning the gaming-simulation and the scenario writing too. Moreover, the author described means of self-help like manuals, planning aid, task forces and, in the frame of 'futurology', the communication technology in which he talks about telephone, radio and cable television on dependence of the number of person involved. There is the need, in the Fagence view, to have and use a multi-tools approach in which, as the Skeffington report argued publicity has its own role, it is not participation but it is the first essential step towards it.

It is an impressive analysis and classification of means and methods currently valid. I would just go back to some of the concepts and methods pointed out by Fagence. The public meetings, often the way in which also

nowadays politicians interpreter participation, gathers an unrepresentative attendance and they are useful for communication and sensitization only if politicians and technicians abandon their jargon and allow a real debate. Public meeting have to be just one of the means used to involve.

Arnstein (1969) has alleged that the public meetings fail as a communication device because it functions as a one-way information flow, from the planning agency to the client public, with little opportunity for feed-back […] the uni-directional operation of the conventional public meeting is manipulative, accommodating superficial or evasive treatment of lay attempts at involvement" (Fagence, 1977, p. 279).

Fagence highlights also the risk of the lack of scientific knowledge in the construction of tools due to the fact that often "many planners and public relations officers implicitly relegate this technique to an order below that of exhibitions" (Fagence, 1977, p. 282).

About the documentary reporting and the relation with the media, supposed to be free and objective, he remembers that, as the Skeffington report stated, the more citizens are stimulating in participating, the more attention the media will pose on the issue. The appropriate use of several means can allow the involvement of more groups and citizens which can express differential contributions to the decision making process.

Among the method described by Fagence I would just mention some of them starting from the Delphi, whose techniques I have used in action-research. The series of questionnaires, with a cascade of elaboration and new administration to a selected sample of persons, are nowadays easier to administrate thanks to Internet. These elaborations allow a true in depth knowledge of the problem. The limit of the technique is the availability of the panel, the level of skills in writing and knowledge of the problem of the components, a part the general availability of time. Delphi can work having the availability of experts or key informants. Nonetheless, having the right conditions, the technique is particularly "useful in identifying problems, needs, in setting goals and priorities, and in identifying and evaluating alternatives" (Fagence, 1977, p. 294).

The Delphi procedure allows a re-elaboration of the statements and thoughts of the panel, firstly for the members of the panel, further for the researchers who can elaborate and present a 'double level' of analysis, thus widening the fields and going more in depth on the investigated matters.

Another tool is the nominal group method, a sort of brainstorming in a sequence of seven stages in which participants, because of the limitation of the interaction, are freer to express their thoughts and do not need particular verbal skills.

This method is useful, for example, when the participants have different backgrounds, positions, and education level because the limitation of interactions limits the influences of the most skilled or influential.

The Charette, contrariwise, implies a short and intensive period of interaction between participants passing through development phases aiming

at translating protests into proposals.: preparatory, discovery, consolidation, and, as final stage, proposal.

The passage from the protests to the proposal is crucial in all participative processes. It is also one of the most difficult aspects to be understood by politicians and executives, who mainly see the instrumental use, and technicians, who often reject any involvement considering it a sort of slight.

5.1.5 The facilitators

All these methods are interesting for my treatise because they are both planning and educational processes, perfectly matching the action-research perspective, and because, together with other methods described, demonstrate the plurality of tools needed for the diverse situations. The leading group expert of participation should interpreter more a role of director, able to propose the right strategy for that specific situation than the one of expert of a method. They are all methods that can be useful in specific situations for a selected group of participants.

It is worthwhile to point out that Fagence did not mention explicitly the facilitators of the participative process. I suppose he thought that the role could have been performed by public employees and not by consultants. This approach answers to a way of dealing with the relation between citizens and institution which, in order to me, changed during the last decades. The change involved mostly the increased competences and culture of the citizens and their general awareness. With the aim of updating the Fagence's book, I think it is very important, nowadays and in most of the cases, that the facilitation role is carried out by consultants appointed by the institution. They can develop their role in a more independent way assuming themselves as catalysts and mediators between citizens and institutions. Moreover, methods and techniques of facilitation are manifold and it is very difficult to be constantly up to date for civil servants. This also means that there is always the need for the facilitators not merely to apply a method but to choose among the methods those more adequate to the real situation and to be flexible in the application itself.

The mediators are crucial in the launch and progression of the work. The process of "public dispute resolution", for example, (Forester, 1999; Sclavi, 2002) is a "mediated and facilitated processes seeking to resolve disputes concerning resource allocation, public policy formulation, or governmental rule making" (Forester, 1999, p. 155). In this process, "public sector mediators [I would have written here simply mediators or facilitators] ought to be seen not as experts, judges, or rule-bound bureaucrats but as new [...] 'critical friends' of the disputants as persons, interested parties, and citizens of a larger public world" (p. 155). "They are organizers of public debate and deliberation not just convenors who serve water and ask everyone to be polite" (p. 168). Moreover, the mediators, or facilitators, are not asked to be neutral but rather appear as activists as Forester reminded mentioning Susskind (1983).

5.1.6 The ladders of participation

Discussing the frameworks of the participation, Fagence alights on the ladder concept. In this part of the book, he describes the Arnstein (1969) ladder, which identifies the participants' status in eight rungs. The rungs are grouped in three grades of effectiveness: the Manipulation and Therapy are at the bottom of the effectiveness in participation in the grade called Non-participation. Arnstein describes this level as dishonest, build just to inform citizens seeking for their approval without possibility of opposition.

The rungs three to five (Informing, Consultation and Placation) are described as Degree of Tokenism. In my experience, this is probably the grade more used in practice in developing participatory policies. The power remains on the hands of the power; what changes is the level of information and involvement. The third grade, including the last three rungs, Partnership, Delegated Power, Citizen Control, is the one of a possible revolutionary redistribution of power.

She pointed out some deficiencies and limitations of the proposal: the simplistic abstraction is justified by the reciprocal - "have-nots and powerholders" (Arnstein, p. 218) views as not better specified "systems" with little comprehension of the differences. The typology of ladder "does not include an analysis of the most significant roadblocks to achieving genuine levels of participation" (Arnstein, p. 218) referring to racism, paternalism, difficulties of organizing an adequate representative, inadequacy; according to her, the rungs, in the real world, can be 150 "with less sharp and 'pure' distinctions among them" (Arnstein, p. 218).
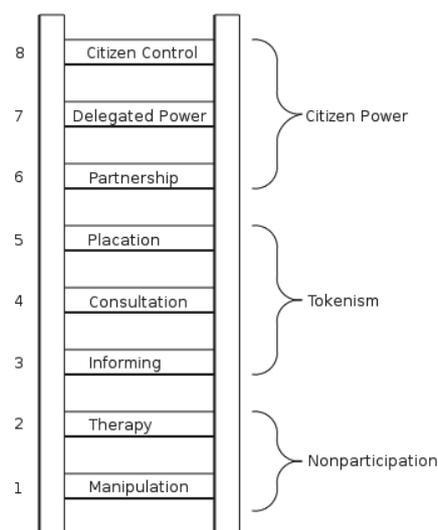
FIGURE 67   The Arnstein ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1969)

Among the other existing ladders I would also highlight the Hart's one (1997) because its fame and because it is mainly addressed to children and adolescents. The two ladders present some similarities: the main point of reference of the latest are adults considered, as for the Arnstein's power holders, those who have the decision role. The Hart's top-level rung represent a sharing in decision making while the top level for Arnstein is the control. The highest grade assigned by Hart to sharing decision has been object of discussion also because immediately under there is the young's initiative and leading. Nonetheless, the bottom-up meaning is quite similar: manipulation, tokenism, information, consultation, sharing power and leadership.

The Hart's ladder has also been adapted to volunteers' participation using more or less the same descriptions of the rungs. This parallelism is meaningful for participative projects because the fields of the voluntarism, of the youth associations and the planning gather in many of them.

Roger Hart's Ladder of Young People's Participation

Rung 8: Young people & adults share decision-making

Rung 7: Young people lead & initiate action

Rung 6: Adult-initiated, shared decisions with young people

Rung 5: Young people consulted and informed

Rung 4: Young people assigned and informed

Rung 3: Young people tokenized*

Rung 2: Young people are decoration*

Rung 1: Young people are manipulated*

Note: Hart explains that the last three rungs are *non-participation*

Created by The Freechild Project - http://freechild.org

Adapted from Hart, R. (1992). *Children's Participation from Tokenism to Citizenship.* Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre.

FIGURE 68   The Hart's Ladder of Young people participation (www.freechild.org)

Ladder of Volunteer Participation

Adapted by Adam Fletcher & Beth Kelly 2003

8. Volunteers initiate, share decisions with staff

7. Volunteers lead & initiate action

6. Staff initiate, share decisions with volunteers

5. Volunteers consult & inform

4. Volunteers are assigned & informed

3. Volunteers are tokenized

2. Volunteers are decoration

1. Volunteers are manipulated

*

* These are rungs of non-participation

Adapted from Hart, R. (1992). *Children's Participation: From Tokenship to Citizenship.*
Florence: UNICEF Inocenti Research Center

FIGURE 69   The Hart's ladder of volunteers' participation (www.freechild.org)

The ladder system to visualise the level of participation is useful and clear: nonetheless, as Arnstein reminded, it is a digital way of representing that, as the 'skyscraper' example testimonies, does not show the processual, analogical nature of the interchanges between human beings, physical environments, and public administration. Moreover, as every simplification, the system does not consider the hundreds of variables interested in the process.

The common thread among the latest mentioned authors is evident if we read their work in the light of the periods of their writings and in the frame of the sustainability/participation conceptual couple. The sustainability is, in fact, strictly connected with the participation and, definitively, with a diverse form of democracy. In this frame it is easy to observe that Geddes is a forerunner for the Ecologic approach, the Arnstein's writings came in a period very fertile for the claims of a major democracy and participation, and the Hart's ladder was proposed in a period of high attention to children's rights and sustainable development. The authors reflect, and had been contributing to build a progressive mentality for the periods in which they operated. Those periods and mentalities are connected, in my opinion, by the awareness that the environmental, social, and economical sustainable development is impossible to achieve without the involvement of the citizens

5.1.7 The Healey's collaborative planning

The fundamental work of Patsy Healey (2006) on Collaborative Planning drew a true epistemology of the planning aimed at involving citizens.

To arrive at the description of the collaborative planning, Healey started describing the three planning traditions (she called it "strands of thought", p. 10) that have led the stage as representative of three strands of thought. The economic planning refers to a "materialist and rationalist conception of a planned social order [and] aims to manage the productive forces" (p. 10) to ensure the growth, the production and, somehow, a distribution of the benefits. The second refers to the management of the physical development of towns to promote health, economy and beauty. The third is the management of public administration and policy analysis aimed at achieving explicit objectives set by public agencies in the most effective and efficient way.

She affirmed that the economic planning, or its more raw examples, entered in crisis because the increasingly interrelated global economy in the seventies. Economists and political philosopher have dominated this 'strand of thought'. Engineer and architects dominated the physical development planning together with "utopian images of what cities could be like" (p. 17). This focus on utopia led the most important thinkers to rediscover the concept of the ideal city blunting the attention to the process of physical development of the cities. The challenge was "to find a way to organize activities [...] convenient for all those involved, and aesthetically pleasing as well" (p. 18). According to Healey, as a result of these influences, "the planning theory became in the mid-twentieth century, a discussion about urban form" (p. 18). The policy analysis and planning came from America as way to render more efficient in decision taking the public administrations helping to choose among several alternatives to achieve a set of objectives. Healey mentioned Gans (1969) and Davidoff and Reiner (1962) as those who drew the attention to a more active citizen involvement in planning strategies.

It is worthwhile here to mention the striking works of Friedmann (1987, 2011) about transactive planning, the social learning, the radical practices and learning, the defence of the utopia as a way to rethink the good city, the concept of poverty as (dis)empowerment. The Friedmann work deeply has influenced the planning theories as evolving exploration of shared themes.

These are the starting points of the institutionalist analysis and communicative approaches. According to Healey, all the three thoughts have evolved and changed: the economic planning tradition has evolved incorporating an appreciation of the institutional preconditions for economic health; the physical development planning has recognized the relationships among social processes, spatial organization, urban form, and environmental issues; the policy analysis has sought to escape from its predominant emphasis on instrumental and scientific knowledge and has developed a greater attention on the processes of formation of the ways of thinking and value in people.

This processes, even if challenged by neo-liberal theorisations and policies, contributed to a shift "of the conceptual ground firmly into a phenomenological

interpretation of the relationship of knowledge to action" (Healey, 2006, pp. 29-30). The policies and the planning thus began to be considered as interrelated with social processes whose actions and steps are constructed by participants.

This recognition is part of a broad wave of reflection on identity and epistemology that started in the seventies and is influencing the western thought in general these days.

The planning theory deriving from this reflection is labelled as argumentative, interpretive, and communicative. According to her, the main strands of this turn were: the recognition of the social character of all the forms of knowledge and of the many forms of the development of knowledge from rational systematic analysis, to storytelling, and expressive statements, in words, pictures or sound; the recognition of the social context within which people form interests and of the plurality of their interests and expectations; the underlining that the power's relation can dominate also through "the finegrain of taken-for-granted assumptions and practices" (Healey, 2006, p. 29); the awareness that those public policies aimed at taking into account the stakes of all the people interested in the planning process need to draw upon a wider range of knowledge than before; a realization that these procedures leads towards a collaborative consensus building practices instead the classic bargaining among competitors; the realisation that the planning work is deeply rooted "in its context of social relations through its day to day practices, and has the capacity to challenge and change these relations through the approach to these practices; context and practices are not therefore separated but socially constituted together" (Healey, 2006, p. 30).

The institutionalist approach is based on the social construction of individual identities do not accepting the idea that the social world is constituted of autonomous individuals, each pursuing their own preferences in order to obtain just material satisfaction. It aims to understanding the dynamics of urban regions an to undertaking collective actions and should face a plurality of classic forms of governance and democracies like the representative, the pluralist, the corporatism, the clientelism or with the "evolving forms of governance" (Healey, 2006, p. 230) like the criteria-driven, approach, the entrepreneurial consensus or the inclusionary argumentation.

Aside from the form of governance, the planner, who would use an institutionalist, communicative approach to establish a true collaborative planning, should take into account that the diversity causing conflicts in local environments "is thus not just about individual interests - the noisy child versus the sleeping parent; factory effluent versus river wildlife. More difficult to address are the differences in systems of meaning, in *cultures*" (Healey, 2006, p. 56).

Sometimes, I would like to add, the two levels, individual and systemic, are linked, overlapped, or rather, the individual 'sleeping grandfather' complaining about the 'noise of children playing' is representing a system of meaning, a mentality, which can be (deeply) psychologically or socially rooted in that individual or community. These conflicts often see the public space as

the scene, or the ring, hosting the fight. It is maybe an example the scandal caused by the use of a space to play Cricket by Pakistani in Portomaggiore (Italy). The space was far from the town centre but was too close to the municipal cemetery whose external wall was used for blocking the ball (Vannini, 2010).

With the aim to orientate planning actions between modernity and post-modernity toward a collaborative and communicative direction, and between private and public, Healey relies on Giddens, referring to the structuration theory, and Habermas, mentioning the theory of communicative action. Healey maintained that, even from different positions, they provides "a rich seam of ideas about how to reconstitute the public realm through open, public debate" (Healey, 2006, p. 49).

Healey stressed the Giddens' attention to the recursive relation between structure and agency and the open space of reciprocal influence between the outside powers and the inside feelings and stories. The roots with the pasts but also the possibility to challenge and change them are, according to the author, a crucial point in the Giddens' *structuration* theory. The citizen can change the world and him or herself, and, as a consequence, the relationships as well as the planner can be a confirming-the-rules instrument or a social transformative agent.

The concepts of *abstract system*, the economic and bureaucratic order, and of *lifeworld*, the daily experience of citizens, as presented by Habermas (1987), are, according to Healey, a challenge for making sense together, above all, because the aim of the systematization is to render the abstract system closer to the everyone's personal experience. I affirm that the Healey argumentation about the Habermas proposal of three modes of reasoning (instrumental-technical, moral, emotive-aesthetic) is essential to understand the distortion, the instrumentalization, hence the exploitation occurring during planning processes, above all, during the simulated participatory planning actions. Habermas affirms that the dominance of technical reasoning, associated to economic and political life, has been a tool to enable abstract systems to dominate lifeworld. I would assert, very modestly, that a very similar role has being carried out by moral reasoning while the emotive-aesthetic reasoning is often used to celebrate and show to people what the power wants. According to the Healey's interpretation, the three reasoning should receive the same status in public debate.

Habermas dealt also with he theme of the relationships among individual subjects affirming the concept of an *intersubjective consciousness* as socially constructed entity. Thus the consequence is that there is not any privileged reasoning of understanding collective action if not through interaction. These are the main concepts that, according to Healey "underpin Habermas' *theory of communicative action* with its *communicative ethics*" (p. 53).

Suomi (2011) starting from the analysis of Habermas and highlighting that the two worlds are also represented by the evidence based scientific knowledge (abstract) and by experience, attitudes, and values (lifeworld), focused on the

new possibilities given by the working together of the two worlds, for example for a better understanding of reality, to create new way of thinking, or individuate next, future practices rather than best practices. He sustained a holistic view in planning looking at the behavioural settings that are lived as a whole by people but often studied as sectors by scholars and ruled as independent by decision makers and politicians. Having as a background of his proposal the several dimensions of planning (functional, psychological, administrative, economical, physical, social) Suomi proposed some very practical and effective directions for the sports planning: new sustainable locally based sport infrastructures; new idea of socialization in sport based on new means and information technologies; new body and sports culture for young people respecting their wishes; new climate policy and 'a back to the nature' clear direction aimed at a re-naturalization of the urban environment and based on the "all men's right"; new basic rights and laws for the sport for all to be included in the constitutional law; new policies in sport based on equity and equality.

5.1.8 The Forester's deliberative practitioner

The explicit declaration of the Forester's striking work (1999) is that "The Deliberative Practitioner" book is "about people working with others to attempt to remake their common future" (p. ix) and "focuses on those planning practices that seek to expand practical democratic deliberations rather than to restrict them, to encourage diverse citizens' voices rather than to stifle them, to direct resources to basic needs rather than to narrow private gain" (p. 5), and not about geographical distribution, or architecture or the urban development. This 'working together', according to the author, should be carried out studying practices at the same time in which we study ethics and that ethical issues permeate both theory and practice.

Forester dealt with town planning issues marking the peculiarities of his "distinctive approach" based on the planners' social and political interaction, on the production of meanings, on the consideration of the power as enabling relationships, on the idea of planning as deliberative action that shapes other's understanding of their cities. The aspect of common learning is particularly relevant in Forester, who affirms that the deliberative practitioner can only learn with others and that the town planning participatory actions are learning process more than decision-making processes.

In addition to the highlighting the risk of manipulation mentioning Arnstein (1969), he took participation as a political opportunity for transformative learning and action-research. This interwoven and reciprocal process determines the qualities of the planners that should be trained to pay attention not as technicians narrowing the field to the content of the negotiation but also to the relationships among the parties and aware that, for what he calls 'astute planning', the awareness that the practical actions are made by values discussed in deliberative conversations.

This multifaceted complexity of the planning, and of the planners interpretation of he role, contribute to shape, rather than determining, the characters and results of the planning work.

Forester presented and justified his approach presenting an impressive amount of very varied cases through the planners' accounts, their own stories filled up by descriptions as well as feelings. The stories and story-telling are, for Forester, vital practices without whom cannot exist a respectful planning. Mentioning Neustadt and May (1986), he maintained that a planner should not ask what is the problem but what is the story, "that way you will find out what the problem really is" (p. 19).

But the reality of the issues is split in two worlds, the one in which we live and the one we would like to live; in this sense is very evocative the Forester assumption that "in deliberative work, citizens, integrate the worlds of 'is' and 'ought', of 'science' and 'ethics', as they learn how to get something done and what ought to be done" (p. 62) building dialogic and not mere physical spaces.

It is from a story that emerges one of the biggest difficulties, as Karen, a planner, reports, "if something goes wrong, the planner did it. If something goes right, the city council members claim credit for it" (p. 34). This is exactly what happened several times in my experience and what is a part of the experience I describe in the next paragraph.

5.1.9 From protests to proposals: a personal experience.

After my theoretical studies on the relationship between the body and the public space carried out at the end of the nineties, I established a social promotion association named *Il corpo va in città* (The body goes to the city) that has carried out several actions and action-researches on the field of participation and young people.

In my experience of management of participatory projects, probably the most difficult to carry out as action-research responsible, was *Il grattacielo si progetta* (The skyscraper plans itself). The project of planning the rehabilitation of the green area surrounding two sides of the building, was commissioned in 2006 to 'Il corpo va in città', by the Municipality of Ferrara using founds from the Emilia Romagna Region on the frame of the two projects 'Mobile Unit for Solidarity and Safety' and 'The Skyscraper is in the city centre' (Borgogni et al., 2007).

Notwithstanding this project did not involve the young people, I would like synthetically describe it as an example of how the participative processes can contribute to transform the protest in proposal.

The so-called skyscraper is composed by two 20-storeys buildings near the railway station built in the seventies. Since the beginning of the nineties, the skyscraper began to be a great resource for migrants. Low costs of renting and buying, nearness to the railways station. Nowadays the 60% of the dwellers are migrants (Statistic Service, Comune di Ferrara website) The area has become also known for micro-criminality like drug pushing and prostitution and, above all, has been object of a media overexposure. The Italian residents, exasperated,

complained against the public administration that began to promote projects of rehabilitation of the area as a part of an integrated approach, not always successful, with the State Police.

The program of the action was, first of all to study the place and the general situation with a documentary research, observations, and key informants interviews. The most important and critical aspect was the coordination with the other associations working in the area. The program foresaw that, after this preliminary study, some meetings in form of workshop would have been carried out under a gazebo in the green area around the buildings.

The first meeting was unsatisfactory, only two people attended. The reason was the lack of coordination with another association in charge of the recruiting. In the second meeting (Figure 70), the Italian residents came 'all guns blazing'. The discussion was, at the beginning, very difficult until the point to foresee an anticipated end of the meeting itself and of the project. They were angry and complained against the municipality and us. They referred to the Municipality as "those up there" or those who live in the Municipal building, well known for a beautiful stairs leading to the entrance.

The astonishing, for the participants, proposal of the several uses of urban furniture and public spaces and, above all, our request to begin a 'neighbourhood walk' (Figures 71 and 72), contributed progressively to change their attitude towards the project. It was a touching moment in which the participants told us informally some micro-histories like the old roads and their habits before the building of the green area and the concern to miss the 'house of the cats' or 'feline colony' during the work for the rehabilitation. The discursive elaboration of the concerns contributed to establish a more collaborative climate during the further meetings bringing the participants to individuate priorities that were included in a shared plan (Figure 73) given to the municipality.

As Forester (1999) wrote, it was also a matter of stories and willing of story-telling and passions. "The analysis of learning through deliberative, participatory rituals [in this case facilitators broke the rituals] suggests that we learn not only with our ears but with our eyes and hearts. We learn not only from surprising information that leads us to propose new hypothetical lines of action to test, but we learn from style and passion and allusion too. Wee learn to reframe our predictions and strategies, but we learn to develop new relationships and even sense of ourselves as well" (Forester, 1999, p. 151)

FIGURE 70   The second meeting of the project on skyscraper (Il corpo va in città, 2007)

FIGURE 71   The neighbourhood walk (Il corpo va in città, 2007)

FIGURE 72   The picketing of the priority areas (Il corpo va in città, 2007)
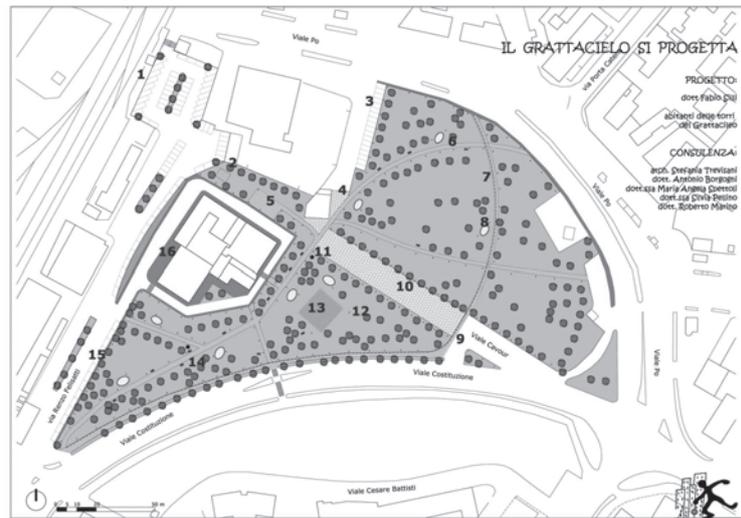
FIGURE 73   The plan of the green area (Il corpo va in città, 2007)

The action was a partial success, because of the incomplete involvement of the inhabitants and because the works of rehabilitation, promised by the Municipality, were realized only in few parts with a great delay. Nonetheless, I would stress the importance of the involvement process begun in a very negative way but having been continued raising the level of confidence and reliability in the facilitators and in the public administration.

5.2   Criticism and limits

The participation can be a boomerang

Shifting from participative projects to ethic-behavioural planning, I can affirm that participation is an abused word, often utilized to allow to understand that shared decisions are more fair, more true. Involving citizens can be important from an administrative and political viewpoint, fundamental in my opinion, but the concrete realization of the project becomes critical above all when the participation has a specific and local object. The participative process, in fact, apparently seems to protect the promoter by every possible error but at the same time, it is risky.

The start-up of the process is important but it is not enough, it should be monitored, and, above all, successfully completed.

The true risk is that the project, supposedly a perfect flat stone ready to be thrown on the lake surface to achieve the stone-jump world record, could become inadvertently a boomerang: an object thrown tactically in a perfect way but strategically harmful for the thrower in a medium time.

The participative planning requires a strategy of citizenship empowerment that moves by the technician's knowledge and sensitivity, continues through the offer/delivery of that knowledge to the involved citizens, thus highlighting their level of request allowing them to have more tools to make proposals, prepares, with different and adequate methods, opportunities for a proposals-aimed discussion in which elaborate complaints and protests, achieves precise results and re-elaborates them, realizes the works.

The above-mentioned points suggest some more specific explanations. The technician's knowledge and sensitivity requires a previous knowledge of the technicians of the public body of the up to date solutions and of the feasibility in that context; often a training course for them is needed. Moreover, the sharing of the project process into the administration within the involved sectors (town planning, public works, education, social services, participative actions) is decisive; the awareness that the sensitization of citizens brings to a rise of the level of the requests has to be put side by side with the fulfilment of the raising of the level of citizens' requests. It is recommendable that outer facilitators, who in a more adequate way can transform in proposals the numerous complaints, could carry out the involvement and workshop phase; the executives and politicians should limit their role to validate and support the process,

At least three dependent variables are needed to achieve the project. The first is the wish of the sectors of the public administration to share knowledge and procedures. The second is related to the care of the timetable of the project: it is crucial, in fact, that in any case, also when a multi-year project is carried out (the duration of some projects can be over thirty years), 'signals' of attention to their involvement were delivered. Often, in town planning long duration projects, it is important and sufficient the continuous information or the realizations of small infrastructure like urban furniture to allow people to feel part of the process itself. The third is the care of the communication of the project, matter in which it is useful to involve citizens too.

Balzani (2006) wrote about three approaches in the description and planning of public space: "morphological/metrical/performance-based, didactical-participative, and behavioural-ethical-meaningful. Starting from those approaches, I would estimate there is the need of a change of paradigm for a planning attentive to the improvement of public space and to the realization of environments in which the quality of life matches with spaces accessible and comfortable for all"

The holders of the first approach (above all but not only technicians) need to understand the utility to develop listening strategies, to meet the final users and to sensitize their selves about the richness of the proposals and stories deriving from them. This receptiveness concerns also the inner relation within the public administration. Often this process is blocked because of the fear of interferences and disputes.

The second approach holders need a serious confrontation with the first, to put more into concrete form their proposals, to follow and monitor them until the realization avoiding the too convenient limited liability mentality.

The third model, called by Balzani a new utopia, is based on the movement of the body in the space, on its traces. The interpretation of the trajectories of the bodies, the listening of the people, the use of new equipment like the tri-dimensional scanner could represent the basis for planning the space on the frame of this new concept. It is a new and very old model based on the interaction of the other two approaches leading at building a new theoretical and applicative way of planning. The objective of the latest approach could be the transformation of spaces in places where life occurs. In any case, the aim should be to construct meaningful environments answering to needs and wishes, including those not clearly expressed, of citizens.

The ethical aspect also concerns the presence of the educative strategy to ask for rightful questions, or to be more precise, all the issues whose answers are not exactly known by people who pose the question. This position in the process opens the need to find advanced and shared solutions.

Sometime the processes bringing at feasible utopia are not shared from the beginning. This is the case of visions and approaches looking at the future and produced by scholars and experts like Traffic Calming in the seventies and eighties, or Shared Spaces nowadays.

In some cases, in fact, the courage, the wish of innovation together with a scientific approach and an ethic aimed at producing a more accessible (walkable, cyclable, playable) city for all, can arrive from the top and produce satisfying and meaningful environments after an accurate observation of the context and a serious communication strategy. In all the cases, the involvement of citizens is crucial to maintain the sustainability of the project (Borgogni, 2007).

The last ethical aspect concerns the habit to monitor the use of the spaces and to make ex-post survey not only in about, for instance, the behaviours of users, but also on social capital produced by the process, for example which kind of availability to be involved in projects (Suomi, 1998).

The de-participative approach

During my visits to Barcelona, one of the interviews was administered to Gaspar Maza, Professor of Anthropology at the University Rovira I Virgili of Tarragon and, at the moment of the interview, in charge of a research commissioned by the Municipality of Tarragona concerning the politicians' and municipal public servants' idea of participation on the fields of social services, sustainability, town planning, sports. He was also collaborating with the INEFC social research laboratory for studies concerning the sports practice.

The occasion was particularly useful for the aim of my research because he presented ideas and thesis that can be considered as representative of a critical approach towards organized participation. I can consider him as representative

of the de-participative front. (G. Maza, personal communication, June, 26th 2009)

Maza's thought is that one of the main issue of the participation is that the application is very different from field to field; changing a social service is quite diverse from planning a street. This means that the involvement process has to be adapted at practical level. In any case, the time for changing mentality is very long.

We have to consider that the attitude of the civil servants who take care of the public space is that the space itself is totally planned; this means that the approach to participation risks being romantic if not utopist.

In order to Maza, the space is very controlled and the original idea of public spaces is missed, nonetheless, sometimes sport practices open some possibilities but they are soon closed and often through a regulation. As soon as the practices appropriate the land, there is an immediate reaction.

I pointed out the several spaces, like Foixarda and Biloma[3], in Barcelona that are utilized for sport uses. It is true that, after the provision of the Municipality in 2006 (restricting the use of skate in the public space and contradicting the previous; note by the present writer), the public spaces are more strictly ruled but there are many examples of appropriation.

Maza argued that it is important to know the history of that space from a planning and socio anthropologic point of views. Actually, if the space is residual, the use and the appropriation are allowed. In any case, the State has the power to fix the rules while the people the possibility to subvert them. In a state totally controlled by the police could be theoretically forbidden to go out home.

The conflict between people and rules can be observed in many places, for example, after the first rehabilitation of the Plaça dels Angels, the skaters were more than welcomed to vivify the environment. Neither univocal rules can be applied nor an absolute control.

In Barcelona, after the Franco dictatorship, grew many neighborhood committees but the city changed and reconfigured itself independently by these phenomena. The sports can also represent a very static approach to the city. Politicians have often in mind a static city while it is very dynamic; it is like an organism that takes care of its own life. The role of the technicians at district level is very important because they are mediators between the rules and the real use of the space. At the same time, they belong to the technocracy and work to obtain consensus. They are like missionaries for the Church.

I asked if the technicians are aware of their role. Prof. Maza answered that it is a culture, there are not manual to learn those behaviors. When speaking about public space, people want always the same things: benches, children playgrounds, and so on. Technicians match these wishes very simply also because there is not the possibility, during the interactions with citizens, to go in depth about technical issues.

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[3]   The Foixarda is a climbing wall patronized by climbers; the Biloma is an irregular football field patronized by Bolivians

According to Maza, the participative theories are an Academic/ intellectual product; the political and practical levels are very different. When the children are asked to draw a space, the final decision comes from the technician who is also in charge of the safety of the space itself.

There are no alternatives. The city auto-produces itself and is object of speculation and of strategic interests like the Olympics.

The participation can create confusion; neither neighborhood committees nor politicians have the control of the process. The participation is represented by the political vote, the participatory processes are a duplication; it helps to increase the bureaucratic process and staff. We can also evaluate the participation, from a Foucaldian perspective, as an advanced form of control over citizens, spaces, and bodies. At the same time, it is true that sometimes sports practices overcome or bypass this process patronizing spaces.

Interpreting the Maza's thought it s plausible to argue that the concept of the city is close to that of autopoiesis (Maturana & Varela: 1980). The city redefines either spaces either meanings of the living environments by itself without organized processes and in a way that is impossible to plan and control by the outside.

5.3 The E.U. White Paper on Youth

The first time in which, at European level, the crucial theme on young people participation has been dealt with at European level was in the White Paper on Youth (2001), which represents a landmark in youth policies in Europe. One of the main matters of the document is, in fact, represented by youth involvement in public life and youth participation in specific projects.

The loss of confidence in decision making existing processes and in the traditional forms of participation is one of the starting points for a reflections aiming at promoting innovative tools. One of the starting point of the White Paper on Youth (WPY) is that many young people desire to influence the choices but the methods to involve them should be more individual and more off-basis, different from the existing structures and mechanism.

The participation is one of the five fundamental principles for promoting new forms of European governance; in particular, the WPY recommends that participation has to be achieved "ensuring young people are consulted and more involved in the decisions which concern them and, in general, the life of their communities" (p. 8). To foster active citizenship, in fact, is considered one of the main challenges of the EC.

The active citizenship through the implementation of the participation is one of the four key concepts emerged by the consultation made before the drafting of the WPY and the first point for applying the open method of coordination. This part (4.1.2) stresses the need to involve young people not belonging at associations.

The results of the public consultation carried out before the writing of the WPY highlight the participation as first area of intervention. The paragraph "No democracy without participation" (Annex 1.1) indicates the clear demand of young people and their will to play an active role. Moreover, "they regard the view that they are disinterested or uncommitted as groundless and unjust. They feel that they are given neither the resources nor the information and training that would enable them to play a more active role" (p. 24).

Young people involved in the consultation stress the right to give their opinion on all aspects of their daily lives, such as family, school, work, group activities, their local area, etc. They are aware that, in doing so, they are also involved in broader economic, social and political issues.

The WPY primarily highlights two concepts: the process of learning and the local context. The two concepts are strictly linked: the gradualism of the process of learning keeps pace with the enlargement of the context. It is important that they learn participative democracy in their own environment (school, district, association); in a second phase, young people should become aware that decisions concerning the local environment are taken at higher levels of decision-making, until reaching the European level. The text highlights that while the application fields of the knowledge and skills are various; the division between formal and non-formal educational processes is not adequate and can be counter-productive. This means that the school, which is not perceived considering young people as active citizens, cannot be the only place in which these processes should be developed. Young people, for the WP, reject forms of symbolic participation, think that the existing mechanisms are unsatisfactory and believe in a more immediate, and direct local level involvement. The researchers who carried out the consultation remind that experiences of mock participation could undermine the young people's confidence in the institution.

The proposals about participation, which come out from the consultation, are based on the importance of the local level; the need to extend participation beyond young people who belong to organizations and beyond issues specific to youth. The school remains one of the forums for participation, which must be given priority, even though the importance of non-formal learning and education is recognized.

The specific proposals regard "the widespread introduction by local authorities throughout Europe of flexible and innovative participatory mechanisms in a wide variety of contexts (schools, sports halls, associations, etc.) allowing young people themselves to choose their working methods and which rely on intermediaries" (WPY, p.30). The role of operators as promoters and intermediaries in participatory processes is highlighted as fundamental. Moreover, the text recommends a widespread introduction of Youth Councils at regional and national levels open to young people who do not belong to organizations, and independent of political powers.

All this principles have been the basis of the construction and the promotion of the Youth Program that has become Youth in Action Program since 2007.

An example of Youth in Action Program

I would like to describe one project carried out by the Association *Il corpo va in città* in the recent past. The project "Young observers on the city scene: participative processes and healthy lifestyles under evaluation" was financed by the Community Youth Action Programme – Action 1.3 "Youth Democracy Projects". The partners were the Finnish Sports Federation /SLU of Helsinki, the Youth Council of Uusikaupunki in Finland, and the Municipalities of Ferrara, Portomaggiore and Poggio Renatico (Italy).

The main focus of the project had been the analysis of the participation of young people in decision-making processes.

This general theme was divided into two fields: the involvement of young people in policies concerning urban liveability (participative town planning, youth services) and in enhancing well-being through physical and outdoor activities (how to improve young people's awareness of active life styles). The connection between the two fields is traceable in global policies aimed at planning or re-planning public spaces capable of facilitating various bodily expressions and at projecting low-threshold services capable of promoting active living.

The cases observed were some youth councils or committees (Uusikaupunki, Portomaggiore, SLU), youth associations (SLU and Ferrara), youth centres (Poggiorenatico), participatory town planning actions (Ferrara, Portomaggiore).

The project aimed at studying the relationship between youth and local politicians with particular reference to programs that allow them to participate in the decision-making process regarding urban spaces, their overall liveability, and their capacity to offer and accommodate activities that meet the needs of young people today.

The hypothesis is that active participation of young people in the life of their own community has become, for more sensitive local administrations, an invaluable resource in the formulation of sustainable policies that concern the young people themselves. The young people involved were given an opportunity to reflect on issues that reach "beyond their own back yard", to increase their awareness of problems and issues that regard the local community, as well as on daily living conditions.

For this reason, the project proposed activities designed to supply young people and local administrations with the tools and methods needed to transform youths into truly active citizens and define strategies capable of making a decisive impact on policies concerning them through the analysis and observation of existing processes.

The participants were encouraged to widen their own horizons towards new cultural realities as part of a process of participation and non-exclusion

aimed at achieving the full valorisation and development of awareness on both local and European levels.

Therefore, the issues selected were not limited to the participation and involvement of member groups, but could easily be extended to the local community, exported to their hometowns, where the youths will become protagonists of their daily lives and the territory they live in. These initiatives could then be shared and applied in other towns interested as part of the follow-up.

The overall method of the project was based on the sharing of significant experiences between the partners. The main elements of the method, in fact, were two seminars, one in Italy and the other in Finland: the first was useful to analyse and confront past experiences and prepare the tools of observation (interviews, focus groups, and documentary research). The participants then applied the study instruments to their own realities. The second seminar included the presentation of the results of local observations and served to lay the foundations for the follow-up phase of the project. The results were forwarded to the network of associations and local European agencies to ask for their operational feedback, which will then be used to design the final project according to the guidelines that should be universal enough to be used by other European subjects as well.

In addition to the young exchange participants (eight from Italy and eight from Finland, between the ages of 16 and 28), formal and informal local youth action groups were involved to guarantee the widest diffusion possible of the methods and specific know-how with the aim to train them and enhance their vocational orientation.

The project objectives were the definition of models and criteria for the involvement of youth in both the fields pertinent to the project. The output was represented by the drafting of "Guidelines for Youth Participation", identifying proposals and model to be transported and reproduced easily by each participant and association in their own town or city of origin, and the contribution to build a network of experiences at European level.

Both Italian and Finnish participants were concretely and directly involved in different local actions before or during the project. This made the peer exchange of experiences fruitful. Even when the young participants were involved in the project through the school, and not for personal initiative, they seemed to be aware of and interested in the issues; they did their best to reach the goals of the European project.

It is also true that the young people different levels of involvement were reflected in the different levels of discussion on how to develop better public policies involving young people, and on how to engage them in a true involvement environment.

Those who had some kind of prominent role within their own projects were willing to question the management of their own project regardless of whether it concerned sport promotion or a Youth Centre.

As expected, those who were directly responsible for a project (as the Kapolinea in Poggiorenatico, as the Youth Council of Uusikaupunki and as the different projects of SLU) as compared to those who were involved through local administration, the school or third person (as the young people involved in the Ideal Sport Club action carried out in the same period in Ferrara and in the Youth Council in Portomaggiore) gave a more significant contribution for the success of the project as was different the pro-activity invested in the project.

Another significant difference emerged on the opinion regarding the role that the adults should and could have in the development of the projects.

The young people managing their own project thought that the presence of adults as a sort of guarantee for the decisions and their consequent actions was required. They felt that the adults should represent a sort of silent presence while recognizing the importance of this presence as an assurance of attainment.

The young people involved by the institutions, on the other hand, considered the presence of the adults as nothing but an inhibition of their creativity and freedom. While being aware that they could not achieve any goals without the money and the guarantee provided by the adults, they preferred to put freedom of choice and action in first place. The reason for this could be that the adults took decisions and initiative without consulting them. This led these young people to collocate themselves in a lower part of the Hart's Ladder used as a tool in the project and mentioned in this chapter. According to them, climbing the steps meant just having more freedom without any real commitment in specific actions or goals. This freedom was not clearly defined owing to their lack of experience in the direct responsibility of the projects.

However, the eighteen months project timetable was too long for young people to follow with the adequate attention. Some of them, in fact, were involved in changes in interest concerning school, family, sport, and social commitments.

This matter could be one of the causes of the project's weak point: the lack of participation in the implementation of the blog page of the website, and the difficulties of the members of one of the Finnish partners (SLU) in writing reports in common. The latest problem also depends on the fact that those young people, members of the Association, lived in different provinces of the country and were able to meet only occasionally.

Starting from these results, it could be interesting to develop the project to involve other countries to share further experiences in order to gain new ideas regarding the way to carry out participative processes. The starting point should be the confidence that when young people had freedom of action, of purpose, of funds within their project, they showed a true sense of responsibility.

The basic requirements for a successful project, as individuated by participants in the Guidelines for Youth Participation are: the involvement of young people since the planning phase; a real, sincere exchange between adults

and young people; enough available space left to creativity in the managing phase; the establishment of a monitoring group which includes all the subjects and stakeholders; the evaluation; the assurance of a funding; the availability to volunteering; the relevance of a common growth for social aspects and to improve their competences.

6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND MATERIALS

6.1 The methodology

I would open this part stressing the concept of craftsmanship as crucial in my investigation. As Mills (2000) wrote, I used methods and techniques trying to avoid the fetishism of methods and techniques trying to build my own methodology using different tools coming from previous professional and scientific experiences. My personal characteristics had been playing a determinant role in deciding the methodological approach and the tools used for the research.

The research objects, in fact, is posed at the border of several fields of knowledge; therefore, I assessed that a comprehensive methodology allowing the use of several flexible methods would have been the better for the investigated contexts.

The research has been multidisciplinary on Social Sciences of Sports using references on history, philosophy, sociology, and town planning. Some matters, argument or cases needed, in my opinion, to a wider glance than the one offered by a discipline to be explained. For example, it is impossible to understand the reason of what I call (referring to Piaget, 2009) accommodation-assimilation process in the skateboard practice in Barcelona trying to use only one interpretative key: the post-modern sport, and specifically skateboarding, is the effects of several processes: the town planning characteristics of the 'hard squares' (*plaças duras*), the historic, even if recently contradicted, tolerance of the local authority in the usage of the public space, the vivacity of the post-dictatorship, the raise of Barcelona as attractive city for sport after the 1992 Olympics, the streets like Diagonal or Ramblas slightly going downhill towards the sea, a certain freedom in the exposition of the body, it is worthwhile to remind that the practice of nudism in the streets was legal in Barcelona since the provision of the Municipality of the 2011 (*Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, 2011*).

The research has been theoretical and empirical, qualitative, interpretative, socio-diachronic, and idiographic.

This means that it was based on Case Study as a research method. Referring to Yin (2009), a case study method should be used when the aim of the research is to have an in-depth understanding of a real-life phenomenon whose understanding is possible only encompassing several context conditions. As Yin stated "a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evidenced" (p. 18). The case study inquiry is useful in a situation in which phenomena and contexts are not easily distinguishable, the variables are relevant, perhaps more than data them selves, the sources are manifold and dissimilar and there is the opportunity to refer to theoretical propositions to infer data collection and analysis.

Once more according to Yin (2009), the research was a multiple and comparative case study and pertains to the bottom-right section of the following figure in which, being part of a common context, the study examined four cases in which there were several "embedded units of analysis".
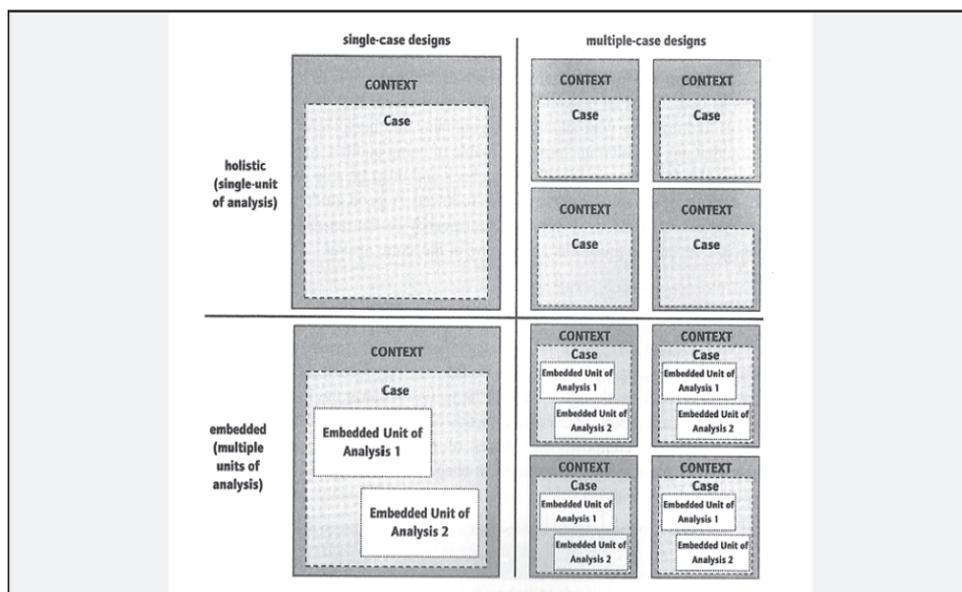
FIGURE 74   The structures of the case-study method (Yin, 2009, p.38)

The case study approach, as stated in the paragraph 9.2 dedicated to the comparison among the cases, had generated hypothesis (Lijphart, 1971).

The research relied in non-numerical analysis, assumes that the social reality is continuously constructed and related to social contexts, uses cases, assumes the pattern is to collect and analyse data to develop an explanation if not a transdisciplinar theory (Gratton & Jones, 2004).

The demonstration of the theoretical part of the hypothesis is, in fact, a study on the relationship between theories on town planning, their practical

realization, and the body, while the cases, which aim to demonstrate the pragmatism of participation of the consideration of the expression of the body in the public space, are investigated using an empirical approach.

The research procedures are also centred on the circularity between research and action in the sense that the action of the research had implied the reconfiguration of the research itself. The most evident example of this fact is the theme of informal appropriation of the public space which became an interpretative key of the research and that was introduced after the first observations in Barcelona. It is not precisely an action-research unless we consider the interactions with the key informants who were in charge of the study on the spaces and were not direct users.

In some way, the research is partially close to the grounded theory because, even if starting from an initial hypothesis, it has been continuously reviewed using the new data collected during the observations, aspect that has allowed a partial redefinition of the hypothesis itself (Glaser & Strauss, 2009).

The peculiar aspect of the research is to connect several fields and several cases trying to give a conceptual frame. At the same time this represents also the most risky factor.

Given that I have financed the research with personal funds and I had not any grant, I had not the opportunity to spend more time in every studied city. This had been a pity because a more prolonged stay could have been brought to a more in depth and systematic documentary research, more interview, and observations. Nonetheless, the timetable allowed me to visit several times the cities, which I already knew before starting the research.

From this point of view, and with the limits I will describe in the Discussion section (6.3) of this chapter, I maintain that the above-mentioned methodological structure is adequate for the kind of research I carried out. I collected above all qualitative information not forgetting quantitative data used mainly to create a scaffold in which the reader could find material to frame the cases.

6.1.1 The timetable

The research began in 2007 after the approval of my candidature by the Faculty Council in September 2006. I used the 2007 for beginning the collection of materials, for the literature review and for the preparation of the research tools. In 2008 I made two research journeys in Finland, one in Paris, and one in Barcelona. In 2009 I made one research journey in Paris, one in Barcelona, two in Finland. In 2010 I mainly elaborated and systematized the materials. In 2011 I made one research journey in Paris, thus recovering the lack of interviews, and one in Finland.

In 2012 I have made a short research journey in Barcelona. I have not mentioned Ferrara because the observations and the gathering of materials have been constant.

The crucial moments have been from the mid of 2008 and the mid of 2009 when the majority of the observations and of the interviews were carried out,

the 2010, when I had the time to reflect on the data, and the last part, from the Autumn 2011 when I had the possibility to remedy some weak points due to the lack of data about some cases, thus refining the research.

6.1.2 The choice of the cases

The cases (cities and towns) and the sub-cases (specific spaces and places inside them) have been selected using criteria related to the relevance of the town planning history and tradition, the meaningfulness of the decisions in town planning after the seventies with particular reference to the body facilitating environments, the history of participatory processes.

Barcelona and Paris have an almost parallel history in planning, both of them, in fact, were re-planned in the mid of the 19th Century as a reaction to the precarious hygienic conditions, and for political and speculative reasons. Ildefonso Cerdà and both Napoleon III and Georges-Eugéne Haussmann carried out a sort of on-going experiment for the birth of the new town planning discipline (Calabi, 2004; Hall 1997).

Ferrara is recognized as a case in town planning as the first town in Europe planned with new Renaissance criteria by Biagio Rossetti between the 15th and the 16th century, it's structure has characterized the urban scenario together with the medieval districts and with the well preserved walls built between the 15th and the 17th century (Burckhardt, 1990).

The history of Finnish town planning, referring to the Helsinki case, presents many themes similar to other European cities. The Johan Albrecht Ehrenström plan (1817) has characterized the city till now. Ehrenström collaborated with the architect Carl Ludwig Engel, who set a uniform stamp on the townscape. Jyväskylä was founded on 1837 by Emperor Nicholas I and built from scratch; the original town consisted of most of the current grid-style city centre. (Hall, 1997, Kolbe, 2006)

In the recent past, all the cases have witnessed remarkable plans and decisions taking into account the urban liveability and, more or less in an intentional way, the facilitation of body practices.

In every investigated case, ruled by national laws or local initiatives, the participative processes in town planning and in other sectors have been carried out by local administration as relevant part of their policies.

I am aware that the cases refer to very different situations and sizes of the city and of the context from several points of view. Barcelona and Paris are comparable for size and town planning history. To better explain the comparison, in some cases I used a double step method comparing the main cities (Barcelona, Paris, and Helsinki) with Bologna, a city close to Ferrara and sharing several aspects including the Emilia Romagna Region legislation. Moreover, I knew every case before studying them and I had contacts, people and organizations, which I relied should have been helpful in my research.

The case study approach is the framework of the cases using several techniques.

The cases have been compared using a framework built anew using, as a broad reference, authors who investigated the comparative methods. Due to the large number of variables, I would call this part of the research a tentative of comparison useful to highlight differences and similarities among the cases and to individuate some guidelines to draw conclusions. The comparative categories are: the town planning history concerning public spaces; the town planning and the general provisions concerning the body (mobility, spaces, sports facilities); the current use and respect of the public space; the confidence and attitude towards the public administration; the legislation about town planning participatory processes and the real procedures carried out; the kinds of participatory processes (age category involved, if they are bottom-up or top-down), methods, and technologies; the results and the processes started or on-going.

6.1.3 Techniques and tools

The methodology used the three classic techniques of the Ethnographic approach: observation, in some cases participant, key informant interviews, and documentary research. The Ethnography is a way to describe someone or some groups in a specific situation, going in the field, in the everyday life of the people who are studied (Hammersley, 1990; Corbetta, 2003).

While I have directly observed the places, the interviews were administered to different key informants: context informants, people who have a wide experience over several cases at local and national levels; case/research informants, those who have carried out the investigated cases; action/project informants and observers, those who took part in different ways in the study cases.

The interviewees were not the direct users of the spaces. This implies that this is a secondary level research in which the informants have a broad perspective of the cases and are not the users, those who practise the space. This means that I collected primary level data from the observations, in which I observed the users, and secondary data from the interviews. This choice was taken above all for linguistic problems; in fact, only in one case, Ferrara, the interviewer and the interviewee would have spoken the same language, and for difficulties related with the time because it would have been much more time for every case to stay in the place.

Due to the "second level" nature of the research, the number of interviews were limited.

The number of interviews was twentytwo; the number of interviewees was thirteen. Ten were administered in Finland to Suomi (four times between 2008 and 2011), Norra (two times in 2008), Foghelolm (2008), Kuusela (2008, 2009), Ahlgren (2008). Six were administered in Barcelona to Camino (2008, 2008, in Ferrara, 2009, 2012), Maza, (2009), Magrinya (2009); two in Ferrara (Benini, 2009, Stefanati, 2012); three in Paris (Farinella, 2009, 2011, in Ferrara), Kouidri (2011). Moreover, I administered an interview to Capelli (2010), about the issue of hygiene and sustainability in the cities. The interviews were carried

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out face-by-face and reviewed with the informant by e-mail or in a second meeting. Some of them had been carried out during observations of spaces.

TABLE 2   List of interviewees, contents, kind of interview, length, and date

Cases and contents	Interviewee	Type	Lenght	Date
Barcelona	Camino	Face to face and during observation	3 hours	January 24th 2008
	Camino	Face to face	3 hours	June 26th 2008 (in Ferrara)
	Camino	Face to face	1 hour	June 20th 2009
	Camino	Face to face	1 hour	April 29th 2012
	Magrinya	Face to face	1 hour	June 24th 2009
	Maza	Face to face	1 hour	June 26th 2009
Paris	Farinella	Face to face and during observation	4 hours	April 26th 2009
	Farinella	Face to face	2 hours	June 20th 2011 (in Ferrara)
	Kouidri	Face to face	1 hour	October 21st 2011
Finland	Ahlgren	Face to face	1 hour	June 3rd 2008
	Foghelolm	Face to face	1 hour	May 29th 2008
	Kuusela	Face to face	2 hours	June 2nd 2008
	Kuusela	Face to face	1 hour	June 28th 2009
	Norra	Face to face and during observation	4 hours	May 29th 2008
	Norra	Face to face and during observation	3 hours	June 3rd 2008
	Suomi	Face to face and during observation	3 hours	May 31st 2008
	Suomi	Face to face and during observation	2 hours	June 27th 2009
	Suomi	Face to face and during observation	2 hours	June 25th 2010
	Suomi	Face to face	2 hours	December 4th 2011
Ferrara	Benini	Face to face	2 hours	May 5th 2009
	Stefanati	Face to face	2 hours	June 3rd 2012
Hygiene and sustainability	Capelli	Face to face	2 hours	February 4th 2010

The mother languages of the interviewees were Italian, Castilian, Catalan, French, and Finnish. The interviews were administered using the mother language of the interviewed in Italian, French, Castilian and Catalan, and English as vehicular language with Finnish key informants.

This was one of the factor that determined the choice of the kind of interview: while the non or semi structured are the best type for the more 'on the field' researches, a mixed form of structured and semi structured was the more preferable. For this reason, the interview grid contains structured and semi-structured parts.

The interviews aimed at understanding the goals, the procedures and the main characteristics of the investigated projects through the mental categories of the interviewed persons trying to bring out their perspective but at the same time, searching for pre-codified information of the project for which they are key informants.

The interviews not only investigated the case but also the related 'scapes' having, as a broad reference, the Appadurai's five dimensions (1996) of analysis of the global cultural flow: physical, functional, social, economical, administrative (Appendix 1: interview grid).

In defining the interview grid, I followed the criteria described in the Reliability paragraph of the next section. At the same time I had been aware that the structuration of the interview was not neutral being connoted by a positive approach towards participation as a positive tool. Furthermore the key informants were involved directly in studying or carrying out projects in the field of participation. To balance this potential bias in the research, it is worthwhile to remind the interview with Prof. Maza, who was negative about participation as structured approach.

The observations were carried out in several spaces for every case. Several times, I made two observations of the same space in different months or days of the week.

The projects and places to observe were chosen referring to the literature review; many of them were indicated by key informants, some of them were found semi-accidentally wandering around relying on the serendipity as connoting characteristic of the city (Appendix 2, grid of observation).

The number of the places observed is 25, the number of observations carried out is 41. The observations lasted from one hour to four hours.

TABLE 3   List of observations, spaces, lenght and dates.

Cases	Spaces	Lenght	Date
Barcelona	Foixarda	1 hour 2 hours	January 24th 2008 June 28th 2009
	Guinaeta	30 minutes	January 24th 2008
	Avinguda de l'Estatut and Plaza de Botticelli	1 hour	January 25th 2008
	Bon Pastor	1 hour	January 25th 2008
	Plaça dos Paisos Catalanos	1 hour 1 hour 1 hour	January 25th 2008 June 23rd 2009 April 30th 2012
	Plaça des Angels	1 hour	June 20th 2009
	Biloma	3 hours	June 21st 2009
	Plaça Lesseps	3 hours	June 24th 2009
	Places not reported in the research: the Barceloneta and Forum beaches, the Poble Nou Park, the Forum area, the Centre Diagonal Park, the Clot Park	1 hour each	Between the 21st and the 30th of June 2009
Paris	Promenade Plantée	3 hours	April 25th 2009 April 29th 2009
	Paris Rive Gauche	3 hours 2 hours	April 27th 2009 October 22nd 2011
	Bercy Park	2 hours 1 hour 1 hour	April 22nd 2009 April 24th 2009 October 22nd 2011
	Parc de Sceaux	2 hours	April 28th 2009
	Parc du Millenaire	2 hours	April 29th 2009
	Seine River Banks	2 hours	October 22nd 2011
	Les Halles	2 hours	October 21st 2011
	Places not reported in the research: Saint Denis area, Goutte d'Or, Parc Monceau	 3 hours 2 hours 1 hour	Between the 21st and the 30th of April, 2009.
Finland	Huhtasuo	3 hours 2 hours	May 31st 2008 June 18th 2010
	Kerava	3 hours	May 28th 2008
	Kemio	3 hours	June 2rd 2008
	Lauttasaari	3 hours 3 hours	June 4th 2008 August 5th 2008
	Placed not reported in the research: Kupitta in Turku, Lieto school complex, Raisio	 2 hours 3 hours 2 hours	Between May 31st 2008 and June 18th 2010

	sport area Salo sport area Nature tracks	1 hour	
Ferrara	Barco District	1 hour 1 hour 1 hour	March 12th 2008 November 1st 2008 June 3rd 2009
	North Western District	1 hour 1 hour	September 12th 2009 June 4th 2009
	Parco dei Frassini	1 hour	June 13th 2011
	Covo dei ragazzi	1 hour 1 hour 1 hour	March 13th 2009 November 2nd 2009 June 4th 2010
	Skate Park	1 hour 1 hour 1 hour	March 13th 2009 November 2nd 2009 June 4th 2010
	The walls	3 hours	December 27th 2011
		3 hours	June 17th 2012

6.2 Summary of the collection and elaboration of the data

Kinds of data collected
The data collected were written, oral, visual, perceptive/subjective/emotional. I wrote during the interviews, partly taking notes, partly using the laptop. I recorded all the interviews and my notes taken during the observations. I took pictures and made videos during the observations but also in unexpected moment before or after the scheduled moments. The perceptive data were recorded or written during or immediately after the observations but also in other moments.

Methods to collect data:
The methods of collection were the bibliographic research for literature review, the documentary research, the semi-structured interview, observation and participative observation, pictures, and videos.

The literature review has been carried out following diverse approaches for the different sections and purposes of the dissertation.

The body and town planning issues has been treated using above all books and articles already in my library, results of more than two decades of study and materials gathering on the matters. The editing languages of the books and articles were English, Italian, French, and Spanish. Many of the books had already been analysed at the moment of the starting of the research. An updating made using recent books and articles and an enlargement of the literature, above all related to town planning (e. g. Le Corbusier, Alexander), enriched this cultural background. The review has been made through searching in several database and journals in English, French, and Italian.

The aspects related with the participation implied an in-depth study on the origin of the approach (e.g. Skeffington report, Healey, Forester) that

merged with my previous knowledge. This study was completed by the consultation of reports and official documents (White Paper on Youth).

The literature review concerning methodologies had been a combination of my knowledge about Italian manuals (e.g. Corbetta, Porro) and other sources, above all in English (e.g. Mills, Gratton & Jones, Yin)

The literature review concerning the results had been a synthesis of data coming from the interviews and observations, books and articles concerning the cases official documents of the Local Authorities.

Tools to collect data:

The tools used to collect data were an interview grid, an observational and perceptive qualitative survey grid, a data recorder, a camera, and a video-camera. The grids were adapted by previous research and pre-tested with one key informant, one observation, and one survey per every case.

After pre-testing, the perceptive qualitative and the observational grids were integrated to construct a single grid.

Data Analysis

The analysis of data was carried out through the following stages: data reduction through codification; description and data displaying; interpretation; discussion, conclusion and verification.

An interview or an observation were matched with the codification criteria, described and interpreted. The description and the interpretation were put in relation with the other similar or answering the same criteria. I extracted conclusive notes that I verified crossing them with other potentially dissonant information. This was the case, for example, of the Ecuavolley played in structured playgrounds or in informal spaces in Barcelona.

The codification

The raw data came from the kinds mentioned here above: written, oral, visual, and perceptive transcribed in written form. These raw data were codified in transversal categories.

They all aimed, in fact, at gathering information about the following categories: physical and functional; environments; social environment; financial and administrative matters; planning methodology; strategies and methods of participation; general reflections on the research themes.

Reliability and Validity

The tools, the coding and the methodology of the research were compared with the supervisors and with other experts in different fields, getting feedbacks to improve the reliability. The tools were pre-tested with a testimony and an observation for every country.

The validity of the method underwent the same 'external group' advisorship; the validity of the interpretations was raised asking the interviewed to check the reports and to critically comment the interpretation itself.

The aim of improving the reliability and the validity in a comparative and so broad research was to reduce the inevitable errors in the building of the tools and in the interpretation not only of the data but also of the meanings, behaviours, and statements.

The analysis of the interviews and the writing of the report
The analysis was made manually, following the designed grids, without any computer-assisted programme. The analysis was made through a holistic approach (Corbetta, 2003) broadly referring to Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) which allows, while focusing on lived experience of participants to make sense of the meanings of events and experiences. (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2005) It is important to remind once more that the interviewed were mostly informants and not the people who were using the spaces. I carried out the interviews face by face, recording and taking note meanwhile.

The presentation of the results was made using a narrative perspective according to Ethnographic approach. This meant to write in a narrative way the situation observed with the aim to give a holistic representation of what was happening. The idea was to describe not in the endeavour to catch the right moment (picture/camera) with the risk to detach by the context but, whenever was possible, to describe the processes and the succession of facts and interactions (movie/video camera) (Agar, 1996; Genzuk, 1999).

6.3   Discussion about the methodology

The multidisciplinary approach allowed a wide vision of the context but, at the same time, created problems in managing and cross-comparing the data; moreover, the number of variables of the cases is very high and the comparison was very difficult; furthermore, as I stated above, we have to consider the limits concerning the language.

To cope with these difficulties I decided to codify and manage data using large categories and to use a hermeneutic approach to interpret the data descriptions. This meant that, even having used grids and systematized data, the elaboration of the raw data is, largely, the results of the interpretation of the researcher.

With the aim to improve the discussion, I would like here to refer to the Mills approach on social studies described in The Sociological Imagination (2000) as one of the inspiring frames of my research and, above all, a way to encompass the foreseen fields and variables.

Two main relationships have been leading my research: the one connecting the knowledge of the history and the individual role in it; the one inviting to use the life experience in the intellectual work.

According to Mills, the sociological imagination is required to understand the society in an individual live, and the historical forces that created it. Without this understanding, the individual cannot understand neither

themselves as individuals, nor their role and place within society. The sociological imagination can provide this possibility, allowing the individual to recognise and understand the larger forces at work within the society, and how these forces interact with, and affect the lives of the individual. Mills explained that: "What they need, and what they feel they need, is a quality of mind that will help them to use information and to develop reason in order to achieve lucid summations of what is going on in the world and of what may be happening within themselves" (Mills, 2000, p.5).

The social scientist, as well as other categories, has to aim at a quality that enables its possessor to understand the meanings of a larger historical scene in terms of its spin-off on the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals.

The first fruit of this imagination - and the first lesson of the social science that embodies it - is the idea that the individual can understand his own experience and gauge his own fate only by locating himself within his period, that he can know his own chances in life only by becoming aware of those of all individuals in his circumstances (Mills, 2000, p.5).

Very modestly, I would affirm that this procedure is similar to what I have tried to do giving an historical frame to the main issues – the body, the town planning – of my research, as well as collocating the specific cases in the city context from a social, historical and town planning point of view.

The second relationship is between the life experience and the intellectual work. Mills wrote about a job that needs continuously to be examined and interpreted: the intellectual craftsmanship. He remembered, as the most eminent thinkers do not split the work from the life using one to enrich the other and vice versa.

This means to be involved in every research and product upon which you may work. The experience means that the personal past comes into the present and determinates the future experience and, above all, your researches shaping "yourself as an intellectual craftsman" (Mills, 2000, p. 196).

Mills, explicitly saying that is presenting his personal experience, affirmed that setting up a file or a journal is the best way to elaborate systematic reflections. In that file it is important to get together the personal experience and what we are doing intellectually.

He stressed the importance of the 'fringe thoughts' that are ideas which may be by-products of everyday life like snatches of conversation overheard on the street or dreams. Once noted in he file, these may lead to more systematic thinking, as well as lend intellectual relevance to more directed experience.

This is, once more immodestly, the way in which I chose to carry out my research: having in mind the purposes, the assumptions, the research object, the aims, and building tools, however being ready, at the same time, to catch and grasp pieces of real life listening people, observing apparently minor events and interpreting them through the lenses built thanks to my professional pilgrimages among physical education, social sciences, town planning, body studies, participation. The Mills' approach can actually help the capacity to shift

from one perspective to another and distinguishes the technicians from the social scientist.

For example, I walked two times along the Promenade plantée in Paris; the first with a more town planning glance, observing the infrastructures and writing my "file" using the observational grid built for the research; the second time was a more "open mind" stroll in which I let myself to observe freely, living the walk as itself, smelling, listening, resting, touching, and tasting. I have used the same method for other cases like Lauttasari in Helsinki or some parks in Barcelona.

The capture of "fringe thoughts" also depends by the sensibility towards the themes; as Mills states "you see and hear them everywhere in your experience, especially, it always seems to me, in apparently unrelated areas" (Mills, 2000, p. 211).

7 THE RESULTS OF THE STUDY IN THE FOUR CITY-CASES

7.1 Introduction: the quality of life in the cities

With the aim to introduce and to give a broad view on the theme, I present here data coming from a background review based on data coming from the survey on the quality of life in European cities (Eurobarometer Flash Survey 277, 2010), carried out by Gallup and commissioned by the EU Directorate General for Regional Policy. The Eurobarometer survey provides data useful to compare the cases presented in this chapter.

The survey method was based on interviews administered to 500 randomly selected citizens aged 15 and older; a representative profile of the population. The cities investigated were 75, among them Barcelona, Helsinki and Paris. The limit of this choice is that Ferrara was not comprised in the 75 cities as well as the other Finnish cities other than Helsinki. While there was no data about Ferrara, I chose to use a 'double step' approach, comparing with the three larger cities in Finland, France, and Spain, the city closer to Ferrara and more comparable from the point of view of the quality of life. This first step comparison has been followed by a comparison between Ferrara and Bologna using national figures coming from surveys investigating comparable data on quality of life. This approach provided my research with data not exactly matching the task but, I argue, useful to offer a frame to the more specific qualitative data coming from my research. Moreover, while the tow cities are in the Region Emilia Romagna, share the same regional laws, for example the law on participation.

Nonetheless, it is worth to underline that Eurobarometer survey is based on perceptions, which are absolutely crucial from the point of view of the indicators related to the quality of life but, at the same time, can be not reliable. To balance this problem, in the analysis of the situation based on the EB survey, I will present also some other data coming from other researches or data banks.

7.1.1 Barcelona, Bologna, Helsinki, and Paris

I extracted from the Eurobarometer Survey the data about the satisfaction with the indicators closer to my research topics: air quality and pollution, the administrative services and city spending, public spaces (market squares, pedestrian areas, parks, and green spaces) and with the beauty of the neighbourhoods, the opportunities for outdoor recreation, the sports facilities, the public transport and the commuting habits.

Pollution and climate change

About Clean and healthy city, answering the statement "air pollution is a major problem", Helsinki (15th place in the overall rank counting 75 cities) was the leading city of my studied group with 56% of the respondents strongly (13%) or somewhat (43%) disagreeing. Barcelona (23% in total - 5%, 18%), Paris (20%, 5%-15%), Bologna (16%, 4%-12%) were all in the last third of the rank.

TABLE 4   Comparison about the concern for air pollution in their city and the correlation with the noise. The table shows only the negative answers, which show a positive perception of the situation of the air pollution and the noise. (Eurobarometer Flash Survey 277, Chapter 2.1, 2010, modified)

Air pollution is a major problem	Strongly disagree%	Somewhat disagree%	Total disagreement%	**Noise** Total disagreement%
Barcelona	5	18	23	20
Bologna	4	12	16	29
Helsinki	13	43	56	52
Paris	5	15	20	28

The following paragraph of the comments caught my attention "all Italian cities included in this study were found at the bottom of this ranking – with a large majority of respondents who *somewhat* or *strongly* agreed that air pollution was a major problem in their city: 89% of interviewees in Rome, 86% in Naples, 84% in Bologna, 83% in Turin, and 82% in Palermo and Verona" (Eurobarometer, 2010, p. 33).

The above-mentioned data have a high correlation (r_{xy} = .867) with the data about the statement "noise is a major problem". Helsinki led the group (18th place in the rank) with a total disagreement of 52% (14% strong, 38% somewhat). The other cities are all in the last third of the rank (Bologna 29%, Paris 28%, Barcelona 20%).

The Figure 75 shows as, for the cities I am studying, the relationship between the perception and the measurement of what can be considered a part of the 'true answer' is mediated by the attitude of the citizens.

In Helsinki, for example, the concern for the air pollution is high but the data regarding nitrogen oxydes and, above all, particulate matters (PM), are

medium-low or very low. In Barcelona, Bologna, and Paris, the concern seems to be low but the measured situation is worrying.

Figure 1.2   Perceived and reported air pollution

Source: EC, 2007a and AirBase.
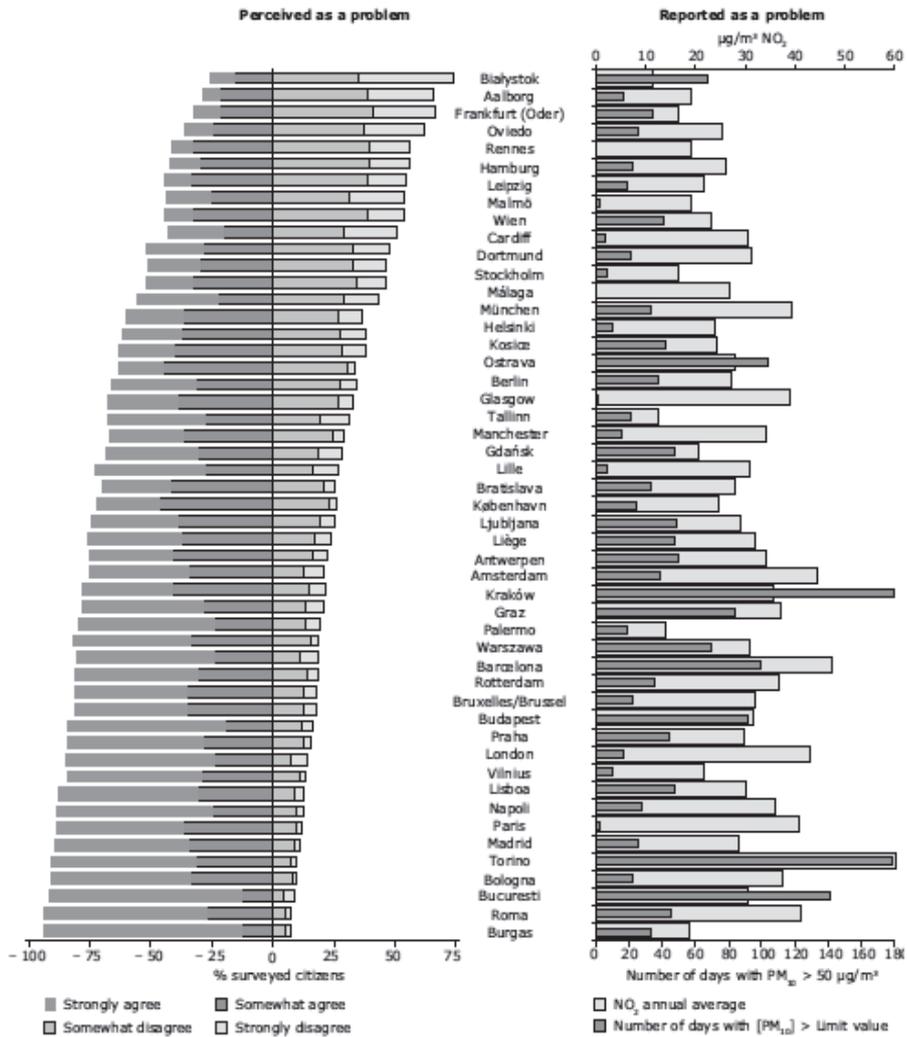
FIGURE 75   Comparison between perception of air pollution as a problem and measurement of Nitrate Oxydes (NO_x) and Particulate Matters in some European cities (PM_{10}). (European Environmental Agency, 2009)

The results about the statement concerning the "cleanliness of the city" show that the 72% of the Helsinki (22nd in the rank) respondents strongly (17%) or somewhat (55%) agree. The 55% (14%-41%) of the respondents agree in Bologna, 44% (6%-38%) in Paris, 40% (6%-34%) in Barcelona. The correlation

between the disagreements about air pollution as a major problem and those who agreed to live in a clean city is high (.694), as well as between living in " a clean city" and "feeling safe" (.728).

TABLE 5   Comparison about the cleanliness in their city (Eurobarometer Flash Survey 277, 2010, modified)

Cleanliness of the city	Strongly agree%	Somewhat agree%	Total agreement%
Barcelona	6	34	40
Bologna	14	41	55
Helsinki	17	55	56
Paris	6	38	44

The answer to the general statement "the city is a healthy place to live" shows Helsinki (23rd in the ranking) with an 82% (24% strongly, 58% somewhat) of agreements followed by Bologna (80%, 24%-56%), Barcelona (70%, 17%-53%), and Paris (64%, 17%-47%).

TABLE 6   Comparison about the healthiness in their city (Data from Eurobarometer Flash Survey 277, 2010 modified)

The city is a healthy place to live	Strongly agree%	Somewhat agree%	Total agreement%
Barcelona	17	53	70
Bologna	24	56	80
Helsinki	24	58	82
Paris	17	47	64

The consideration of the healthiness of the city seems to increase in Bologna and Paris in comparison with the more specific statements analysed before.

The previous data give a picture of what is the perceptive situation of the citizens about pollution and climate change. The table 7 shows as they perceive the "commitment of the city in fighting climate change". The Local Authority commitment is trusted by the citizens of Barcelona (56%, 21st in the rank) more than in Helsinki (51%), Paris (48%), and Bologna (45%).

TABLE 7   Comparison about the commitment of the city in fighting climate change (Data from Eurobarometer Flash Survey 277, Chapter 2.2, 2010 modified)

The commitment of the city in fighting climate change	Strongly agree%	Somewhat agree%	Total agreement%
Barcelona	9	47	56
Bologna	13	32	45
Helsinki	6	45	51
Paris	9	39	48

Administrative services

About the administrative services and city spending the statement "the city spends its resources in a responsible way" is answered positively by the 54% (only 7% strongly, 47% somewhat) of the Helsinki sample, while Bologna achieves the 49% (13%-36%), Paris the 41% (4%, 37%), and Barcelona the 34% (4%-30%). These data, except Barcelona, are very similar to those coming from the commitment in fighting climate changes.

TABLE 8   Comparison about the responsibility in spending resources (Data from Eurobarometer Flash Survey 277, Chapter 3, 2010 modified)

The city spends its resources in a responsible way	Strongly agree%	Somewhat agree%	Total agreement%
Barcelona	4	30	34
Bologna	13	36	49
Helsinki	7	47	54
Paris	4	37	41

Helsinki is 18th in the rank but it is a position with a critical look; in fact, by far, shows the lowest percentage of "strong agreement" among the cities classified around its rank. Bologna, the 'red' city (historically ruled by Communist party and, since the nineties, almost continuously by Centre Left coalitions), has been considered for many years among the best administered city in Italy while in the rank is overtaken by Verona.

The agreement with the statement "administrative services help efficiently" show Bologna (11th in the rank) with 66% of agreement while the other three cities are one by one in the second part of the rank with similar percentages: Barcelona 50%, Helsinki 49%, Paris 50%.

TABLE 9   Comparison about the helpfulness of the administrative services (Data from Eurobarometer Flash Survey 277, Chapter 3, 2010 modified)

Administrative services help efficiently	Strongly agree%	Somewhat agree%	Total agreement%
Barcelona	10	40	50
Bologna	15	51	66
Helsinki	8	41	49
Paris	9	41	50

The satisfaction about cultural facilities is very high in Helsinki (2nd in the rank) with 96% (61% very and 35% rather satisfied), and in Paris (10th in the rank) with 93% (55%-38%). A mid rank position hosts Barcelona (82%, 20%-62%), and Bologna (78%, 26%-52%).

Infrastructure and mobility

The following part is dedicated to issues strictly related to my research topics: public spaces, sports, and transport.

The satisfaction about markets and pedestrian areas, included in Chapter 4 on City infrastructures, is similar for Paris (22nd in the rank) and Helsinki (23rd) with an 83% of the respondents very (respectively 20% and 18%) or rather satisfied. Barcelona and Bologna have also similar figures (around 75%).

TABLE 10   Comparison about the satisfaction about markets and pedestrian areas (Data from Eurobarometer Flash Survey 227, Chapter 4, 2010 modified)

The satisfaction about markets and pedestrian areas	Very satisfied%	Rather satisfied	Total satisfaction %
Barcelona	13	62	75
Bologna	17	57	74
Helsinki	18	65	83
Paris	20	63	83

The satisfaction about the beauty of streets and buildings in their neighbourhood is at 78% in Helsinki (26% very satisfied, 52% rather; 19th in the rank), at 72% in Paris (24%-48%), 67% in Barcelona (14% very satisfied), 63% in Bologna.

The situation about green spaces like parks and gardens is considered satisfactory by the 89% (33% very and 56% rather satisfied) of the Helsinki respondents (14th place in the overall rank). For Paris the percentage is 83% (27%-56%), for Bologna the 78% (26%-52%), for Barcelona 58% (10%-48%).

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TABLE 11 Comparison about the satisfaction with the situation about parks and gardens (Data from Eurobarometer Flash Survey 277, Chapter 4, 2010, modified)

Situation about green spaces like parks and gardens	Very satisfied%	Rather satisfied	Total satisfaction %
Barcelona	10	48	58
Bologna	26	52	78
Helsinki	33	56	89
Paris	27	56	83

The data concerning Barcelona is surprising for me because I consider Barcelona having a good parks availability and a somehow innovative quality. I can just argue that while many of them are without grass, they are not considered gardens and green spaces. I argue that the situation in Helsinki and Paris, which present similar figures, is satisfactory for diverse reasons. Helsinki, besides the parks, boasts stretches of natural environment entering in the city; Paris has established a long tradition in the care and the planning of the green spaces; many of them are masterpieces of landscape architecture.

Once more, the survey carried out by the European Environmental Agency (2009) is helpful to describe the differences between perception and measures. In the Figure 76, the inhabitants of Bologna, with an around 10% of the territory reported as green space, are more satisfied thane the Helsinki residents, which boasts around the 45% of 'green' territory.

Figure 1.4 Perceived and reported green space
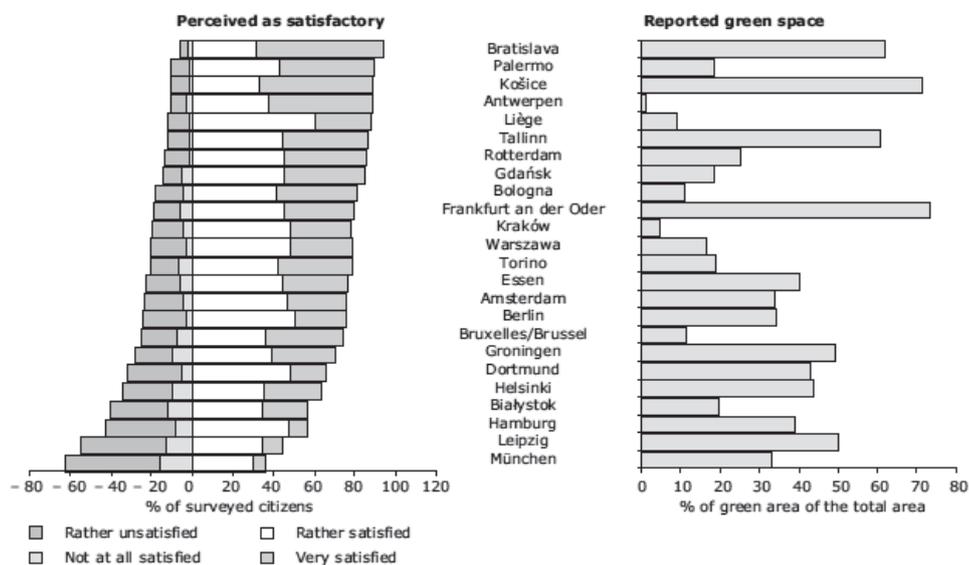
Source: EC, 2007a and Urban Audit Database, data 2004 on core cities (Eurostat).

FIGURE 76   Comparison between perception of satisfaction with green spaces and the reported green spaces (European Environmental Agency, 2009)

The opportunities for outdoor recreation, like walking or cycling rate, are considered satisfactory at very high level in Helsinki (93%, 56% very, 37% rather), which is 2nd in the rank that shows Oulu, the other Finnish city, in the first place. Bologna is after the mid of the rank with 72% (22%-50%), while Paris (61%, 12%, 49%) and Barcelona (59%, 8% and 41%) are in the last quarter of the rank.

TABLE 12   Comparison about the satisfaction with outdoor recreation (Data from Eurobarometer Flash Survey 277, Chapter 4, 2010, modified)

Satisfaction with outdoor recreation	Very satisfied%	Rather satisfied	Total satisfaction %
Barcelona	8	41	49
Bologna	22	50	72
Helsinki	56	37	89
Paris	12	49	61

The two Finnish cities are also at the top of the rank for sports, indoor and outdoor, facilities. Helsinki led the overall rank with 92% of satisfied respondents (45% very, 47 rather). Bologna's respondents are 64% (16%-48%) satisfied, Barcelona 63% (13%-50%), and Paris 51% (13%-38%).

TABLE 13   Comparison about the satisfaction with sports facilities (Data from Eurobarometer Flash Survey 277, Chapter 4, 2010 modified)

Satisfaction with sport facilities	Very satisfied%	Rather satisfied	Total satisfaction %
Barcelona	13	50	63
Bologna	16	48	64
Helsinki	45	47	92
Paris	13	38	51

General satisfaction with facilities and amenities

The last six domains, cultural facilities, public spaces, beauty, green spaces, outdoor recreation, and sports facilities, form a rank about the general satisfaction with a city's facilities and amenities.

The correlations among these categories at city level were tendentially high, between the .562 (sports facilities-green spaces) and the .918 (beauty of the streets and buildings-public spaces).

The rank is built considering the percentage of respondents satisfied for 6, from 4 to 5, from 2 to 3, from 0 to 1 domains.

Helsinki is the first in the rank with 55% of very satisfied respondents for every domain and 40% for 4-5 domains. Paris is at the mid level of the rank with 21% (6 domains) and 57% (4-5). Bologna 25% and 47%, Barcelona 24% and 40%.

TABLE 14   Comparison about the general satisfaction with facilities and amenities (Data from Eurobarometer Flash Survey 277, Chapter 4, 2010 modified)

General satisfaction with facilities and amenities	Very satisfied% with six domains	Rather satisfied with 4-5 domains	Total satisfaction % from 4 to six domains
Barcelona	24	40	64
Bologna	25	47	72
Helsinki	55	40	95
Paris	21	57	78

The correlation between these last data and the answers to the statement about 'responsible management' is 0.604. As far as the data allow an accurate interpretation, I can say that more the local authority is perceived as responsible and attentive in using citizens' money, more the general satisfaction is high, we

can also name this feeling 'critical proudness', which, connected with other aspects, bring sometimes to an over or under estimation of the quality of life for that specific indicator.

Public transport

The data about the frequency in using public transport (table 15) show Paris as the first in the rank with 59% of respondents using the mass transport every day, Helsinki is 6th with the 43%, Barcelona 8th with 42%, Bologna in the last third of the rank with 21%.
The means of transport mostly used for commuting is the public transport in Paris (1st in the rank) for the 67%, in Barcelona and Helsinki the public transport is the first mean with 54% and 50% respectively, in Bologna the public transport is the second mean with 29%.

The disaggregated data concerning 'motor' (by private means) and 'human powered' ways of commuting give us a very interesting picture of the 'body-friendly' environment of the cities.

Bologna shows a 52% of motorized commuting, Barcelona the 28%, Helsinki the 26%, Paris (positively last in the rank) the 13%.

The data of the commuting by biking or walking show Helsinki with the 22% (23rd in the rank), Bologna with the 19%, Paris 17%, Barcelona 16%. The rank is led by Copenhagen with the 65%.

TABLE 15   A synopsis of the data about transport (Data from Eurobarometer Flash Survey 277, Chapter 5, 2010, modified)

Transport	Using public transport everyday %	Mean of transport mostly used %	Mostly using motorized mobility%	Mostly using 'human powered' means %	Sum of public transport + biking or walking %
Barcelona	42	Public 54%	28	16	70
Bologna	21	Car/Motorbike 52%	52	19	48
Helsinki	43	Public 50%	26	22	72
Paris	59	Public 67%	13	17	94

The comparison about the above-mentioned data can be better understood showing some statistics and figures as displayed in the table 16.

TABLE 16   Comparison of the four cities through demographic and geographical data (Municipality of Bologna, 2010; Municipality of Barcelona, 2009); Municipality of Helsinki, 2009; Municipality of Paris and INSEE –Institute national de statistique et des etudes économiques 2011).

	Population in thousands	Municipal area in km²	Density in population per km²	Altimetry and morphology
Barcelona	1621.	102,2	15872	Flat along the seaside, hilly inland
	4992 (metropolitan region)	3241 (greater)	1540	
Bologna	380	140,7	2705	Flat in the city centre, hilly towards the Apennines
Helsinki	576	184,5 (land)	3121	Flat
	1349 (Helsinki region)	3091 (region, land)	436	
Paris	2233	105,4	21185	Flat and hilly in some districts
	11532	12012	960	

Sport and physical activity participation

The sport participation in the four countries is inferable by Eurobarometer on Sport and Physical Activity (2010) and from Scheerder et al. (2011).

Eurobarometer survey shows very clearly that Finland boasts the highest percentage of people who practice regularly or with some regularity sports and physical activity (72 and 78%), France (48 and 75%) and Spain (39 and 71%) are comparable while Italy's figures are much lower (29 and 37%).

As shown in the following table, I consider also the figures associated with the places of practice related to public space (parks, out in the nature or commuting between home and school or work or shop. Finnish are those who practice more in the nature (76%), followed by Spanish (53%) and French (52%), and Italians (40%). The practice-by-commuting is mainly among Spanish (51%) followed by Finnish (32%), French (26%), and Italians (21%).

TABLE 17   Comparative table about sport and physical activity participation in he four countries (Eurobarometer, Sport and Physical Activity 334, 2010, *modified)*.

	Sport (regularly + with some regularity) %	Physical Activity outside sport (regularly + with some regularity) %	Engaging in sport and physical activity (parks, out in the nature and commuting) (multiple answer question) %
Italy	29	37	40, 21
Finland	72	78	76, 32
France	48	75	52, 26
Spain	39	71	53, 51

Scheerder (2011), who faced in a very argumentative way the comparison methods and issues, proposes a 'fact sheet' approach able to deal with the weakness of the national and the harmonised strengthening their valuable aspects. The approach "starts from strong national survey data and brings it to a higher level; is focusing on time trends to guarantee comparability; results in short term outcomes providing possibilities to move beyond. The disadvantages of this approach, i.e. the use of country specific methodologies and populations are taken into account" (Scheerder, 2011, p. 30).

According to the research, the sport participation in a monthly basis, is over the 70% in Finland and France, between 40% and 50% in Spain, and lower than 40% in Italy. In a weekly basis, the participation remains over the 70% in Finland, decrease to 50%/60% in France, decrease below 40% in Spain, and remain below the 40% in Italy.

As far as my research concerns, no comparable data about the sports participation among the cities are available.

Conclusions from the research point of view

Being aware that these data match only partially with the issues raised by my investigation, nonetheless it is possible to infer arguments for a general discussion.

Helsinki is undoubtedly the city expressing the best liveability from the point of view of the body. For what concerns the relationships between citizens and local authority, Helsinki shows a substantial trust that is, at the same time, very critical as shown by the not so high rate (49%) given to the efficiency of the administration.

Paris, the biggest investigated case, shows contradictions expressed by complain as well as very positive figures. The efficiency of the mass transport system allows a huge number of commuters to use it on a daily basis. The beauty of the neighbourhoods and the parks is a strong positive point. The trust in the efficiency of the public administration is medium. The major problems seem to lay in the healthiness of the city and in the confidence about the commitment of the local authority in improving the situation.

Barcelona is often collocated in the last two places of the four investigated cases as well as in the lower part of the overall rank. The pollution, the noise, and the cleanliness are considered major problems even if the respondents push the city at the mid of the rank considering the overall assessment about the healthiness. Moreover, Barcelona's local authority is considered strongly committed in fighting the climate change. The trust about the level of responsibility of city spending and in the efficiency of the services is below the average, similar to Helsinki and Paris. There is a medium satisfaction with the beauty of the streets and sports facilities, the satisfaction about public spaces is below the average, reaching anyway the 75%; the percentage of satisfaction with outdoor recreation and green spaces collocates the city in the last quarter of the rank but with figures above the 50%. The percentage of commuters using public transport is very high but only the 16% use to walk or bike.

Bologna, the smallest city within the group, has nonetheless the second largest Municipal area after Helsinki. The respondents show a picture of the city in which the major perceived problems are the mobility, the pollution, the noise, and, to a lesser degree, the cleanliness, even if the respondents push the city in the first third of the rank considering the overall rank about the healthiness.

Bologna's local authority is not considered strongly committed in fighting the climate change. The trust about the level of responsibility of city spending and in the efficiency of the services is above the average or high. There is a below the average satisfaction with the beauty of the streets, and green spaces (anyway the 63% and 78% respectively). The satisfaction about outdoor recreation (72%) and sports facilities (64%) is on the average as well as the general satisfaction. The percentage of commuters using public transport is low (45%) and below the average and only the 16% use to walk or bike.

7.1.2 Bologna and Ferrara

Bologna and Ferrara cannot be compared by the point of view of the size but share proximity and a historical common trend in what in Italy can be considered 'good administration'. Some indicators at national and regional level can help to compare the livability of Ferrara with Bologna and the other cities.

TABLE 18   Comparison between Bologna and Ferrara (Municipality of Bologna, 2010; Municipality of Ferrara, 2010)

	Population in thousands	Municipal area in km^2	Density in population per km^2	Morphology
Bologna	380	140,7	2705	Flat (a part the hilly areas scarcely populated)
Ferrara	135	404,35	335	Flat

To compare the two cities, I decided to use the data coming from a survey that presents information very similar to those described in the Eurobarometer survey: the XVII *Ecosistema urbano report* (Urban Ecosystem survey carried out by Lega Ambiente, among the most important Environmentalist Association in Italy) (Legambiente, Ambiente Italia, 2010).

The report shows the data of the 2009 and is based on 25 objective or synthetic indicators about air, water, transport, waste, energy, and urban environment: the data place Bologna at the 9th place and Ferrara at the 14th among the 103 Italian Cities chief of Province.

Among the indicators there are the air quality and pollution, waste separation, the quantity and quality of public transport, the pedestrian and

restricted areas, the cycle tracks, the green accessible areas, the use of renewable energies, the environmental planning and participation.

Below I present some data that are closer to those given by Eurobarometer to allow comparison.

Bologna is 33rd, Ferrara 50th, in air quality measured through the early average of Particulates (PM10) measured in µg/m³ (29 and 32 respectively). The EU indicators state that the yearly-tolerated average for the EC (directives 1999/30/EC and 96/62/EC) was 40 µg/m³ until 2009 and 20 µg/m³ from January 1, 2010. The allowed number of days of exceedences per year was 35 until the 2009 and 7 after that year. In 2008 Bologna had an early average of 37 µg/m³ and Ferrara 38 µg/m³. Bologna had 66 days of exceedences and Ferrara 72.

Ferrara is 29th and Bologna 56th in waste recycling (46,6% and 33,3% respectively). Bologna is 1st (93,9 points) and Ferrara is 38th (43,9 points) in sustainable mobility (synthetic indicator based on a system 0-100 points). Ferrara 36th and Bologna 40th for pedestrian areas (0,28 and 0,27 sq/m per person respectively). Ferrara is 9th with 20,97 (m_eq/100p.), Bologna is 35th (7,93 m_eq/100 p.) for cycle lanes. Ferrara is 12th (24,60 sq/m), Bologna 38th (12,25 sq/m) for usable green areas.

The motorization index (Vehicles/100*P.) is higher in Ferrara (62%) than in Bologna (52%) The average in Italy is 60,84%; it is worth to mention that in Europe is much lower at 46%. (ACI, 2009.)

TABLE 19   The comparison between Ferrara and Bologna using the indicators on the abscises. (XVII Ecosistema urbano report, 2010, modified)

	Pm10 early average (µg/m³)	PM10 exceed-ences/year (days)	Waste recy-cling (%)	Sustainable mobility (synthetic index-points on a 0-100 ladder)	Pedestrian areas (mq/in-habitants)	Cycle lanes (m_eq/inhab-itant)	Usable green areas (sq.m/inhab-itant)	Motor-ization index (Vehicles/100*P.)
Bologna	29	66	33,3	93,9	0,27	20,97	12,25	52
Ferrara	32	72	46,6	43,9	0,28	7,93	24,60	62

From this appraisal it is possible to infer a certain comparability of the two cases which, even if with diverse raw data, rank at the top of the Italian standard for the quality of life. Thus, the two cities are not comparable for number of inhabitants. The density and the green spaces are very influenced by the size of the municipal area, which is, in the case of Ferrara, one of the most extended in Italy. They are comparable in policies aiming at improving quality of life like waste management and mobility, and by the point of view of pollution. They are, above all, comparable in the overall ranking.

I would add that both Bologna and Ferrara are considered among the most liveable cities in Italy and that the trust in local authorities is higher than the Italian standard.

7.2 The city-cases

7.2.1 Barcelona

7.2.1.1 Town planning history, current situation, and perspectives

Barcelona was a protagonist of the operative reaction against the illness of the city during the XIX century described as the birth of a true town planning epistemology by Calabi (2004).

During the XVII century, it was the most industrialized city in Spain mainly thanks to the textile sector. The growth of the population was impetuous: "from 70000 inhabitants in 1759 to 150000 in 1859 [...] the urban density was the double than in London and quadruple than in Berlin reaching the mean of 850 inhabitants per hectare with pernicious effects on the citizens' health" (Calabi, 2004, p. 20).

After the 1848 riots, the demolition of the city walls, felt as the symbol of the Madrid-centred power against the more modern Barcelona, became a rallying cry for the neoliberal movements. The new liberal government decided in 1854 to demolish the walls opening the road to a general urban plan. Antonio Rovira y Trias drew the winning project of the public announcement. The plan contained several metaphors of the human body, the lighthouse representing the head and the workers districts the extremities. Nonetheless, an order in council (*ordenanza real*), imposed the adoption of the plan drawn by engineer Ildefonso Cerdà, who initially was just in charge of providing the cartography to all the participants. Cerdà had been in Paris several times in the previous years. When he was back in Barcelona, was appointed of the topographic relief of the city. He accompanied the relief with a statistic survey and an urbanization plan, very innovative for the methods to face the hygienic problems. He defined, in fact, the proportions and the relationships among services and number of blocks. For example one market every four blocks, a park every eight blocks, a hospital every sixteen blocks. These products were the basis of his *Teoria general de la urbanización*, published in 1867. The two tomes book constituted the basis of a new science based on four phases: "analysis (statistical data and topography), designation and classification of the needs and functions, motivations of the choices, plan of the choices or the transcription of the scientifically classified needs on the map" (Calabi, 2004, p. 22).

According to Delbene (2007), the structure drawn by Cerdà in 1859 has been maintained until now over the centuries.
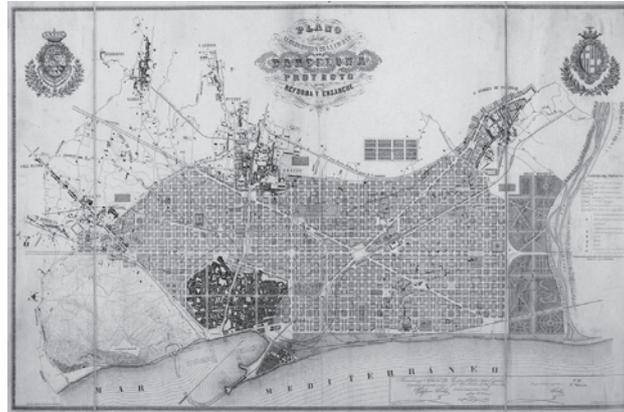
FIGURE 77   The map drawn by Cerdà in 1859 (Wikimedia.org, public domain)

As shown in the next picture, the plan was to bevel the corners of the buildings to facilitate the traffic, to organize the buildings in inter-axis of 113,3 m., to orientate the urban weave 45° towards the north. The building land for every block was thought only in two sides and the green areas should have had to cover the 65% of every district.

The design foreseen by the plan was respected but the densification process, due either to spontaneous interventions, either to the pressure of the speculation, had the result of closing the blocks, which constituted closed courtyards. This factor, together with the missed realization of services and green areas, brought to an increase of the density.
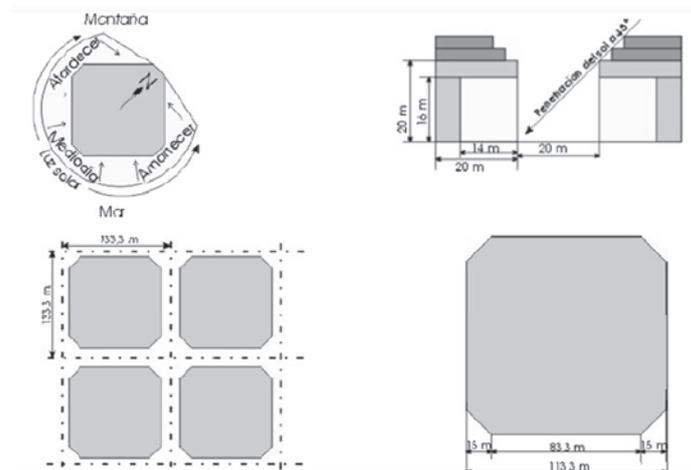
FIGURE 78   The design of the blocks (www.unich.it)

The following pictures show as the structure of Cerdà's Barcelona has been maintained until now.

In the first, the Avinguida Diagonal is clearly visible cutting the city from south-west to north east.

FIGURE 79   A satellite picture of Barcelona (www.unich.it)

In the second, the older medieval urban fabric near the harbour, crossed by the Rambla, from north-west to south-east, faces the geometrical Cerdà's structure.

FIGURE 80   The double structure of the city (www.unich.it)

The third shows the fabric in a section of the Eixample District Gran Via as it has been perfectly maintained: some of the blocks preserve the original design open by two sides.
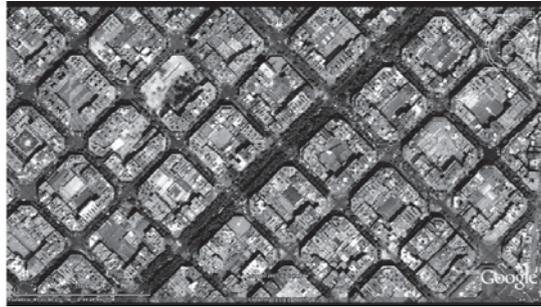
FIGURE 81   The Eixample district (www.unich.it)

In the fourth picture, not oriented, is possible to see the perfect geometry of the blocks and the shape of the crossroads.

FIGURE 82   Two different kinds of blocks (www.unich.it)

Following the original Rovira y Trias idea, the relationships between the town planning and the body continued either in a direct and in an indirect way. In 1872, in fact, an open competition to build the fair area was won by Josep Santeré who presented a project having as a motto *Les jardines sonos a la ciudade lo que les pulmones al cuerpo humano* (The gardens are to the city as the lungs are to human body).

The great events

The completion of the Eixample, the building of the first ring roads, *Ronde,* the urbanization of *Plaza Catalunya*, the building of the *Parc de la Ciutadela*, occurred also thanks to the good employment of the funds for the 1888 Universal Expo.

The decision to host the event near the sea brought to the decision of dismantling the *Ciutadela* fortress to build the exposition park.

The next picture shows the drawing of the old fortress of the *Ciudadela* superimposed to the plan of the park.

FIGURE 83   The plan of the Ciutadela park with the drawing (in black) of the former fortress superimposed (www.skyscrapercity.com)
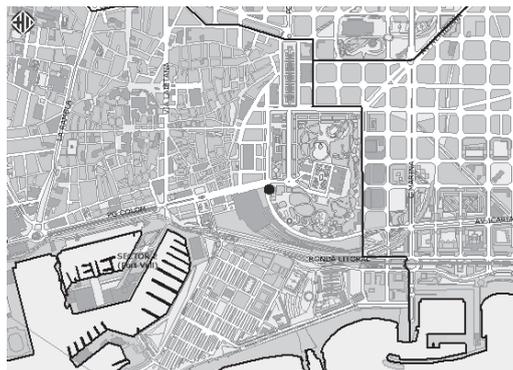
FIGURE 84   The map of the Ciutadela park nowadays (www.skyscrapercity.com)

As indirect way to facilitate the body, the Expo gave also the opportunity to finance the improvement of urban furniture; for example, the main roads were timber-wood paved to facilitate pedestrian traffic.

The 1929 Universal Expo, dedicated to electric power industry, was held in the Montjuic hill. As in the previous Expo, it gave the opportunity to complete and develop the urbanization process, in this case, the rehabilitation of Montjuic hill rediscovered as a centre for public activities, the Plaça de Espanya as stage for the main entrance, and Estació de França. The urbanization of the south-western areas of the city has been conditioning the development of the city until today. A true urbanization of the east part corresponding with Rio Besos, occurred only in occasion of the 2004 Universal Forum of Cultures finalizing the 'river to river' vision of the expansion of the city, from Llobragat to Besos.

FIGURE 85 The view of Plaza de Espanya and the Montjuic hill in 1929 (www.skyscrapercity.com)

The Sport and leisure were among the themes of the Expo. Among the facilities built for the event, the Stadium is worth to mention. Projected and built by Pere Domènech i Roura in 1928, at that moment was the second largest in the world.

The stadium, and the other buildings of the Expo 1929, was supposed to host the People's Olympiad, organized by the Popular Front government winner of the general elections in February 1936. This was a way to boycott The Berlin Olympics as an action of the movement born in 1933 in which the French FSGT *Fédération Sportif et Gymnique du Travail* (Workers' Sport and Gymnastic Federation) played a leading role. The Olympiad's ending ceremony would be held six days before the beginning of the Berlin's Olympics.

Around six thousand athletes registered the People's Olympiad, many sent by the trade unions and left-wing organization of twenty-two countries; the delegations included also athletes exiled from Italy and Germany. The Spanish Civil war began on the 17th of July 1936, five days before the opening ceremony obliging to cancel the event (AICVAS, 2011, Delbene, 2007; Gounot, 2007, Wikipedia 2011).

It is precisely from the stadium that I would deal with another important event hosted in Barcelona. In the occasion of the 1992 Olympics, in fact, the new stadium was planned in the same place by Architects Gregotti, Correa, Milà, Margarit, and Buxadè with the aim to partially rehabilitate the ruin of the old one.

The Olympic Games constituted another opportunity in the history of the development of the city to finalize and implement already decided plans, above all the new centrality areas spread around to highlights the new functions of the growing city.

Many projects needed to be completed prior to the Games; however, the majority of them were not directly used for the Games. The Principal Olympic projects imposed a structural effect on the city, and their classes were, in the order of importance (Brunet, 1995): roads and transportation infrastructures, housing, office, and commercial venues, telecommunications and services, hotel facilities, sports facilities, environmental infrastructures.

The major Olympic construction involved works such as opening up the sea front to the city, restoring the historical buildings in Gothic Quarters and on Montjuïc hill and building the ring roads around the metropolitan area. Most of the major projects should have had a long-lasting impact on Barcelona, even into the years of post-Olympic period like the Olympic Village, the ring road, and the Olympic ring.

The Olympic village was built on a 130 hectares site at Parc de Mar, east of Barceloneta, and was probably the most transformed site of the Olympic 1992. Before the game, the land was occupied as industrial land, and it was separated from the rest of the city. Two railway lines crossed the site primary for shipping use. The Olympics provided an opportunity to re-develop the area, which involved reconstructing the railway network, building a costal ring road, developing the Olympic village and Olympic Harbor and reconstructing the sewage system.

The district was eventually opened up to Barcelona inhabitants and with an easy access to its 5.2 Km coastline. Nowadays the new beaches and waterfront facilities have transformed the landscape becoming a new leisure attraction for both locals and visitors.

The whole series of regenerating the coastline in the early 90's not only sufficiently provided the infrastructures needed for the Olympic Games, but also created a continuing force to redefine the city in a bigger content.

Calabi (2004) stated that "the Olympic village is an identifiable case of the new planning strategy as an alternative at the traditional town plan" (p. 321).

As the top priority of the city upgrading plan, the construction of the ring road of Barcelona aimed to improve its existing road system so to facilitate the increase traffic flow during the Games. Large amount of public funds were invested in modification in the road network.

"The regeneration of Barcelona has been cited as one of the most successful Olympic urban initiatives, transforming the city from a decaying industrial port to a popular tourist terminal, and putting the city on the world urban map" (Liao & Pitts, 2006, p. 1243).

Calabi (2004, p. 319-320) wrote about the Olympics that "the two slogans 'plans for a great city' and 'great plans for the city' constituted the main theme of the town planning choices" made by the architects Bohigas, Busquets, de Solà Morales.

FIGURE 86   The stadium built for the 1929 Expo. (www.skyscrapercity.com)

By planning constructions of venue and upgrading infrastructures strategically, the Olympic hosting city could create a relevant effect in terms of improved city image and suburban renewal. In the case of Barcelona, the city launched deliberately several projects in the call of Olympic and we are expected to see that they all revive till nowadays: its seafront is the most hit place to spend time for the young generation; its ring road still serves as the major traffic lane around the city, and the sports facilities on the Montjuic hill are constantly occupied by locals.

It is in fact at local level that I pragmatically observed the idea to integrate and finalize the sports facilities system of the city and the region (Millet, 1995). A remarkable number of open-air neighborhood sport facilities were built with the aim to improve the possibilities to practice sports for citizens.

Barcelonans strongly supported the Games receiving back workplaces and infrastructures (Brunet, 1995). The Barcelona model of improving urban regeneration using great events is publicly recognized as a paradigm for the London 2012 Games (Beard, 2011). Despite the large approval, the Barcelona model has been as much strongly criticised by group of citizens and intellectuals (Acebal, 2008) who called it a mirage or an imposture bashing the model as top-down and totally conceived to please politicians and property speculation.

The Cultures' International Forum in 2004 was the last big event hosted by the city on a world-wide scale. It was the opportunity to finalize the Lobregat-Besos, 'river to river' vision of the city. The questioned and contested plan aimed at regenerating one of the most degraded areas of the city at the junction of the Avenida Diagonal and the river Besos's mouth.

Similarly to the other events, the city was able to use the events to create continuity with the previous plans. In fact, only 30 hectares out of the 200 in total were used for the purposes of the Forum (Delbene, 2007).

The events have been one of the main tools used by the city of Barcelona to go through a process of changing its image from a dull industrial city to a dynamic meeting place for business and leisure.

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7.2.1.2 The body in the city

Delbene reminds as Cerdà had entirely entrusted the representative role of the new city. [...] The main axis that structure the urban fabric embody in every project functionally hybrid spaces in which pedestrians, drivers, and cyclists interact in a complementary way giving rise to really integrated situations. [...] Cerdà, in the vision of the Eixample, already gave to pedestrian the same space than to the traffic (2007, p. 226).

According to Magrinya (2009, personal communication) the end of the seventies and the eighties were fundamental in the rehabilitation of the city: the metropolitan general plan (*Plan General Metropolitano de Ordinación Urbana*) approved by the Town Planning Provincial Board on the 14th of July 1976, the Urban project plan (*Plan de projecto urbano)* drawn by Bohigas helped the transition from the project approach to a more complex town planning.

In 1979, the new democratic Municipality revised the existing Mobility General Plan that began to include every system of mobility: walking, cycling, public and private transport. Starting from the 1985, these general intentions began to be realized even if some planners worked without having in mind the general plan. The *Ronde* (ring roads) were built as auto-segregated and, in some districts, covered afterwards not to create fractures in the urban fabric and space for leisure, sports and physical activity. At the end of the nineties, the theme of sustainability began to spread over and some good projects were carried out like the requalification of the Gràcia district.

One example can be the Ronda del Mig (Figures 87-91), an internal ring road built in the seventies, which, after the complaint of residents who joined with the *Coordinadora pro-cobriment del Cinturó* (Committee for the cover of the ring road) was covered during the nineties, works ended in 1997.

FIGURE 87   The Ronda del Mig before the works (www.publicspace.org)

FIGURE 88   The Ronda del Mig after the works ended (www.publicspace.org)

FIGURE 89   Walking on the Ronda del Mig (A. Borgogni, 2012)

FIGURE 90   Ronda del Mig, the diverse users of the place (A. Borgogni, 2012)
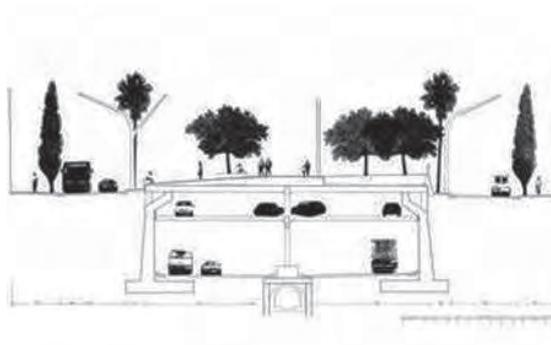
FIGURE 91   The plan of the works (www.publicspace.org)

However, the relationship between the body and the public space creates conflicts, which can also be analysed from a legislative point of view. An example is represented by the conflict between skateboarders and the public administration. A 1999 provision (Butletí Official de la Provincia de Barcelona) allowed the use of the skateboard in the public space except in the case of

crowding. In 2003, the Municipal Strategic Plan stated that it would have been "facilitated the use of the public space for sport practices with the aim to transform them in more liveable and sociality places" (2003). Later on, a new municipal provision included skateboarding as improper use of public space. The use of staircases, wheelchair ramps, and handrails and every other urban furniture, to perform acrobatics with rollers and skaters (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2005, art. 31)

Magrynià and Mayorga (2008) analysed from a town planning point of view thirty spaces in Barcelona in which the outdoor sport practice is developed. They individuate the key elements determining a good relationship between public space and sports practice.

The first element is the relationship between the space and the neighbourhood, the visibility and the residential peculiarities of the surrounding districts. A second group of elements refers to the design of the park. "[We] verify the key role of the permeability, the continuity, and the readability of the pedestrian axis. [...] and the importance of clear and readable axis, crossing the space, thus giving centrality to the activities, the sports ones among them" (Magrinyà, Mayorga, 2008, p. 112-113).

The third element concerns the fact that the sports activities tend to be relegated in peripheral areas. This aspect helps to investigate the correspondence between centrality and complementarity and peripheral and segregation of the practices.

Last element is the role of the sports furniture that tend to cover only some sports like basketball, table-tennis, and *petanque* in front of others (*frontón* and football) more requested.

Barcelona gave me the feeling of a highly walkable and accessible city, I can say an active city, considering the number of inhabitants and above all the inhabitants' density. The cycle lanes (Figure 92), the public bicycle system, the large sidewalks, the pedestrian or traffic calming areas like Graçia district, the countless outdoor sport facilities including the open-air gym in the beach, the accessibility (Figure 93) the spaces hard-won by human bodies as in the case of informal appropriation of public spaces for leisure and sport, the parks, the escalators, the skate-board ramps and all the spaces and routes used by skate-boarders, very pragmatically give the possibility to use body-powered means to move around.

I would like to refer to the meaning of 'walkable' in the sense of movements intentionally made for sports (running), or health (jogging, brisk walking), or leisure (walking).

Barcelona provides specific spaces and dedicated paths for running, jogging, and brisk walking, above all along the seafront, and the characteristics matching the idea of 'walkability' as described by Owen et al. (2007), Leslie et al. (2005) using the NEWS Walkability index (Saelens et al., 2003).

FIGURE 92   Barceloneta: bicycle lanes (A. Borgogni, 2008)

FIGURE 93   Forum area: accessibility of the seashore (A. Borgogni, 2008)

7.2.1.3 The participation

Gabrielli, in the foreword of the book of Delbene (2007) writes that the Barcelona model have not been developing with the general approval of the town planning critique but, if anything, with the citizens' endorsement. […] for the realized works and with the appreciation for the great value of the municipality's capability of programmatic far-sightedness. […]. There is a sort of obstinacy of local authority, during the periods of change, in contrasting the pushes coming from the market, almost utilizing and involving them in a higher plan (p. 10).

Barcelona can be considered an example of top-bottom participation because the process of urban rehabilitation decided by the public administrator historically found general consensus by the inhabitants.

In Spain, the Land's Law (*Ley del suelo-Real Decreto legislativo 2/2008*) mentions several time citizens' participation in planning either in urban than in

rural contexts on the frame of the equity in the access to public infrastructures. A more specific citation is in the article 3, paragraph 2c: "(The legislation about the land and urban management will guarantee) the right to the information of citizens and of the stakeholders representing interests involved in the planning process, as well as the citizens' participation in the urban regulation and management".

Every Community has its own Urban and Land Law, for Catalunya is the n. 1/2005 of the 26th of July in which the text of the Lands Law is approved with modifications, every Municipality has its Municipal plan in which there are the rules for participation. The Municipality (*Ajuntamiento*) is divided into Districts, every district has a Town planning office (*Oficina de Urbanismo*).

The regulations about participation are the object of the document Rule of the citizens' participation (*Normes reguladores de la participació ciudadana)*, approved in 2002. It is a structured document in which there is an effort to match exigencies of control with the needs of participation. The rights of citizens in this matter are divided into information, petition, initiative, and participation. The article 5, specifically dedicated to participation, is divided in two paragraphs. The first affirms the right to participate individually or in associative way to the matters related to the municipality or the district in the frame defined by the regulations. The second affirms the duty of the municipality to guarantee and implement this right to all citizens. Then the paragraph goes more in detail affirming that the municipality "will give a boost to the utilization of participatory methods, promote the adequate technologies, and, more specifically, will guarantee the existence of sufficient, open, flexible ways of participation […] and the access of all citizens to the dialogue on the management of the city" (art. 5.2).

The article 29 returns on the matter mentioning explicitly "other forms of deliberative democracy that is possible to propose" (art. 29). The City Council (*Consell de ciutat* in Catalan) is the highest consultative and participatory body; it is chaired by the major and composed by representative of institutions, parties, associations, citizens, and personalities.

The *Ajuntament* holds a specific webpage about participation, *Barcelona participa*, inside the *Urbanisme i Infraestructures* webpage, in which there are documents and the specific areas of the city object of participative planning. For every case, the website presents the background, the object, the methodology, and the official documents.

Moreover, the Agenda21 is active in Barcelona even if, according to Magrinyà (2009), the best moment for it was during the nineties then the strength of the project weakened transforming the general issues to more specific plans.

Plaça Lesseps

One case, which is worth of a more in-depth examination is Plaça Lesseps, which I observed on the 24th of June 2009.

The problem of the area began in the seventies when the built of the Ronda del Mig defaced the existing square causing a collapse of the pedestrian mobility on the area while forcing people to walk up and down through a labyrinthine net of corridors and escalators. Citizens' committees denounced the situation and the Municipality was obliged to consider re-planning the area. A first draft was presented to the residents only in 1998 followed by an international contest that brought to an exhibition in 2002. The master plan was much far from the residents' expectations, which were linked to reduce the traffic, to rest at the trees' shadow, to walk, and to recover the profile of the hill north of the square. (Delbene, 2007) The neighbourhood association 'Another Lesseps square is possible' (*Una altra plaça Lesseps es possible*) was established in 2002.

FIGURE 94   The square during the works for the cover of the Ronda del Mig (http://w110.bcn.cat)

In 2005, a board composed by members of the Municipality and by representative of residents was established with the task to write the criteria for the regeneration of the area. The plan was approved in January 2006. (Ajuntament de Barcelona, Urbanisme i Infraestructures, Official website).

After the works ended and the results were visible (2008), the platform/association *Una altra Plaça Lesseps es possible* broke up. The people who were satisfied of the works gave birth to the group *d'Amics i Amigues de Lesseps* (group of Friends of Lesseps Square), "a collective having the aim to dynamize the area with recreational and cultural initiatives like concerts and bike rides open to all" (La Malla, 2012). On the contrary, those who were criticizing the results gave birth to a new association *l'Associació de Comerciants i Veïns de Lesseps* (Association of shopkeepers and neighbours of Lesseps). The Statute of the latest (Associació de Veïns i Comerciants de la Plaça Lesseps, 2012), however, speaks about a very interesting neighbourhood pedagogy but does not ask for a further requalification of the square and it seems very similar to the aim of the 'group of friends'.

The Lesseps case is paradigmatic of the city's climate from a social, urban, and town planning point of view. This summary of the recent history of the square highlights some of the characteristics described in this chapter: the vitality of the city, even if with contradictions, is shown in the open, often

controversial, dialogue on town planning between citizens and local authority. The municipality recognizes the right to participation in established forms, citizens, beyond these rules, tend to gather in association to contrast decisions and situations.

Walking, seating and observing the square is, nowadays a not easy task (Figures 95-103). The shape, the furniture, and the architectonical solutions are impressive but the idea is of an incomplete space that has been regained to the body uses even if maintaining parts just to be ornamental and definitively useless because isolated by the context of the square like the ones shown in the next two pictures but regulated, like in the case of the leaned platform in which the balustrade has probably the aim to prevent the skateboarding. Nevertheless, the two leaned platforms at the opposite sides of the square are useful to hide the entrance of the tunnel and the traffic flow and to remind the historical height differences of the area.

The main traffic flows underground in a tunnel; in any case, now roads regulated by a traffic light cut the square and the walking between the two parts is interrupted.

FIGURE 95   A purely ornamental part of the square (A. Borgogni, 2009)

FIGURE 96   The other leaned part of the square (A. Borgogni, 2009)
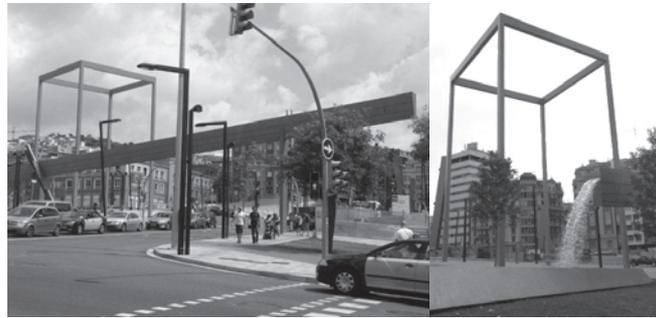
FIGURE 97   The roads divide the two parts of the square (A. Borgogni, 2009)

FIGURE 98   A mock gazebo and a cascade (A. Borgogni, 2009)

From an Architectural point of view, some of the solutions are remarkable trying to connect, also visually, the two parts like in the next picture.

From the point of view of the body accessibility, as shown in the next three pictures, the square is now usable and frequented by many categories. The smooth surface, coming from the tradition of the *Plaças duras* (hard squares) allow either walking, either skateboarding or scootering.

FIGURE 99   The use of skateboard and scooters is facilitated by the smooth surface (A. Borgogni, 2009)

FIGURE 100   Elderly people can move around easily (A. Borgogni, 2009)

FIGURE 101   The square is an important hub for public mass service; many commuters use to cross the square to catch the bus coming from the metro and vice versa. (A. Borgogni, 2009)

The street furniture is that typical of the city with single or multiple benches.

FIGURE 102   Single benches (A. Borgogni, 2009)

A small playground is also included in the corner where there is the Library Jaume Fuster, inaugurated in December 2005.

FIGURE 103   The children playground (A. Borgogni, 2009)

The district level participation

About the history of participation at local level, it is quite interesting the reconstruction made by Prof. Francis Magrinya i Torner of the Polytechnic University of Catalunya.

During the last part of the Franco dictatorship, the city saw a growth of participation mainly at district level. Associations and informal councils were the training stage for the politicians who would have participated at the political arena after the Franco's death (20th of November 1975). The effects of that period have been visible and concrete until nowadays: the districts are enriched by a network of associations engaged on the improvement of urban liveability. Several district bulletins and newspapers are published; probably the most important is Carrer (Figure 105), which follows very attentively the local level processes as well as the city level projects like the probably two biggest of the last years: FENT (Making Barcelona), which is a campaign aimed at explaining the Municipal Action Plan, and the project of rehabilitation of Avinguida Diagonal (Figure 104).

FIGURE 104   The entrance of the exhibition hall hosting FENT (A. Borgogni, 2009)

Both of them have been criticised by a part of public opinion because their top-bottom approach and the expenses (1.4 Million Euro for the first).

The second passed through a public consultation in May 2010, represented a double walloping for the former Major Hereu. Firstly, because only the 12% of the citizens over 16 voted; secondly because the option 'A-transform the Diagonal in a boulevard' supported by the major, obtained the 11,4% of the votes. The option 'C-don't make any intervention now' obtained the 79,8% while the 'B-transform the Diagonal in a Rambla' got the 8,8% (Borgogni & Vannini, 2011).

FIGURE 105   The magazine Carrer n° 110 in which the theme of the ambiguity of the consultation (consulta) about Diagonal is posed: it is *Participació or legitimació?* (Is it participation or legitimation?); (www.favb.cat)

I maintain that these projects, in any case and even if they present biases because their top-down characteristics, are an evidence of the attitude of the city towards participation. Moreover, considering the results of the Diagonal consultation, they demonstrate a strong willing of the inhabitants to discuss about the main projects.

7.2.1.4 The sub-cases

When I have been in Barcelona, the person who introduced me to the cases was Mr. Xavi Camino, PhD. Anthropologist and social worker. He is carrying-on a research on the networks created by the skateboards practice at local and international level and on the use of the public space by migrants. He has been the guide for the observations and for the key informants in Barcelona. I met him thanks to an intensive course jointly organized by my University and by INEFC (*Instituto Nacional d'Educacion Fisica de Catalunya*). I interviewed Prof. Francis Magrinya i Torner, of the Universitat Politécnica de Catalunya and Prof. Gaspar Maza, of the Rovira i Virgili University of Tarragona. In my research, the role of the INEFC was relevant. A special issue of Apunts (1/2008) was in fact dedicated to 'The sport in the urban public space' (*El deporte en los espacios públicos urbanos).* The researchers, coordinated by Prof. Nuria Puig, investigated the theme by the perspective of the social networks created around the

redefinition of public spaces, starting from several points of view: social sciences of sport, anthropological, sociological, town planning, gender, and visual.

During the first journey to Barcelona, Camino brought me to visit some significant cases for the informal appropriation and auto-construction of public spaces. All these venues have been unofficially organized, through 'from the bottom' participative processes. As I stated in chapter 1, those observations convinced me of the need to add the new category of spaces 'hard won' by human bodies in the research.

In the second journey, I visited those and other cases and administered the interviews. The interviews with Camino were three: the first and the second during my visits, the third during his visit in Ferrara, in June 2008.

Skateboards places and spaces

In the progressive and turbulent rise of the post-modern sports, Barcelona has performed a prominent role in the development of the skateboard. Since the eighties, it has become one of the world capitals of skateboarders. As I wrote here above, the conflict between skateboarders and the public administration is also legal and can be considered paradigmatic of the social and political matters related to the use of the space.

The spaces more frequented by skateboarders are Plaça Universitat, Plaça des Paisos Catalanos, Plaça dels Angels, Plaça de les Treis Ximeneis, Plaça de la Cathedral, and the Paseos of Barceloneta and World Trade Center.

The main point of conflict has become the Plaça dels Angels, in front of the MACBA (Museum of Contemporary Art of Barcelona). It is central, frequented by tourists and very busy. The almost around-the-clock use of the square by the skateboaraders, mainly the ramp and the staircase, conflicted, by the side of the municipality, with the other functions. I observed it for the first time on the 20th of June 2009.

While the official reason for the undergoing half million Euros works of rehabilitation of the square is the better qualification of the perspective and of the accessibility, everyone knows that they are anti-skaters interventions.

It is worth to consider that the attractiveness of Barcelona as skaters place is linked to to the tradition of *placas duras*, ideal for skateboarding because covered of smooth surfaces and less dangerous in case of falls: "the surface is incredible. You fall and nothing happens. Moreover, from here you can go skateboarding to a lot of other places; that's the reason because I like to skate here", Musta, a city centre skater said (Camino, 2008, p.91).

Here we can highlight the more important conflict connected with the urban culture in its relationship with youngsters and postmodern sport practices. There are, in fact, many skate parks spread around the city.

The conflict (Figure 106), here, is going towards a definite direction: the opinion of the local authority is that while there are dedicated facilities, skaters must to practice there. Not to mention that this is the opposite of what many

skaters think while they consider skate parks as a segregation not only for the practice but also for those urban subcultures they represent.

FIGURE 106   Plaça dos Paisos Catalanos. A sign of the conflict (A. Borgogni, 2009).

Starting from this analysis it is possible to pinpoint at least two different examples of informal appropriation: Placa dos Paisos Catalanos (Figures 106-108) and Guinaeta (Figures 109 and110).

The presence of the skateboarders in the square in front of the Sants Railways Station is very visible also because the urban furniture have been vandalized or wrecked to do some acrobatic exercises. A long canopy protects from the sunlight and the rain; thus it is possible to skate with every kind of weather.

FIGURE 107   Plaça dos Paisos Catalanos. A skater and a part of a bench (A. Borgogni, 2009)

FIGURE 108   Plaça dos Paisos Catalanos. The evolutions of a skaters (A. Borgogni, 2009)

The Guinaeta skate park and pool represents a very different case. It is one of the facilities built for the Olympics. It was little used also because some planning errors impeded to do several technical gestures and acrobatic. It had a revival thanks to the establishment of a users association that took care of the works to modify the pool and of the maintenance. As in the Foixarda case, the process of informal appropriation developed in parallel at the informality of the answers of the district. The association '*Deslizamientos Eroticos Humanos*' (Human Erotic Sliding) financed the works organizing concerts and events.

FIGURE 109   The picture of one protest f the DEH association (X. Camino)

FIGURE 110   Guinaeta. The part of the pool modified by skaters (A. Borgogni, 2009)

The conflictual relationship between skateboarders and the city is a symptom of the contradictions which feed the city itself. Many European cities forbade the practice relegating it in the skate parks. In Barcelona, at least till 2006 the administrative tolerance was able to manage the process intelligently.

The current choice denies the practice and also the production of the urban imaginary accompanying it. From the side of the local authority, a sort of tolerance is practiced in more hidden or less central spaces. Camino (2008) suggests some long-term possibilities affirming that there is a lack of proposals but is probably possible to intervene in an integrated way facilitating the network of associations, arranging place and times of use with the skaters, modifying some urban furniture. According to him, the promotion of the practice as a sport discipline, strengthening the clubs, building permanent skate parks suitable to host events, could contribute to accommodate the subversive image of the skater. An increased acceptance of their presence in the public space can facilitate openness to a negotiation between skaters and inhabitants.

The policy of the Municipality seems somehow contradictory. In facts, at the same time of that skating-ban, local authority wants to build four new skate parks in cooperation with the skater's association of Catalonia and the Corts District is about to start a course for "on the road" adolescent skaters. (Camino, personal communication, 2009)

Foixarda Climbing Wall

The Foixarda climbing wall and tunnel are informally inserted in the Foixarda Sport Complex immediately under the INEFC building on the Montjuïc hill. Camino (2003) has reconstructed the history of Foixarda starting from its use as a stone pit in the XIX century. Bad planning of the hill has caused the space to remain a wasteland almost hidden from sight but at the same time, full of social functions.

The last three decades have seen the progressive appropriation firstly by climbers from Barcelona then from Catalunya and now from every part of the world. Many websites present descriptions of the space, which has become a place not only for climbing: "it has become a very important centre for sociality in which, complex networks of relations at local, national and international level have developed" (Camino, 2003, p. 300)

The Foixarda is a 200 metre long sand-stone wall, 15-25 metres high. The 75 metres closest to the tunnel was covered with concrete due to the risk of rock falls during the seventies. At the beginning of the eighties some climbers discovered the wall, put spits, handholds, and holes in it.

Starting from 1985 more and more climbers have been patronizing the Foixarda, producing changes on the wall and inside the tunnel, which were closed to car traffic. The area is also used during the evenings in which the lights of the nearby Rugby field are switched on. The poles of the streetlamps began to be used as a notice board for all kinds of news. The climbers' unwritten rules were respected when building new roads; the respect of the previous roads and the 'road opener' permission to modify them: the name of

the opener is written at the beginning of every road. During the nineties, coinciding with the development of the so-called adventure sports culture, many beginners to climbing approached the Foixarda. The transformation from space into place was fulfilled and this process produced "a total identification of the space with the climbing practice" (Camino, 2003, p. 319). The local authorities began to tolerate this new, informal use of the space, also because several traffic officers were within the users. At the same time, the Municipality put up signs 'Climbing forbidden' to avoid assuming any responsibility for accidents.

Manolo is a legendary figure of that period: asking the 'road openers' for permission, he rebuilt all the tunnel roads equipping them with new materials. The result was a true success in the climbing world: many new climbers gathered to Foixarda and the tunnel took on the present aspect (Figures 111-113).

In 2009, the informal sports complex was greatly used: from 20 to more than 100 climbers were present throughout the day. I observed the place two times, on January 24th 2008 and on June 28th 2009.

The process of appropriation and transformation mainly derives from the interrelation of several cultural processes: "the climbing world is strictly linked to the evolution of sports which is the result of the dramatic changes, from modernity to post-modernity, suffered by our societies" (Camino, 2003, p. 320). The Foixarda is a good example of development of informal appropriation of a space that has promoted social networks in parallel with those endorsed by the Institutions. "The knowing of this example can help to reduce the increasing obsession of public authorities for control of the public space" (Camino, 2003, p. 322).

Until 2009, the only moment in which the Foixarda informal appropriation process was in trouble was when the local authority began to interfere after their initial prohibition based on their fear of accidents. Recently, the local authority asked the climbers to form an association with whom they could negotiate. The association 'Foixarda's friend' was constituted. However, difficulties arose since the diversity of the climbers was not easy to represent in a single association and, moreover, gathering in an association involves frequent meetings and a lot of paper work which was of no interest to the climbers whose only desire was to be free to meet and climb. (Camino, 20th of June 2009, personal communication).

Recently (2011) the wall was covered by steel net due to a landslide after a storm. At the same time, nearby Foixarda, a former pavilion of the Spanish Gymnastic Federation has been given to a private company to build a huge indoor climbing gym, The Foixarda Municipal Climbing Centre. This recent development leads to the conclusion that the struggle between institutionalisation and self-determination of the place has been won by the Local Authority even if the tunnel continues to be greatly used. The Camino's conclusions about these facts are that "the only landslide in thirty years allowed the local authority to close the site. No technical studies on the conditions of the walls were carried out neither proposed other options. Better not taking any

risk for the local authority and open a private centre". (Camino, personal communication, 29th of April 2012)

FIGURE 111   The Foixarda climbing wall (A. Borgogni, 2009)
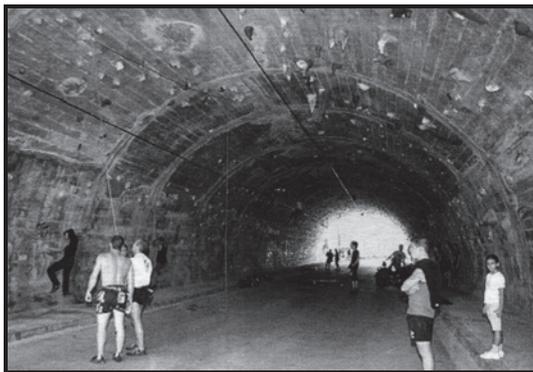
FIGURE 112   The Foixarda tunnel (X. Camino)

FIGURE 113   A climber on the ceiling of the tunnel (www.movingtobarcelona.com)

Avinguida de l'Estatut
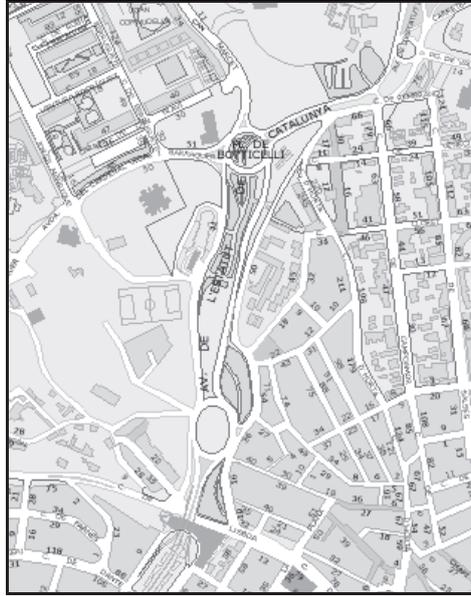
FIGURE 114   The map of the Avingude d'Estatut and Plaza de Botticelli area (Google Map)

This area (Figure 114) derives from the abandoned project, planned for the 1992 Olympics, to change the course of a river that was supposed to pass between the two lanes of the Avenue. The river was planned to form some water basins. In one of these, now a wasteland exactly below a football field overlooking the Avenue, a skate park, built by the Municipality, mysteriously caught fire some years later (1998); the second skate park was dismantled after a few years, most likely by thieves in search of metal. The concrete part of the area is now equipped only with a basketball table put by the Municipality and financed by an insurance company.

Later, around 2004, a group of Ecuadorian immigrants began to patronize the area and started to arrange it as an ecua-volley field. They dug holes to fix the poles, brought shelters to recover materials, built hand-made terraces of seats on the slopes of the embankment (Figures 115 and 116).

FIGURE 115   The hand made terraces for spectators (A. Borgogni, 2009)

FIGURE 116   The Ecua Volley field. Ecuadorians playing (X.Camino, n.d.)

The Ecuadorians came from the Otavalo area[4] and were all representatives of the indigenous Inca people. As I mentioned before, there is a football field on the top of the hill over the Avenida, 50 meters above the area. The anthropological viewpoint, provided once more by Camino during the interview, on this very interesting case is completed by the fact that the football field was rented by other Ecuadorians immigrants coming from richer towns and representatives of the Spanish ethnical group. The football field is also used for playing Ecuavolley, and provided with an informal bar. Sometimes the 'low' Ecuadorians went to the 'up' bar to buy drinks; sometimes the rich Ecuadorians complained to the Police about the bother caused by the others. During my second journey to Barcelona (June 2009) the wish to go more in depth on this case was frustrated by the road works blocking the access to the area.

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[4]   Otavalo is a largely indigenous town in Imbabura Province, Ecuador (Wikipedia, www.wikepedia.com)

Plaza de Botticelli

Few hundreds metres from this place there is another very interesting venue (Plaza de Botticelli). Along the same path of the never-built riverbed, there is a sort of round hole (about 40 meter in diameter). It was at first planned to be a basin along the river stream, then as a roundabout for underground roads, then re-planned as a small park 8 metres below the road level when the originally planned roads were elevated to the level of the Avinguda. An informal appropriation of public space has been developed over the years creating an interesting balance among several users. One of these users is a man who settled there, building with own hands a little hut, who has now become the unofficial dustman and gardener for the Municipality. The area is actually very well maintained. In the round wall several urban functions appear: a climbing wall occupies one part while another is a sort of exercise notebook for urban graffitists (Figures 117-119).

I observed the place in the Avinguda and the Plaza on January 25th 2008.

FIGURE 117   The hut of the unofficial gardener (A. Borgogni, 2008)

FIGURE 118   The space below the street level (A. Borgogni, 2008)

FIGURE 119   The blackboard drawn on the wall (A. Borgogni, 2008)

Biloma

The so-called 'Biloma' is a hidden space on the slopes of the Montjuïc hill (Figure 120).
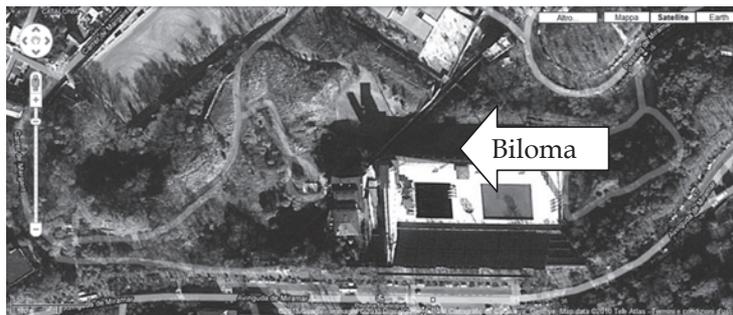
FIGURE 120   The Biloma ground on the Montjuïc Hill. (Google map)

The concrete path to reach the ground, which starts from the northern part of the hill, in the Poble Sec district, is difficult to find and pass at 100 meters from the place.

During weekends Bolivian migrants patronize the area to play football with families and friends and remain there throughout the day preparing meals by their selves.

This ground is characterized by some particularities: it is hidden, very difficult to reach, quite uncomfortable, somehow marked like a private territory, near a school ground and at the swimming pool used for the Olympics 1992 (Figures 121-126).

Along the path and on the wall there are signs put by several 'groups'. To reach the ground it needs to leave the path and go on a dirt road for about one hundred meter.

FIGURE 121   The path leading to the ground (A. Borgogni, 2009)

The ground is irregular, sandy and hard. On two sides, the border of the football field coincides with the beginning of the slope, thus the ball often rolls downhill.

On the other two sides, basketball boards have been installed by the Municipality making it a sort of semi-structured wasteland.

FIGURE 122   The Biloma Ground: players and referee (A. Borgogni, 2009)

FIGURE 123   The spectators (A. Borgogni, 2009)

Migrants from South America meet in many places in Barcelona to play and stay together: parks, playgrounds, market parking during the closure time. Nonetheless, this is a sort of private-public space very different from the structured ones, in which they gather protected by indiscreet glances.

The location of the ground is very interesting from a symbolic point of view. Lying on the steep slope of the hill, the ground is over a schoolyard equipped with sports grounds and furniture, and below the Olympic swimming pool.

At the moment of my observation (21st of June 2009), I could watch at the same time three sports events: the football matches on the Biloma ground; watching downhill some children playing in a school playground open on Sunday involving a disabled mate on wheelchair in playing football; watching uphill the training of a diver from the 10meters platform.

FIGURE 124   A diver in the Olympic swimming pool (A. Borgogni, 2009)

FIGURE 125   The towers for diving (a. Borgogni, 2009)

FIGURE 126   The school yard: children playing (A. Borgogni, 2009)

It was like watching a sort of metaphor of the sport world having the top level sport at the highest altitude, the semi-official sport, anyhow with referees and spectators at medium level, and the unofficial sport, played by children, at the lowest level.

Bon Pastor

FIGURE 127 The map of Bon Pastor and the area of the playgrounds (www.googlemaps.com modified)

The example of the Bon Pastor district in Barcelona may be used to describe the longitudinal, reciprocal process of tolerance and appropriation involving public administration and citizens, mostly youngsters.

The Bon Pastor district was the result of the displacement carried out in 1929 of people living in slums around the Montjuïc hill when it was urbanized due to the works for the Universal Exposition. The Bon Pastor is a district of small houses on the eastern border of the city. In 1992, on the occasion of the works for the Olympics, the ring road to the eastern part of the coast, *Ronda litoral,* was built (Figure 127). A part of the road was covered and, on the top, sports facilities, mainly tennis courts were built. The aim was to humanize the area allowing pedestrians to cross freely between the districts.

That was the period in which relevant amounts of money were assigned for the implementation of informal, open air, sports facilities. In the area where the tennis and paddle[5] courts were built the idea was to create a sort of 'club' with an entry or membership fee. This system worked for the first two years and then declined. This process was accelerated because the warden resigned

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[5]   Padel tennis (or just pádel) is a racquet sport played extensively in Spain and Latin America. Padel is typically played in doubles on an enclosed court about half the size of a tennis court. The balls used and the scoring is the same as normal tennis, just with a little less pressure, and so the biggest difference is that the court has walls and the balls can be played off them in a similar way as in the game of squash. (Retrieved August 15, 2011 from Wikipedia, and Federacion International de Padel (FIP) regulations).

and the members stopped attending because they came from other districts. (Camino, personal communication, 2008)

The intention to improve the sociability of the spaces was appreciable but the site and the function were very equivocal. First, the inhabitants of the district were not involved in the project: the concept of playing tennis and joining a club were probably not so close to the needs or mentality of the low income work-class of the end of the seventies, immediately after the end of the dictatorship.

From that moment, the space was used and vandalized by youngsters, who broke in and damaged the structure while they used it as a meeting point, a hidden place far from the social control of adults where they could smoke, drink alcohol, play, and kind fires.

After several years (2003) some delegates of the District took a new interest in the space by promoting a rehabilitation project involving the citizens.

In 2009 there were some facilities for the elders. The neighbourhood association of Bon Pastor managed these spaces. In another part, the walls and fences were dismantled and a basketball board was put up. A third part is managed privately to promote tennis and paddle for the children of the district in coordination with the inhabitants and in agreement with schools.

Currently, the old district is going to be demolished and substituted with new dwellings. As in the tradition of the city this project is raising a huge discussion in the city.

This space, in 1992, was planned without involving the territory. After this there had been a battle, not only in a figurative sense, for the space that caused the degeneration of the space itself.

In 2003 the District Authority began to manage the situation listening to the associations and the citizens. According to Camino, the monitoring of such processes over the years is important because the needs and requests of the local population inevitably undergo changes. Moreover, the public administration is often obsessed with regulation and sometimes it would be better if it stayed out of the processes of appropriation; the trust of Camino is, in fact, more in the people than in the projects because only if there is a real interest on the part of the people the action can be developed.

I observed the Bon Pastor on January 25th 2008.

Beyond these places I visited and observed other spaces between the 21st and the 30th of June 2009: the beach, the Poble Nou Park, the Forum area, the Centre Diagonal Park, the Clot Park.

Personal remarks and feelings

Barcelona gave me the feeling of a very lively place with a strong identity due to the historic aspiration for independency of Cataluña and the competition with Madrid, the place of the official power. At the same time, the city is very open and, somehow, inclusive. The public space is integral part of the policies since the mid of the 19th century. This is not only an historic consideration but is perceptible in the recent decisions and in the plurality of behaviours of the

citizens. The bodies, in the Barcelona multifaceted public space, play an impressive plurality of roles. The vitality of the civic awareness is easily perceptible and, for the relevant part of attention dedicated to the public space, is able to bring diversity and richness to the urban pattern. Tradition and innovation are present in the architecture and in town planning. The modernist movement left significant attestations that, together with the medieval centre and the futurist new buildings, led Barcelona to achieve a world recognized prominent role. I would underline that certain courage, even boldness, is perceptible in the city life and establishes a frame of the Barcelona way of life. The conflicts are in part consequences of the diversity and of the way of life, in part linked to a strong cultural tradition that promotes a debate characterizing the city life.

7.2.2 Paris

7.2.2.1 Town planning history, current situation, and perspectives

The French revolution had a profound influence on the social climate of the beginning of the 19th century. From a social and political viewpoint, despite the restoration of the absolute power under Napoleon I and the Monarchy, French people had learnt that they could elect their representative and had gained the constitution which was, in any case, ruling the monarchy. In 1830, the bloodless and July Revolution, which began because of the attempt to suppress the press freedom, produced the 1830 Charter that abolished the power of the king to prompt the legislation. This was the vibrant social climate that brought France towards the political upheaval of 1848 revolution and towards the urban changes occurred immediately after that event.

The recent history of the Paris town planning dates back to the mid of the XIX century when Napoleon III, self-proclaimed emperor in 1852, hired Georges-Eugéne Haussmann as Prefect of the Seine in 1853.

Haussmann gave birth to the so-called *Grand travaux*, a huge plan of rehabilitation of the city that continued the works promoted by the plans based on the buildings easement alignment (*servitude d'alignement)* of the previous decades tending to the uniformity of the facades of the buildings. In the same period (1860), the annexation of the municipalities around Paris brought the number of *arrondisments*[6] from twelve to twenty (Figure 128); for this reason too it is possible to refer to the *Grand travaux* as a true metropolitan plan allowing a "conceptual change of scale" (Calabi, 2004, p. 139).

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[66] Arrondissments (Municipal arrondissments in this case not to be confused with departmental Arrondissments) are administrative subdivisions of the Municipality. They have been established only in Paris, Lyon, and Marseille. Every Arrondissment has its own mayor and council. (Kouidri, 2011-1)
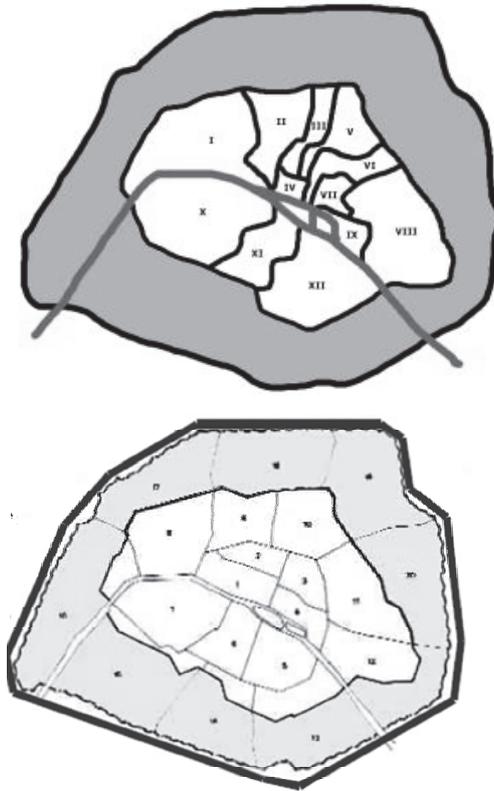
FIGURE 128   Map showing the twelve old Arrondissments. The surrounding grey area
shows the size of Paris after the expansion in 1860 (Wikipedia)

FIGURE 129   Map showing in pink the new Arrondissments (Wikipedia)

The works were also made possible by a law of the 1850 that allowed the
expropriation of the buildings included in the works area. Only in the 1858 the
State Council, against the Haussmann willing, recognized the right of the
owners to have back the building after the urbanization.

The reasons adducted for the *Grand travaux* were above all hygienic and
social. Two decades before, in fact, in 1832, a cholera epidemic, whose
spreading was explained through the miasma theory, killed around twenty
thousand inhabitants. Due to the process of development of the industrial
capitalism and the concentration of the factories in the towns, the population of
Paris had grown from 577.000 in 1801 to 1.174.000 in 1856 raising the density at
306 inhabitants per hectare inside the custom belt (Calabi, 2004). Moreover, the
fresh memory of the 1848 riots, in which the narrowness of the streets facilitated
the building of barricades and obstructed the movements of the troops, gave
strength to the plan of opening spaces and building large boulevards also able
to facilitate the growing commercial mobility needs and the raise of traffic

connected with the transport of goods. The demolished districts were the most insalubrious but also the most boisterous from a political point of view.

From a methodological point of view, according to Calabi, it is worth to highlight that the *Grand travaux* (Figures 130-134) were anticipated by a systematic topographic survey, commissioned by Haussmann, which constituted the strong basis of all the following works. In the *Grand travaux,* the general principles of the planning of public spaces were defined.

Schema dei *Grands Travaux* di Haussmann a Parigi: in nero le nuove strade, in tratteggio incrociato i nuovi quartieri, in verde i nuovi parchi urbani, in rosso la *Grand Croisée*, in rosa l'area della Parigi pre-Haussmann con 12 *arrondissements*.
(elaborazioni da Benevolo, "La storia della città", Bari, 1976)

FIGURE 130   The outline of the *Grand Travaux*: in black the new road, the new quarters are hatched, in red the Great Cross,, in pink the pre-Haussmann quarters. (By Benevolo, 1976, (www.cittasostenibili.it)
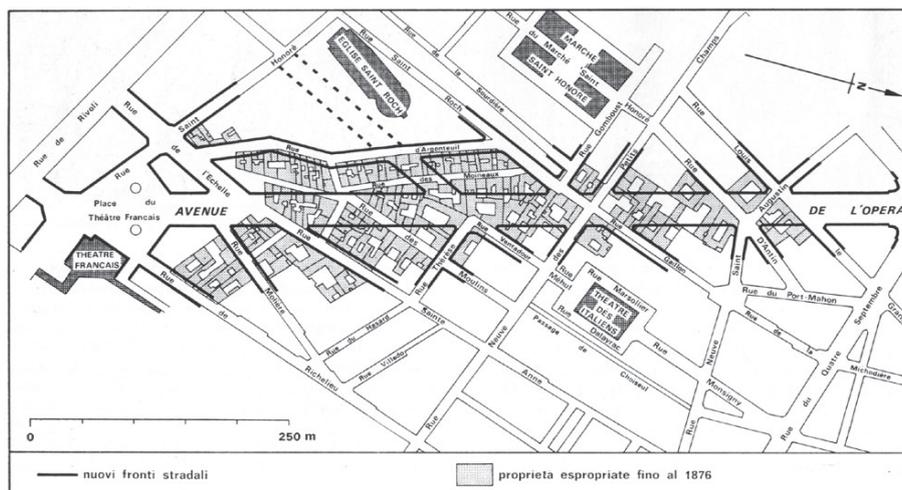
FIGURE 131   An example of the *Grand Travaux:* the areas expropriated and demolished until the 1876 between the Opera and Rue de Rivoli for the construction of the Avenue de l'Opera (superimposed) (www.cittasostenibili.it)
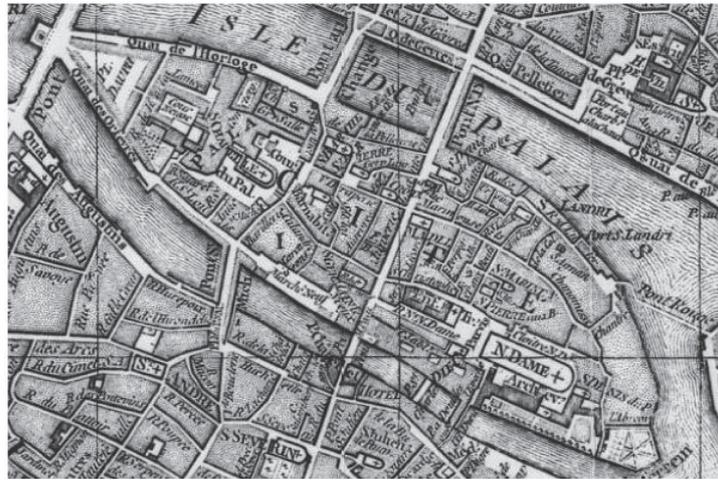
FIGURE 132 Cité Island, 1771. Extracted by *Ile de la Cité, 1771. Plan de la ville e des faubourg de Paris divisé en ses vingt quartier* by Robert de Vaugondy ; National Library of France ; Public Domain.
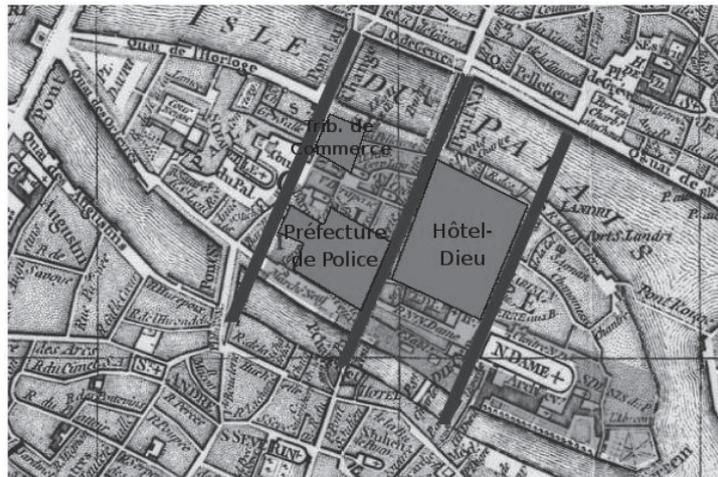
FIGURE 133 Cité Island, 1771. Extracted by *Paris, Ile de la Cité, 1771. Plan de la ville e des faubourg de Paris divisé en ses vingt quartier* by Robert de Vaugondy. Superimposed the Haussmann changes: buildings in dark blue, public spaces in light blue, streets in red. National Library of France ; public domain.

FIGURE 134   The Ile de la Cité, nowadays. The three main route planned by Haussmann (Google Map).

Thanks also to the *Grand travaux,* Paris can be considered a good example of the change in the use of public spaces for bodily practices. The widening of the pavements, whose first example appeared in Rue de l'Odeon in 1781 (Queneau, 2011) changed the way of using that space, thus allowing many expressions of the body and the building of a new, intentionally projected, stage in the city. The parks were the second aspect of the town planning policy.

The lands acquired in the enlargement of the city, in fact, had parks, green areas and spaces that were rehabilitated as public parks: Parc Monceau, for example, used to be a private park that was opened to public access. It is nowadays a semi private park; it is open to public during the day but, after the gates closure, it is open for residents of the exclusive houses enclosing the park through private rear gates; Parc Montsouris was a quarry and an innocent cemetery. The park system, which had a strong influence on the Olmsted park movement, was imagined in order to give the green spaces at the four cardinal points of Paris: Bois of Boulogne in the West, Canadian-Chaumont in the North, bois de Vincennes in the East, and, precisely, park Montsouris in the South.

With the aim to develop in the better way the green spaces, Haussmann created the Green Spaces Office and the Technical Service. The attention to green spaces established a long-term tradition in the care of green areas and parks that can be easily visible in Paris nowadays.

Moreover, the system was implemented, after Haussmann, by the engineer Jean-Charles Alphand, included also many proximity green spaces called *squares*, English word deriving from the idea of Napoleon III during his exile in London. The square concept is the way in which, also nowadays in the new districts, green areas between buildings are built. In the following pictures taken in two observations carried out in 2009 and 2011, it is possible to see how the square concept is influencing the way of planning also nowadays (Figures 135-140). It is worth to say that this processes were widespread, the 19th was the century of the park movement and the planners influenced each others; in1852, for example, Olmsted planned the Central Park in New York.

FIGURE 135   Paris Old Mills Area in the 13th Arrondissement: an under construction square (A. Borgogni April 2009)

FIGURE 136   Paris Old Mills Area in the 13th Arrondissement: the same square in 2011. (A. Borgogni, October 2011)

FIGURE 137   Paris Old Mills Area in the 13th Arrondissement: Les Jardins de Gran Moulins-Abbé Pierre under construction. (A.Borgogni, April 2009)

FIGURE 138   Paris Old Mills Area in the 13th Arrondissement: the Jardins des Grand
             Mulins-Abbé Pierre in 2011. (A. Borgogni, October 2011)

FIGURE 139   Paris Old Mills Area in the 13th Arrondissement: the playground of the Jardin
             G. Duhamel. (A: Borgogni, April 2009)

FIGURE 140   Paris Old Mills Area in the 13th Arrondissement: the green area of the Jardin
             G. Duhamel. (A: Borgogni, April 2009)

The Grand Paris and the regional dimension

The matter of the regional dimension and of the perspective of the city have been faced during an interview administered to Romeo Farinella, co-supervisor of my PhD and correspondent from Paris of Paesaggio Urbano, an Italian Town Planning Journal. The following considerations come from the interview in which we used also articles written by the interviewed and other documents.

The problem of the relationships between the French capital city and its own periphery (*banlieue)* began in 1859, with the partial annexation of the municipalities located on the edge of the town, after the construction of the walls of Thiers (1841-1845) (Farinella, 2009).

At the beginning of the XX century the debate took vigor around the new metropolitan dimension. Numerous proposals had been elaborated for the extension of Paris by top architects, intellectuals, and politicians. Events like the 1867, 1870 World's Fairs and the 1900 Universal Exposition contributed to improve the city design which became even more spectacular with the construction of out-and-out city stages like the complex Eiffel Tower and Trocadéro in which the present Palais de Chaillot was built for the International Exposition in 1937.

The opportunities and the problems arising from the demolition of the walls, which began in 1919, were numerous, and concerned the construction of social housing, the increase of public facilities, the improving of the connections (roads, metro, railways) between Paris and the *banlieue*, the conservation of the many forests in the region.

Between the World Wars I and II, the planning of the city adopted a regional scale. "The national competition for the town plan of the *Grand Paris* identified three different themes: the urban requalification, the valorization, and the destination of the fortification area and the planning of the outer fringes as garden cities" (Calabi, 2004, p. 177). The winning plan drawn by Jaussely, Expert, and Sellier was the basis of the metropolitan plan that, in 1932, defined the development of the area within 35km radius. In fact, in 1932, the State began the planning process with the involvement of the architect Henri Prost who presented in 1934 the plan for the Paris metropolitan area, but only in the second half of the sixties the plan was presented. Between the two World Wars, the debate on the planning of the Paris region became intense and from a series of parliamentary acts emerged a crude description of the *banlieue*. After the II World War, the regional dimension in the development of the cities progressively integrated the town planning. At national level, the Economic and social development plans individuated several new towns as an alternative to the capital. The unhealthy and deplorable character of the urban landscape was described emphasizing the fact that, also due to the factories, it disfigured one of the cities more visited in the world. The plan conferring the Paris region its current structure, was published in 1965 (*Schéma directeur d' aménagement et d' urbanisme de la region de Paris*-SDAU, 1965). It was produced by Paul Delouvrier, a member of the caste of the great officers of the French administration, which contributed to the reconstruction of the country in the

second postwar period. He is the father of the new towns (*villes nouvelles)* and he conceived the construction of RER: the regional subway, whose five lines link Paris with its urban region, enhancing its central role. The perspective of Delouvrier arrived until the 2000, prefiguring a region in growth of population and reorganized around Paris as the capital and the center of the business and culture. Nonetheless, according to Farinella, the true declared objective of the prefect concerned the upgrade of the *banlieue* to the status of city because, as he said, the first one is a residential area that doesn't have the level of services of the city and therefore the peoples living in the *banlieue* are mutilated citizens.

I can add that the recent (2005 and 2007) unrests in the Paris suburbs proves that the situation of the connections between Paris and the *banlieu,* as foreseen between the two World Wars, has not been faced properly adding to the conditions of seventy years ago, the religious and generational factors showing the crisis of the so-called "republican assimilazionism" (Melotti, 2007, p. 16). To better explain this aspect it is worth to point out that France adopt the *jus soli* (right of soil) instead the *jus sanguinis* (right of blood).

The perspectives

According to Farinella, the future urban geography of the *Grand Paris* is based on polarities thought to have an important role in the revitalization of the metropolitan region. The Roissy and Orly airports, with their business and commercial centers. The new towns (*villes nouvelles)* of Marne-la-Vallée, Melun et Senart, Evry, Cergy-Pontoise, with their commercial, touristic activities, like Disneyland Paris, and universities. The revitalization project for the university polarity of the *Plateau de* Saclay, in the south of *grande couronne*. The intermediate areas of the Paris *banlieue* with major revitalization projects of the Plaine Saint Denis, or Nanterre Seine-Arche, near to central business district of Defense. The rehabilitation of the urban agglomeration of the *Vallée de la* Bièvre, to the "south of Paris". And last but not least, as Farinella underlined, Paris itself. What will be its role in this new metropolitan geography? The capital has long been engaged in several urban renewal efforts, particularly for areas located on the edge of the ring roads (*boulevard peripherique)*.

The most important example of the discussion about the perspectives is the participation of ten interdisciplinary teams to the competition launched in 2007 by President Sarkozy. The *équipes* had worked following two suggestions: the metropolis of the XXI century of the after the Kyoto prtotocol on climate change (1997) and one analysis of perspective for the Paris agglomeration.

Their proposals are multifaceted but there were some recurrent issues. First of all, the need to compact the city to limit the urban sprawl. Another important emerging aspect concerns the relationships between cities and nature. In this case the scales of intervention are different concerning the preservation of key environmental components, such as the river Seine and forests around Paris; several small-scale interventions on the urban green spaces inside the metropolitan area; the use of green spaces or water to

consolidate new metropolitan links and ecological corridors. The third important aspect concerns the accessibility (Farinella, 2009).

FIGURE 141 Paris and the green areas and forests in the Metropolitan Region (www.googlemaps.com)

7.2.2.2 The body in the city

From the body point of view, Paris is an interesting case study also given the present plans of re-constructing the cycle-path network and the diffusion of the network of public bicycles stations, the *Velib*, which, after 5 years from the launch, counts on more than 20.000 bicycles and 1800 stations in Paris and in 30 close Municipalities. Moreover, the pedestrianization of some areas and boulevards, some of them permanently, others only during the week end (Canal St. Martin, banks of the Seine), oriented to allowing swarms of skaters; the experiences of the Paris beach and the promotion of tourist walkways and green paths; the cover of some ring roads to build sport and leisure spaces like in the district of Saint Denis.

In the perspective of my research, it is relevant to connect the provisions about the expression of the body with the tradition of the use of public space. From this point of view, the tradition of the Voluntary Gymnastics (*Gymnastique volontaire)* it is useful to explain what happens in the parks during the week-ends when groups of adults meet with a professional trainer jogging and stopping now and then to make some exercises using the city furniture, the low walls, fences, flight of steps (Figure 142). This tradition dates back to the end of the 19th Century when the healthy and non-competitive *gymnastique* became a branch of the physical activity, together with military exercises and competitive sport, allowing everyone to keep fit. It is worthwhile, with the aim of linking the participative policies with the facilitation of the body expressions, to remind that a great impulse to these kinds of practices came from the enacting of the law on associations in 1901, which also strengthened the role of the sport clubs.

FIGURE 142 A group of Voluntary Gymnastic at the Bercy Park. (A. Borgogni, October 2011)

Among the several realizations interesting from this point of view, I would mention the personal experience of the observational walking along *promenade plantée,* one of the most innovative town planning realization of the nineties.

The promenade plantée

One of the most interesting experiences during my research journeys was the walk along the *Promenade Plantée* (walk with trees or wooded path) an elevated park in Paris situated in the 12th arrondissement stretching from Place de la Bastille towards East ending near the Bois de Vincennes overhanging Avenue Daumesnil. It used to be a rail trail made on viaducts, which connected the Bastille area with the eastern suburbs of the city (Varenne-Saint-Maur). It was active since 1859 and ceased the operations in 1969.

FIGURE 143 The promenade plantée from Opera Bastille (A) to the Boulevard Peripherique (B) - (Google map)

In the early 1990s, the City of Paris and SEMAEST, (*Société d'Economie Mixte d'Aménagement de l'Est Parisien*), transformed this weed infested railroad track into the Promenade Plantée and Viaduct des Arts. The design of the Promenade

Plantée was created by landscape architect Jacques Vergely and architect Philippe Mathieux while the architects for the Viaduct des Arts were Patrick Berger and Jamine Galiano. The abandoned viaduct Daumesnil, scheduled to be demolished, was transformed in the Viaduct des Arts. The around seventy red brick arches of the 1.5-kilometer viaduct were restored, renovated, and enclosed with glass. It now houses arts and crafts workshops, galleries, furniture showrooms, restaurants, and a café.

The Viaduct des Arts was open to the public in 1998 though it was not completely finished until 2000. The Promenade represents, in my opinion, one of the most relevant town planning decision facilitating the body at European level in the recent past and a very innovative way of rehabilitation of a public space. In fact, until 2009, it was the only example in the world of elevated park. It is a sort of paradigmatic example of how political, town planning, and architectural choices can merge to achieve a high level of possibilities for body practices.

From the Bastille it is a short way to arrive at the beginning of the viaduct where the high level is accessible through stairs. From that point an impressive experience starts: a path winds between trees and plants, gardens, playgrounds, buildings, small squares; after being lowered at ground level, it passes in a tunnel, leading to the Boulevard Peripherique and the Bois de Vincennes. The elevated portion of the Promenade Plantée runs from the Opéra Bastille to Jardin de Reuilly, a distance of 1.5 kilometers. Underneath this section of the Promenade is the Viaduct des Arts. The mass of plant-life that borders and sometimes encroaches the already narrow trail can give the impression of being shortly lost on a forest trail. Then, sporadically, there are breaks in the herbage, offering views of the surrounding city. The elevated level offers interesting perspectives of the variety of the surrounding buildings.

This linear park has transformed, since the inauguration in 1987, at least the behaviors of the 140.000 inhabitants of the 12th Arrondissement (INSEE, 2009) living at walking distance from it allowing them and tourists to practice walking and jogging along the path and picnicking and playing in the enclosed parks (Figures 144-159).

FIGURE 144 The beginning of the viaduct, near the Opera Bastille (A. Borgogni, April 2009)

FIGURE 145   Art's shops under the promenade (A. Borgogni, April 2009)

FIGURE 146   The viaduct along Avenue Daumesnil (A. Borgogni, April 2009)

FIGURE 147   The greenery explains the name of the promenade (A. Borgogni, April 2009)

FIGURE 148   The path (A. Borgogni, April 2009)

FIGURE 149   Reuilly Garden(A. Borgogni, April 2009)

FIGURE 150   A roof-garden (A. Borgogni, April 2009)

FIGURE 151   A playground: Square Charles Péguy (A. Borgogni, April 2009).

FIGURE 152   A bridge-passage between buildings. The Promenade once seems to go right through the building. (A. Borgogni, April 2009)

FIGURE 153   The buildings view from an elevated perspective (A. Borgogni, 2009)

FIGURE 154   A small elevated square (A. Borgogni, April 2009)

FIGURE 155   The tunnel below Rue de Reilly: one of the five individual rock waterfalls (A. Borgogni, April 2009).

FIGURE 156 FIGURE 157; FIGURE 158; FIGURE 159: Bodily practices along the path and the enclosed spaces (A. Borgogni, 2009)

The Promenade Plantée project was the model for the proposal of the High Line in New York City, the second elevated park in the world, inaugurated in 2009.

The perceptive qualitative survey

Referring to the grid of observation for public spaces (Appendix 2): perceptive qualitative grid) and starting from the peculiarity of the park, I point out that the promenade is surrounded by roads with high density of traffic, only one ground level crosswalk is present along the path, there are commercial (food shops) and public (a school, a gymnasium, and a swimming pool) services along and nearby the promenade. The pavement is a well-maintained tarmac in the elevated part, wooden on footbridges and gritty in the part at ground level. The major meeting and rest places are enclosed parks benches along the elevated, narrow, path. There are also some spaces at lower level but they look unsafe because separated by the path and hidden: during my two observations, in fact, I saw in those places just some people drinking in an unsafe context. The accessibility for disabled and elderly people in the elevated part is insufficient, there are only steep stairs and one elevator along the 1.5-kilometre; the accessibility along the path is good. Among the ways to get there is worthwhile to highlight the presence of cycle paths and safe crosswalks or with traffic lights (Figures 160-161).

FIGURE 160   Humps (Allée Vivaldi) (A. Borgogni, April 2009)

FIGURE 161   Cycle lane (AV Daumensil) (A. Borgogni, April 2009)

From the emotional point of view, the promenade offers a variety of olfactory, tactile, and visual sensations while the auditory change on dependence of the distance by the roads.

From a cultural point of view, it is the dream of the city that invented the figure of the *flâneur* as a category of citizens but most of all, a way of strolling without a specific aim that allows to watch and observe absently.

The possibility to be *flâneur* having our feet above the roads and cars level is a unique experience allowed by what I consider a far-seeing policy attentive to body expressions.

By the point of view of the 'culturalization' of the relationship between the body and the city, Paris can show innumerable examples of books, guides, and citations.

Describing the *flâneur*, figure theorised by Baudelaire in *Le peintre de la vie moderne* in *L'Art romantique,* Scott (2005) reminded that. The crowd is his domain, just as air is that of the bird and water that of the fish. His passion and his profession are to embrace the crowd. For the perfect *flâneur*, for the passionate observer, it is an immense pleasure takes up residence in numbers, in the undulating, the moving, the fugitive, and the infinite. To be away from home and yet to feel oneself everywhere at home; to see the world, to be the centre of the world, and yet to remain hidden from the world—such are a few of the slightest pleasures of those independent, passionate, impartial natures ... the lover of universal life enters into the crowd as though it were an immense reservoir of electrical energy (p. 170, modified).

The figure of the *flâneur* has been treated by many ancient and contemporary authors. It is worthwhile to mention Fargue (2007) who concentrated his attention in the Paris pedestrians and dividing the chapters of his *Le Piéton de Paris* for places and arrondissement; Hazan, (2002) who wrote that there are not lost steps describing a sort of pedestrian and literary invention of the city in *L'invention de Paris*, moreover he mentioned those who are considered the inventors of the *flâneur* like Balzac, Baudelaire, Benjamin, and Walser; Le Breton (2007), who spoke about the several ways of walking from pilgrimages to the extreme walking and the walking in the city in his *Elogie de la marche*. Even if not French, it is worthwhile to mention here the fundamental, for the scholars of walking, 'Wanderlust, the History of Walking' by Rebecca Solnit (2000) in which she dedicated a chapter to the botanizing on the asphalt of Parisians, image invented by Benjiamin. Recently, the sociologists Pinçon & Pinçon-Charlot (2009), wrote *Paris. Quinze promenades sociologiques* (Paris. Fifteen Sociological Strolls) developing the previous (2001) *Paris Mosaique. Promenades Urbaines* (Paris Mosaic. Urban Strolls). The book proposes several original paths to be followed in Paris and particular points of view. I would just mention, in the first chapter "Pedestrians of Paris" the paragraph in which they describe the reciprocal influence of the architectural and urban structures with the social environment. The social embodied into the citizens. […] the urban space is never totally defined without taking account of the citizens. However, meanwhile, the social environment is built by the city.

Product of the human agency, the city is, conversely, a socializing element, which produces the people as they are. Everything talks in the street; as citizens cannot be divided by their way of being […] pasted on their skins, the streets are involuntary products of the mass of minor and major gestures of the everyday life (Pinçon & Pinçon-Charlot, 2009, p. 20).

I observed the Promenade Plantée two times on the 25th and 29th of April 2009.

7.2.2.3 The participation

To better understand the correlation between the meaning of the French word *concertation* and the English word 'participation', I would use the definition written in the English version of the internet home page of the Program CDE (*Concertation, Décision et Environment*) of the Ministry of Ecology, Energy, Sustainable Development, and Town and Country Planning: the French notion 'Concertation' covers a wide spectrum of practices that extend from consultation of the public by authorities to joint decision-making, including in particular public participation and stakeholder engagement. Such practices have become a major feature today in addressing environmental issues, (http://www.concertation-environnement.fr/index.php).

The aim of the program is to finance researches and facilitate new policies.

Laws and public programs

The Guide *Concerter à Paris* (Planning in Paris) helps to reconstruct the history of the legislation about participation starting from the law 'Bouchardeau' which, in 1983, clarified the conditions and ways to realize a public debate. The 'Bianco' bill in 1992 specified the conditions of a transparent debate about the realization of the large infrastructures decided by the state. The "Barnier" law of 1995, in the frame of the protection of the environment, established a National Public Debate Board (*Commission Nationale du Débat Public*).

In 1996 the Environment Ministry approved the Chart of Participation, which had as main objectives the promotion of the participation, the improvement of the projects, and to promote a code of rules of good behaviors among stakeholders.

The Aahrus agreement "European Environment", approved at international level in 1998, was adopted in France in 2002. It is about the access to information, the participation, and the access to justice for environmental issues. (*Concerter à Paris*, 2009)

The article 311 of the Town Planning Code (*Code de l'Urbanisme*, 2011) describes the ZAC (*Zones d'amenégement concertê*) as public interventions carried out by a local authority to realize the planning. The ZAC were created in 1967 by the Land's law 67-1253 promoting the idea of a consultation between private and public entities.

The Law 2000-1208 on solidarity and urban rehabilitation (*Loi de solidarité et de renouvellment urbaine –SRU*) deeply modified the right of town planning. It

was lately reviewed by the law 'Town planning and habitat' (*Urbanisme et habitat*). From the housing point of view, obliges the Municipality over 3500 inhabitants to have at least the 20% of social housing. About mobility, the law tends to reduce the invasion of cars where public transportation is available. About participation, it opens the way to an enhancement of the involvement of citizens. In the town planning section, in fact, the law reinforces the citizens' participation. The already existent procedures like the public debate (*enquête publique)* and the preliminary consultation (*concertation préalable*) were not considered enough by the legislator. In fact, highlighting the inter-relation between SRU and Code, the *Agence d'urbanisme de la région grenobloise* (AURG) stated that "the city must to build itself together with who live in it daily […] It clearly appeared that the citizens' expectations about participation are much bigger than the possibility to write a comment on a register" (2001, p. 18). The law SRU does not specify the rules but is based on the 'moment', the consultation has to be developed in the right time when the project is in the construction phase, and the 'duration', meaning that the process must last enough time to allow people to be informed and involved. In the French legislation, these procedures must find a synergy with the Local Town Planning (*PLU- Plan Locale d'Urbanisme*), the Town Planning and Sustainable Development Projects (*Projet d'aménegament et de development durable)* as well as with other provisions, and might be connected with participatory processes like Agenda 21 or community projects.

The law Vaillant (2002), on the neighborhood democracy, affirmed the independence of the National Public Debate Board and established the birth of consultative district councils for the Municipalities over 80.000 inhabitants.

The Environment Code takes up certain provisions about participation of the Neighborhood Democracy law for broader territories. The Environment Chart, adopted in 2005, which has been assumed in the Constitution, allows strengthening the tools needed in the environment domain.

The Town planning code takes up the SRU Law extending the contents at the ZAC and at all the interventions that modifies in a substantial way the communities' life. The article 300-2 of the Town Planning Code (*Code de l'Urbanisme*, 2011), in fact, affirms that City councils discuss the objectives and the ways of the consultation including, during the elaboration of the project, the citizens, the local associations, and the other affected people before taking decisions about Local Town Planning and the creation of an Urban development Zone (*Zone d'Amenagement Concerté*) .

Participation guides and chart

The above-mentioned guide *Concerter à Paris* is dedicated to the elected and the services of the city. It is published as a leaflet and as CD by the "*Direction of Decentralization and relationships with Associations, the Territories and the Citizens, Local Democracy Mission*" of the Municipality.

It is organized in three parts. The first has the aim of sharing the basic principles of the consultation, of understanding about the meaning of the

words, and of giving the main marks about the rules. The second has a more operational aim. It proposes methods and tools to design and carry out a system of survey and consultation suitable for the particularities of a specific project. The third contains practical files about resources in which is possible to find the services and bodies already active in Paris and the responsible, and the file showing the methodological tools.

The short description of the contents it is useful to demonstrate what I highlight as a pedagogical attitude of the French bureaucracy that is very articulated and centralized but at the same time, ready to be used by the readers. As I stated above, it is very detailed containing synoptic tables even describing the disposition of the room to facilitate the meetings. Another aim of the guide is the formation of the executives and the elected to the culture of the project to get funds.

The Guide presents also the tools for involving young people aged 13-25: first of all the Youth Councils established in 19 Arrondissement in the 2001 and the City Youth Council in the 2003. They have a specific budget for initiatives, meet two or four times per months, are based on voluntary participation, and have a consultancy role.

A binding document ruling these matters is the Participation Chart (*Charte de la participation)* (www.democratielocale.paris.fr), which, on the intentions of the Municipality, gathers the commitments towards citizens about their involvement in the city life.

The main aims of the Chart are the harmonization, the evolution, and the community life. In practice it aims to render readable principles and values of the "game's rules" (*Charte de la partecipation*, 2010, p. 3), to develop a common participative culture, to assure the representation of diversity through several and innovative forms of consultation.

The Chart is an awareness leaflet presenting ten 'keys' of participation of the citizens. The keys highlight: the complementary role of the participation respect the representative democracy and the different scales of the participatory processes, from the city to the block of flats; the respect of equal opportunities and accessibility; the support of the associations; the development of the "e-participation"; the implementation of youth participation; the activation and formation of dedicated agents facilitating the participation; the obligation to involve citizens in every 'City level project'; the understandability of the technical documents; the integration of the participation in the projects and planning timetable since the beginning; the formation of citizens to the methods also through the Folk High School (*Université Populaire)* of the Active Citizenship; the evaluation of the processes and of the respect of the principles and commitments of the chart.

In the pages dedicated to participation in the Municipal website (www.paris.fr), the Municipality of Paris quoted the projects object of participative process. On the 3rd of November 2011, the project presented were the enlargement of Roland Garros Tennis Stadium promoted by the French Tennis Federation, the involvement of citizens in the writing of the

Environment Noise Prevention Plan, the Bercy Charenton rehabilitation plan. It also contains dossier and pictures about other projects like the ongoing one in the heart of Paris: the rehabilitation of Les Halles, the ancient venue of the General Market and one of the most controversial and debated venue of the city. In the website, it is also possible to find out the places where to participate: district councils, youth councils, and the non-EU citizens' assembly.

To go more in depth about the themes of participation I contacted Mr. Sami Kouidri, Coordinator of the Local Democracy Office; Users, Citizens and Territory Direction, Municipality of Paris. I administered the interview with Mr. Kouidri in the offices of the Municipality of Paris on the 21st of October 2011.

About the principles, the target groups, and the methods of participation in Paris Mr. Kouidri answered that the Municipality, using the above mentioned guide *Concerter à Paris* and carrying on direct formation, trains the executives, the elected, at every level, in addition to citizens. They had not started yet the direct formation of the elected. This is, in my opinion, a very important task to be achieved and not so common in participation strategies; the elected have to understand what the participatory processes can achieve only if they have had experience of the methods. Until the moment of he interview, they participate as testimonies at the course they carried out for the executives. This was supposed to happen very soon. Mr. Kouidri stated that it is important to do it together because they all are part of a common culture of the participation and, even if it is a very heavy job, it is nonetheless meaningful. The willing of the Major and of the Deputy Major at the Local Democracy was that every actor had the same basis to develop participatory processes sharing the same frame. Mr. Kouidri reminded as many provisions for facilitating the participation had been taken by the Major since his first election in 2001. The Major was, at the moment of the interview, ruling his second mandate till 2014.

According to Mr. Kouidri, on the matter of participation, in the last ten years, the situation has totally changed. This implied the creation of guides for all the citizens about the functioning of the local democracy and the creation of several bodies and councils: youth, parents, associations; elderly.

The Council of Architecture, Town planning and environment, established by the law, organizes with a strong pedagogic commitment, several conferences and meetings called 'Small city lectures' (*Petites Leçons de Ville*). The council exists in all the French Departments and carries on a sensitization about town planning. The idea is to develop a higher understanding among citizens about the urban issues and themes. This aspect, as I stated in Chapter five, is crucial to raise the level of the answers of the non-expert citizens, which, otherwise, ask for what they already know.

During the interview, we spoke also about projects that were underway at that moment like The Seine River's Banks (*Berges de Seine*), Les Halles, and Paris Left Bank (*Paris Rive Gauche)* that were also cases investigated in my research.

Taking example by the *Berges de Seine* project that was foreseen lasting 18 months from the starting of the process to the realization of interventions, I

wonder if that time should be enough to develop a real participation and if it was part of a strategy tending to highlight the efficacy of the process.

Mr. Kouidri reminded as one out of ten of the Municipal territory was under rehabilitation and there were projects in every arrondissement. The already mentioned Chart of the Participation is precise about the time of the participation. The legal required time is three months but there are projects lasting several years. The city of Paris goes several times over the minimum; it is a political, moral, philosophical commitment taken by the Major. The idea is to put the citizens and the users at the center of the policy. Moreover, as it is known, the times of the administration, the times of the law, and the times of the works are not the citizens' times. That is the reason because the Municipality had established the Office of the Times, at that time presented as a 'working site' with the aim of balancing the different times of the city. For example, for the *Berges de Seine* project, Mr. Delanoe had decided to prolong the time of the Public Debate (*Enquéte Publique)* of 15 days. In that case, there have been carried out meetings at district level but also at metropolitan level because the project influences in several ways the river up and down stream of that point. They had developed a metropolitan cyber-debate to reach a higher number of citizens.

Moreover, Mr. Kouidri reminded that the citizens have also the possibility of the right of interpellation instituted by the Major. The Prefect, representative of the state, made opposition to this right. The key point of the Prefect was that any external instance could not oblige the Major to put an issue in the agenda of the City Council. The Major won in front of the Administrative Court. The first draft foresaw that the 3% of the citizens had the right to make an interpellation. The Major developed also a web-platform to facilitate the process. According to the rules of the provision, the Major is obliged to present the interpellation in front of the City Council. To reinforce this right, after the decision of the court, the Major wanted to reduce the percentage to 1% of the citizens (approximately 18000 people residents belonging to every nationalities). Moreover, the Major established a City Board of Public Debate (*CPDP – Commission Parisienne du Débat Public*) on the model of the National one that is in charge of opening and regulating the big projects at national level. A member of the State Council leads it. It is composed by citizens, the Deputy Mayor for participation, the members of the opposition and external personalities. The first aim of the Board is to monitor the respect of the principles of the Chart, the admissibility of the petitions, and to produce advices on the projects of rehabilitation, and of the processes of consultation.

The report of the activities 2010 (CPDP, 2010) explains the characteristics of the board, the activities carried out in 2010, the assessment work of the 'keys' written in the participation chart. There are also some accounts of members.

Specific cases

Speaking about Les Halles et Paris Rive Gauche, Mr. Kouidri admitted not to be so well informed because they were started before his arrival in that position.

Nonetheless, he highlighted that one new and interesting aspect about Paris Rive Gauche was the birth of the Standing Consultation Board for the first time in Paris due to the willing of the new Administration. The establishment of the Board is prominently related to the matter about time management because, while the law obliges to have three months of consultation, this is a way in which the dialog can be permanent among the several stakeholders. Since that moment, all the projects lasting for long times have had a Board like that.

'Paris Rive Gauche' has been carried out as a neighborhood democracy project together with the Municipality of the 13th Arrondissement using several innovative ideas. The citizens pushed because their suggestions had the same weight of the workbook of the Project manager. The principle is that only they know how the territory is lived and is used and its temporality.

Speaking about Les Halles (Figures 162 and 163), Mr.Kouidri pointed out as the city of Paris was living, throughout the Halles project, for the first time a strong opposition. According to him, this was interesting, "we learn and we have refined tools for the public debate but the whole city is learning; thus we are redefining the principles of the Participative democracy" (Kouidri, personal communication, 2011). There was a strong neighborhoods association and the difficulty was to match the needs of them together with the needs and opinions of the millions of users. Les Halles is a crossroad for one million users every day. "In our city the users is also a citizens. Here there is the conflict between the users and the residents. How to deal with all this crossed rights maintaining the people at the centre of our policies? It's our role to find new tools and skills to allow everyone to feel its place." (Kouidri, 2011). It is worthwhile to point out that all the functions of the Les Halles underground area (Metro and RER stations, cinemas, shopping centers, museums, libraries) have been working during the works.
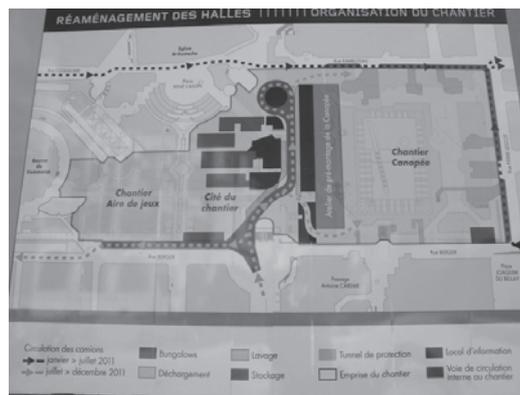
FIGURE 162   Les Halles: The signpost of the building site (A. Borgogni, October 2011)

FIGURE 163   Les Halles : the huge building site in the heart of Paris. (A. Borgogni, October 2011)

Mr. Kouidri stated that in the mentioned projects there were or had been several processes carried out to involve all the citizens difficult to reach during the large meetings: youth but not only. On the Berges de Seine project, there are some homeless, excluded, and others. It is difficult to take account of their problems and points of view. There had been workshops for the Seine's banks with young people and children while for the Clichy Batignolles project, young people were working using the 3-D technology. There are also associations that are specialized in the popularization and sensitization of youngsters and children. Mr. Kouidri spoke about the Deputy Major Mme. Hidalgo, in charge of the Town Planning and Architecture, who had a special attention for children. She had in mind that those who are presently children would live the realization of the present works as adults. The children had been involved in workshops and competitions. Their planning had been re-drawn by famous designers. According to the interviewed, they can be involved in the city life in these ways too.

The associations

I asked Mr. Kouidri about the role of associations in the projects with reference to what I knew about them as partners of the Municipality or established by citizens because there is a project in their neighborhood or those like 'Tam Tam', which is taking care of all the biggest planning projects of the city. Tam Tam is a city association leader in sparking off debates about the plans of rehabilitation of the city. It was born in 1990 to oppose to the Rive Gauche Plan considered "all concrete" (www.associationtamtam.fr). In particular, the association fights for a major involvement of citizens, for a precise focus on sustainability, for user-friendly districts. It is officially involved, as member of the Steering Committee, or unofficially as opinion-group in several project nowadays going on in Paris.

Mr. Kouidri answered that the city had the strategic conviction and the philosophy to develop the democratic life in the city. The main idea was that the core of the democracy is the vitality of the associations. There is a sub-direction of the Municipality designated for associative life. The Major decided to give the tools and to establish the Houses of associations in every Arrondissement as resources for them. Mr. Kouidri pointed out, as example, that in the meeting-room in front of his office, there was a meeting of the directors of the Houses of Associations. The executive board of the city believed that the debate is healthy also when generates conflicts.

Since several years, there is a yearly meeting about the metropolitan life for the citizens (The 2011 edition, named 'The spring of the local democracy', it would have been held within 10 days) at city and district level. The association environment is the theme of the year because there will be the 110 celebration of the law on associations (1901). This constitutes a democratic dialogue within the associations and the municipality.

When I mentioned what I call a pedagogic attitude of the French bureaucracy, Mr. Kouidri explained a project in which they were working at that moment and relevant about the conceptions of the democracy itself. On the frame of the involvement of citizens, in fact, there is the Folk High School of the Active Citizenship *(Universite Populaire de la Citoyenneté Active)* provided for the Chart of Participation. Its aim is to empower the programs deserving the formation of the citizens in several contexts. It is useful also to network the stakeholders, the citizens, and the associations. The basic concept is the crossed fertilization of the knowledge. In practical terms, and referring to the mentioning of the excluded, they are carriers of life and use an expertise the administration need to understand the urban environment. They tend to reinforce the urban empowerment.

One problem, when they met the citizens is related to dynamize the meetings. Mr. Kouidri was carrying out a formation for the elected of the 11th Arrondissement working to offer a critic glance on the way in which they organize the public debate. For example starting from the way in which the agenda of the meetings is written, and comparing the usual way and some other way of managing the debates to 'free the words.'

Mr. Kouidri showed some agendas of meetings and explained me how to change them and how to manage the different points in different ways. Moreover, he showed me several techniques: among them the 6x6 groups, in which a group of six people discuss for 6 minutes of a specific matter, or the theatre forum in which he rented professional actors to represent the problem and the participants were invited to represent their specific point of view.

Sometimes the meetings are carried out directly by the executives of the Municipality like Mr. Kouidri, able to manage several techniques but are not the case for all the colleagues; for this reason it is also important to train the executives because their formation can change the culture of the organization. Moreover, they use also some external organizations.

During the interview, we discussed using also some personal documents he wrote about the local democracy in Paris (Kouidri, 2011).

Local democracy

In the document '*La democratie locale a Paris'*, Mr. Kouidri defined the strategy of the Municipality about participation considered as the meaning of a strong political will since 2001. The main concept is that "the major and his staff consider that the participatory democracy does not replace the representative democracy but reinforce it" (Kouidri, 2011, p.1). The nine years since the beginning of that policy an incalculable number of information, consultation, and participation meetings were carried out. They were dedicated to Local Urban Plan (*PLU, Plan Locale d'Urbanisme*), to the *Plan de Deplacement de Paris* (Paris Mobility Plan), to *Plan Climat* (Climate Plan), to Agenda 21, to *Grand Projects de Renouvellment Urbaine* (Large Urban Rehabilitation Projects), and many other town planning projects which are structuring the Paris territory like the planning of the Seine banks or Plaçe de la Republique.

The bodies working in this frame are 122 councils at district level; at arrondissement level 18 youth councils, sages' councils, children's councils; at municipal level the youth council, the non-EC citizenship council, the students' life council. Every council is provided with a budget. Representatives of the municipality carry out formation courses on projects and participatory methodology dedicated to councils' members, associations' members, and citizens.

The Major's mandate project foresaw the enlargement and the deepening of the participation aiming mainly at citizens that are currently out of the process. A dedicated heading on the web site of the municipality is open for suggestions and remarks on several projects and issues.

The Seine's riverbanks

The case of The Seine River's Banks *(Les berges de la Seine),* which was ongoing at the moment of the interview with Mr. Kouidri, is worth a more in depth examination. The *Berges de Seine* project is re-planning the Seine's banks involving five arrondissements in Paris. The project covers 5,6 km on the two banks and 33 hectares. The inhabitants living in the arrondissement are around 300.000.

FIGURE 164 The Quai de Tournelle, on the banks of the Seine in 1970, completely patronized by cars (retrieved November 3, 2011 from Mairie de Paris, Etude d'impact, 2010)

The Impact Study of the Municipality (*Mairie de Paris, Etudes d'impacte. Resumé non-technique*, 2010), in the section on the urban environment, analyzing the current situation of the banks in terms of mobility, describes the situation of weak accessibility for pedestrians and bicycles.

Since the appearance of the cars' mobility in the thirties, the use of the banks was strictly dedicated to that kind of mobility until the seventies (Figure 164) when protests pushed decision makers to re-think them as public space. This process has been changed starting from the beginning of the last decade and the current project is on the way to stabilize those visions aiming at a balanced relationship between the city and the river.

The Paris Town Planning Workshop (*Atelier Parisien d'Urbanisme*-APUR) had been commissioned by the Municipality to draw a sketch of the new spaces and uses of the banks. The draft was presented in April 2010. The second semester of the same year was dedicated to a public consultation involving citizens and institutions that gave the result of a 70% of agreement with the project.

The frame aim of the project is to valorize "this unique site, part of the UNESCO World Heritage, bearer of the Paris' identity, developing the urban and landscape integration, eliminating the motorway appearance of the banks [...] offering anew landscape reconciling the city with the river" (Mairie de Paris, 2010, p. 13). In particular, the project aims at giving back the banks to pedestrians, raising the accessibility, giving continuity to the cycle and pedestrian lanes, diversifying the users offering sports, cultural, economic activities, strengthening the ecological continuity of the river.

The budget is 35 million Euros, the maintenance costs 5 million Euros per year; the opening to the public is foresaw in the summer 2012. The right bank will remain open to car traffic with pedestrian crossing ruled by traffic lights to reduce cars' speed and facilitate the access to the river. The 2.5 km long stretch of the lower left bank between the bridges Royal and Alma will be pedestrianized while the upper bank will be reorganized to host the traffic

previously hosted in the lower bank. The latest will become a continuous pedestrian and cycle lane with the watchfulness of a light and reversible planning, ready to be changed and free from every kind of programming and destination. The foreseen spaces include those for sport with a flexible program according to the season, the days of the week, and open to school pupils; cultural spaces near Alexander III Bridge; educational spaces dedicated to the water environment; a space for events.

Among the several estimations of the effects of the project concerning the physical and natural environment, the compatibility with possible floods, the landscape, the comfort, I choose to deepen the effects on the mobility. The Impact Study foresees negative effects on the motorized traffic, very positive for the non-motorized traffic and for the safety of the weak users of the city, including disabled people. The motor traffic on the right bank is expected to be reduced between the 16% and the 26%; the increase on the left bank should be less than 10%. The effect on the availability of parking spaces will be negative partially recouped by the reduction of the number of cars taking the bank. The impact on health will be positive from several points of view: the study foresees a better quality of the air, a strong decrease of the noise, a major safety during trips due to the above-mentioned road works, a safety throughout the day and night assured by the lighting and by guardianship (Mairie de Paris, 2010).

The 6th of July 2010, the Municipality approved the provision about the participatory process that was concluded on November 30, 2010.

The Seine riverbanks: the results of the participation

The report Planning of the Seine's banks. Report on Preliminary Concertation (*Aménagement des Berges de Seine. Bilan de la concertation préalable,* Mairie de Paris, 2011) shows the data about the process: 1750 people, 300 children among them, attended the meeting and the workshop, the forum opened on the web site was visited 22000 times with 510 suggestions. The 2284 contributions were clustered into three main themes: activities and uses of the banks, mobility, and the design and life of the project. The 65,3% of the opinions were positive (strongly positive the 54%), the negative were 27,7%, the 6,8% were neutral. The negative answers are mainly related to the fear for the cars' mobility and for the too much festive nature of the activities. The suggestions concern particularly the activities (37,7%), and the mobility (36,5%). (Mairie de Paris, 2011),

Among the workshops, one was especially dedicated to young people. It involved university students of several high schools on town planning, architecture, and industry. They worked in small groups delivering final comments.

A plan of institutional meetings were also carried out involving stakeholders like associations of municipalities and organization and boards like *Paris Port* (Docks of Paris), SNCF (the national railway company), RATP (the underground company) etc.

The analysis of the suggestions given in the several occasions was divided into three clusters: activities and users, mobility, the concept and the life of the

project. A non-representative statistical analysis was effectuated to know the distribution of the suggestions in the clusters, the weight of some specific themes (for example sport activities), and the repartition of opinions about others, for example traffic circulation. In the following paragraph, I would present the data more related to the topics of my research: leisure, rest, relaxation, sports activities, users, and light mobility. The report highlights that the data do not have a statistical value.

The opinions on activities and uses represent the 37,7% of the total. Among them, those related to leisure, rest and relaxation are 199 (6,2% of the total suggestions). The landscape imagined is peaceful, embellished with trees, full of benches, ideal for walking and dawdling, meeting, enjoying the nearness of the water. Several suggestions aim at the Paris Plage experience, many ask for games to be played outdoor like giant chess, table tennis, baby-foot. The environment highlighted is inter-generational and family. Petanque, tai chi and light gymnastic are among the suggested activities. About the young people, the Workshops highlighted the need to have dedicated spaces for them, to be organized following their wishes also considering their scarce availability of money.

The sports activities get the 4,1% of the opinions. The kind of sport highlighted is non-competitive, connected with the leisure, the family, and innovative like climbing, and sliding sports. The most wished activities are divided in several fields: fitness, fitness trails, and various forms of gymnastic; sliding sports, in relation to that the lack of facilities in Paris and the need of an sound insulation are highlighted; climbing walls; water sport and swimming pool; team sports. The associations propose to manage the spaces and the activities.

The opinions about the users underline the conflicts. From one side those who think that the project fosters the presence of idle people, homeless, *bobo (bourgeois bohème)*, tourists, and youngsters from the suburbs to the detriment of workers. These opinions are against the development of the banks as a leisure place thinking that leisure concerns only a minority of people. On the opposite side are those who think that the project is elitist resulting attractive only for the wealthy classes. These opinions emphasize the needs of free services, events, and attractions.

A strong attention was turned on the accessibility for disabled. The opinions about Mobility were the 37,7% of the total. About the traffic the opinions are divided between those favorable (mainly commuters) and those against the opening. The latest mentions the positive effects of these measures in other cities like Bordeaux, Lyon, and Nantes.

The opinions about light mobility are the 11,7% of the total and largely very positive. There are distinctions about the use of the bicycles, between the mobility and leisure use and several remarks and proposals were appointed about the share of the space between pedestrians and Cyclists. The participants at the workshops highlighted the theme of the safety for pedestrians, the need to make the ways clear and pleasant, and the need of a true distinction between the ways for mobility and for rambling.

The involvement of children 6-12 was made through workshops carried out during a weekend in which around 300 children were involved.

For what concerns the involvement of the local authorities and the institutional partners it is worthwhile to point out that the opinions were largely positive about the general idea of the project and, for the local authorities, for the will to involve them. The main doubts and reflections came about the impact of the works on the traffic flow.

My opinion is that, with this project, the Municipality is carrying on a true case of top-down project in a very short time. From a political point of view, the shortness of the participatory phase is understandable to give the idea of a good efficiency in the realization of the interventions and it is remarkable the effort made for involving people in a plan concerning the behaviors of millions of people including the thousands living nearby. Nonetheless, it has to be reminded that the number of contacts and opinions is not so huge considering the potential users and the size of the area and that the time plays a fundamental role in allowing people to get involved and aware of the modifications.

The project is among the matters assessed by the 2010 report of the *Commission Parisienne du Débat Public*. The suggestions of the Board were to extend the geographical area of consultation including the *Ile de France* (Paris Metropolitan Area), and to involve all the stakeholders of the democratic life. Moreover, the suggestion was to organize thematic workshops. The suggestions were overall followed.

During the interview administered to Mr. Kouidri, while I was supposing that, due to the shortness of the project, the works were going on at eight months by the end (summer 2012), Mr. Kouidri affirmed that the objective is to carry out the works and the same time to respect the environment and that all the facilities and the furniture should have had the characteristic to be removable in 24/48 hours for the risk of floods. The installation of light infrastructures is, I presume, the reason because there are not any works going on in the area as from the observation effectuated on the 22nd of October 2011.

FIGURE 165 A signpost showing the functions of the Seine's banks before the intervention. (A. Borgogni, October 2011)

FIGURE 166 The stretch of the Seine's Bank that will be object of intervention. (A. Borgogni, October 2011)

7.2.2.4 The sub-cases

Paris Rive Gauche

In the 13th Arrondissement, with the aim to close the urban caesura formed by the railway lines departing from the nearby Gare d'Austerlitz, works are going on to roofing the rails.

These works are part of a large project of refurbishment of the Gare d'Austerlitz, which is currently underway. Four new tracks are in construction and all the existing tracks are being covered. The interior will be rebuilt in order to receive the TGV Sud-Est and Atlantique, partially transferred from the Gare de Lyon and Montparnasse, which have reached maximum capacity. All the work is planned to be fully realized by 2025, and will allow a doubling of the station's activity.

The district that is constructing around this works, formerly an area of mills and fridge buildings known as *Grand Moulins,* is undergoing a large plan of rehabilitation (ZAC Rive Gauche). It is becoming an example of mixed functions quarter assuring, in the recent French tradition of building and rehabilitation, a continuous use during the day/night and the year (Farinella, 2009). Dwellings, offices, services, libraries, schools, the University of Paris VII 'Diderot', students' houses. Moreover, some social housing plans should assure diversity (*mixité*) based on the presence of different social economic status residents. This theme puts itself also as a reaction against the excess of the zoning of some town planning approaches. The theme of the *mixité* is quite interesting also from the body facilitating environment point of view: in fact, a lively area with the characteristics for being used through the day and periods of the year tends to create favourable context in which people use public spaces.

As Pinçon and Pinçon-Charlot (2008) stated, the problem of the *mixité* is strictly linked with the gentrification. This meant the de-industrialization, de-proletariatization of the city centre connected with the raise of the prices of the

dwellings. Also mentioning Fijalkow (2002), the authors define the concept of the *mixité* as a "difficult to achieve ideal although strongly present in the elected declarations, in the legislation, in the rules: to assure the coexistence of different social classes in the same district, quarter, or building. In this sense, the *mixité* is opposed to segregation." (Pinçon & Pinçon-Charlot, 2008, p. 86). There are also other forms of *mixité:* demographic, generational, ethnic, cultural and it is variable according to the hours, the days, and the seasons.

One legislative answer can be the regulation imposed by the above-mentioned law SRU on the urban rehabilitation for whom the municipalities over 1500 inhabitants in *Île de France* have to achieve the 20% of social housing by the 2022.

The theme of participation is faced using the above-mentioned legislative tools included in the above-mentioned ZAC.

Paris Rive Gauche: the role of the SEMAPA

Since 1991, the SEMAPA, Société d'Economie Mixte d'Aménagement de Paris, a private company with majority of public capital, has been commissioned by the Municipality for development of the Paris Rive Gauche integrated development zone, a project that involves the redevelopment of wasteland between the river Seine and the railway tracks exiting Paris-Austerlitz station (Figures 167-170).

The Company is in charge of acquiring land, developing the networks, the public roads, designing plans of the future areas, selling building rights, receiving inhabitants and companies on the site and of the general co-ordination of this new part the responsibility of the project. The company also co-ordinates the big infrastructure work which crosses the project: the new Meteor Tube, the C line of the RER (rapid-transit train service between Paris and suburbs); and subsequently the transformation of Austerlitz Station into a TGV station.

Thérèse Cornil, managing director of the SEMAPA in 2000, gave a comprehensive overview of the project: "the Paris Rive Gauche area reinforces links between the business world, universities, research centres and technological and scientific resource centres. Paris Rive Gauche already has a very strong cultural identity with the National Library, the creation of a City of Sound and Image (cinemas), enhancing the status of approximately one hundred existing artists' studios, two theatres, artists galleries and barges set out with cultural themes. Paris Rive Gauche is aiming to become the Latin Quarter of the next century. [...] This area of Paris is home to the very large Pitié Salpêtrière hospital and medical research centre. Various companies and higher educational and establishments centred on telecommunications are one of the pillars of this new district" (Cornil, 2000).

The project forecasts 15000 new inhabitants (5000 residences with services on the premises), 50000 job, 10 new public parks, and several cycle and pedestrian paths bordered by plants along the river.

The railway tracks form a barrier between these new districts, bordered to the south by the new Avenue de France, and the old districts, bordered to the

north by the Rue du Chevaleret. Roofing over all or part of the railway tracks will have the effect of reconnecting old and new districts, and giving the 13th arrondissement access to the river Seine once again.

SNCF, owner of the 20% of SEMAPA, agreed, as expected, to reduce its right-of-way requirements to the minimum and to permit "construction over railway lines, thereby creating a new cityscape not divided by tracks. In other words, it was decided that rail infrastructures can be compatible with urban environment as long as the railways doesn't occupy the entire space in high density areas" (Boudon, 2003).

According to the SEMAPA, 'Paris Rive Gauche' official web site (SEMAPA, 2012), the main idea of the project is "the continuous city", containing a double ambition: to link the old and new districts and to give back the Seine to its inhabitants. The cover of the tracks main aim is to sew the 13th Arrondissement cut since the beginning of the XIX century.

After the first two years of study, besides the construction of roads linking the two parts of the Arrondissement came forward the idea of the covering without any specific decision about the area to cover.

Indeed, if the recovery is one of the major issues and raises many discussions and debates, it should be integrated in a more complex frame. The program requires applicants to build at least 15 000 m2 green areas, the rehabilitation of the whole or of a part of the SERNAM Hall, a gymnasium, a physical education ground.

Applicant's architects will have to imagine the implementation of housing and office buildings in this mosaic. The percentage of the covering will therefore vary depending on the proposals.

The participatory process is considered in the spirit "of a debate peaceful and serene in a confrontation of ideas of high maintenance" (SEMAPA, *La concertation* section), to enrich the content of the project as well as its implementation, and measurement; to light up decision-makers' choices helping them to better define the project and the process up to its realization. The participative process has the aim, starting from a basis of complete, contradictory and discussed information, to stimulate reflection, exchange and the reciprocal approach of the different views and proposals. To achieve the aim a web-site was opened containing many information as well as the report of all the meeting of the several groups.

A 25 members consultative working group Committee has been established. It is composed by authorities, technicians and representative of associations involved in planning. It meets regularly, other associations and professionals can participate according to the themes.

It examines theme by theme various aspects of the folder to consultation. It can hear people or organized groups who wish to express a point of view. It can also apply, according to themes, the support of professionals in specialized areas.

A guarantor office ensures efficient consultation. The guarantor is a person recognized for its ethics and public dialogue experience. The office follows the transparency of the process in all phases, the expression of the

diversity of views and the quality of the mutual listening. It can hear the people and associative organizations wishing to meet him. The guarantor validates meeting minutes. Annually, he wrote his own assessment on how the consultation has been conducted.

Other qualified people follow, along with the guarantor, the working sessions and give advices. They are chosen according to the same criteria of ethics as the guarantor and own competencies related to the matters of planning.

A specific office (*bureau de concertation*) manages the meetings and the contacts; group works are nominated for specific matters or areas. A specific Agreement containing the aim of the process has been approved and monthly magazines are published (Paris Rive Gauche Magazine).

Reading the minutes and the documents I gained the idea that from the Authority's point of view, the discussions have been animated and, sometimes, stormy, but, globally, the associations, the construction companies, the municipality, share the same imperative: the importance of physical and social connections, permeability, diversity.

Paris Rive Gauche: the role of associations

Nonetheless, according to citizens and associations, the Committee is somehow static and, even if some District Councils have been involved since 2003, the representatives of the civil society are the same and have undergone a process of *notabilisation*, which means that they have more and more lost their role as a civil society representatives to adequate their opinion to the othr representatives of the councils. The district residents were asked very little in participating in groups of discussion. Their opinions have been listened only in some "consultation-day events" or using questionnaires after the realization of the interventions. Even if the SEMAPA states that all the participative measures have developed according to the 1996 Chart of the Participation of the Ministry of Environment ruling these matters, the way in which the measures have been applied and the tools used "give a relatively restrictive dimension of the concertation" (Zetlaoui-Legér, 2007, p. 14). The information has been delivered partially without a true possibility of inclusion of the associations in the core themes and operational process of the project. According to Zetlaoui-Legér, in fact, the participative process, even if formally respecting the law, is far from the spirit of the recommendations of the 1996 Chart and the involvement of associations and district council is not really part of the process of elaboration of the project. Mentioning Vayer (2002), Zetlaoui-Legér reminds as for SEMAPA and the Municipality, the relationship with associations has always been difficult mainly because their distrust. SEMAPA gives continuously the idea not to need the consultation and the dialogue with civil society to elaborate the plan and the web site of the project is aimed more at promotion than to facilitate participation. "In the Paris Rive Gauche Project, in spite of a sophisticated system, the consultation is carried on in parallel respect the process of

elaboration of the plans that follows a different agenda and is decided in other places" (Zetlaoui-Legér, 2007, p. 12).

I would like to add that I asked several time SEMAPA as well as Tam Tam, one of the main association, the possibility to administrate an interview without receiving any answer.

I observed the area two times on April 27th 2009 and October 22nd 2011.

FIGURE 167   The map of the area Paris Rive Gauche-Bercy (www.googleearth.com)

FIGURE 168   The works between the streets Tolbiac, Chevaleret and Avenue de France. On the background: two towers of the Francois Mitterand National Library. (Antonio Borgogni, April 2009):

FIGURE 169   The works between the streets Tolbiac, Chevaleret and Avenue de France. On the background: two towers of the Francois Mitterand National Library. (Antonio Borgogni, April 2009)

FIGURE 170   The progress status of the works in October 2011. The picture has been taken from the same point of the previous pictures (A. Borgogni, 2011)

Crossing the Seine from Paris Rive Gauche towards Parc Bercy

Crossing the Seine from the Paris Rive Gauche works area, where the impressive Mitterand National Library lays, is, since 2006, an easy way thanks to the *Passerelle Simon de Beauvoir* (Figures 171-174), a foot-bridge whose particular shape, designed by Dietmar Feichtinger, allows several functions and expressions of the body: walking, cycling but also picnicking or waiting for sunset. The architect describes the use of the bridge in the following way: "The intersection of the arch and catenary curves creates a symmetrical 'lens', forming a plaza 12 m wide and 50 m long, suspended above the river; this element anchors the bridge visually in the landscape" (www. feichtingerarchitectes.com).

The footbridge has been clearly conceived to facilitate the body to cross the Seine. From this point of view can be considered a contemporary intervention like the one planned by Haussmann for the Ile de la Cité.

Unfortunately, the Mitterand Library forms a caesura for those wishing to cross the area in the left bank. The huge square connecting to the bridge is underutilized and the steep stairs create difficulties for those who want to go down at street level.

FIGURE 171   The Simon de Beauvoir Footbridge from the National Library (south) (A. Borgogni, April 2009)

FIGURE 172   The Simon de Beauvoir Foot-bridge from the north side (Quai de la Gare) (A. Borgogni, October 2011)

FIGURE 173   The footbridge from the Bercy side of the Seine: on the left corner (white arrow) a tower of the National Library. (A. Borgogni, April 2009)

FIGURE 174 A protected area mid-way at the central lens allows pedestrians to shelter from rain. (A. Borgogni, October 2011)

The Bercy Park

The Park Bercy is on the Right bank of the Seine just opposite the Mitterand National Library.

Formerly a part of the Bois de Vincennes, inaugurated on 1994, it is a park offering several functions and opportunities from the perspective of my research.

The South side ends with the St. Emilion Court, a former site of wine-warehouses, the biggest wine market in the world until the 1960, which was thrown in crisis by the new house bottle-filling trend. After the decision to preserve the buildings (1980), the zone (Pinçon & Pinçon-Charlot, 2008) is nowadays a commercial, well maintained, area. After the completion of the eastern part, the garden reaches its final area of about 14 hectares.

The main elements of the site were preserved when the design of the park was worked out: century-old trees, essentially plane and chestnut trees; paved lanes previously used to transport the wine from the river banks to the wineries, four buildings already existing on the site : the Bercy Pavilion, a house of gardening, the lake house and the orangery.

The north side ends with the Omnisport Palace Paris-Bercy, which hosts several sports and spectacles events.

When the sport hall is closed, the hill created by the particular structure of the building is patronized by skateboarders, skaters, bikers, child-scooters, and climbers (Figures 175-193).

FIGURE 175   The Bercy Omnisport Hall (Flickr.com.)

FIGURE 176   The terrace-staircases structure forming the exterior of the Hall (A. Borgogni, April 2009)

The skate-boarders use the staircases and terraces around the top level the Sports Hall, bikers use the paved ground around the building and other terraces and staircases

FIGURE 177   FIGURE 178; FIGURE 179: Bercy Omnisport Hall, the skateboarders' use of the space (A. Borgogni, April 2009)

FIGURE 180 FIGURE 181: Bercy Omnisport, the grassy walls and the marks of climbing (A. Borgogni, April 2009):

FIGURE 182 FIGURE 183: Bercy Omnisport, bikers and graffiti marking their territory (A. Borgogni, April 2009)

Many kinds of users play their bodily practices on that space and around. Many practices belong to the post-modern sport as hypothesized or stated by several

scholars. It is worth to mention Heinemann, Puig (1996) who divided sports in competitive, spectacular, expressive, and instrumental; Pociello, 1996, who spoke about the 'californication' of sport practices; Porro, 2001, 2008, who faced the role of the so-called new sport practices in relationship with the role and the image of the body also in a Visual Sociology perspective; Ferrero Camoletto (2005). Ferrero Camoletto proposes (2005, p.193) a sub division of post-modern sports based on the criteria of aims, kind of competition, behaviour, relationship with the rules, connection with other practices, kind of spaces, validation criteria. The postmodern sports are divided in extreme, sliding, and fitness. In particular, in the Bercy park, I observed mainly the practice of sliding sports in which there are elements based on aesthetics, self-competition, acrobatic, creativity, and sensations.

FIGURE 184   Bercy Omnisport, indoor BMX competition (Flickr.com)

Of great interest in Bercy is the crossing of several levels and environments (both social and physical): inside the Hall the official sport is carried out, including BMX competitions. Outside, on the artificial slopes created by the particular shape of the building and on the immediate neighbourhood, unofficial sports are practiced with a marked social value and for training or leisure-fun purposes. To complete the frame-description, the square around the Sports Hall borders on a famous Skate Park, immediately beyond the Skate Park, there are several playgrounds: from this point of view this area is a perfect example of what Porro (2001) described.

Using the Simmel (2007) notions of space and city and the pervasiveness between psychological and physical aspects, Porro illustrated the "interesting dynamics of construction of symbolic borders [between organized sports, with the stadium representing] a geometry of social order and a monument to the ethic of rationalization [and the] fascinating territory of open air sports, strongly contaminated by the new environmentalist cultures" (Porro, 2001, pp. 54-55).

FIGURE 185 FIGURE 186: the Bercy "City Stade" playgrounds (Antonio Borgogni, April 2009)

Moreover, the grass lawn of the park hosts several informal body and sports practices like soccer played by children, the less common "Takraw" (tennis soccer) or individual or group parkour training sessions.

FIGURE 187 Bercy Park, Takraw amateur players (Antonio Borgogni, April 2009)

The Skate Park represents, in itself, another category of environment for practicing sports. It is a semi-structured multi-tool-used hall highly symbolic because showing at the same time all the social-aesthetical signs of youngsters like graffiti and wrecks materials as well as, as I observed in 2011, hanged shoes symbol of the Maghreb protests.

I observed the Bercy Park three times on April 22nd and 24th 2009 and on October 22nd 2011.

FIGURE 188   FIGURE 189: The Bercy Skate Park (Flickr.com.)

Figure 190   Figure 191: The Bercy Skate Park (Flickr.com.)

FIGURE 192: The Bercy Skate Park, Graffiti and wrecks materials (A. Borgogni, April 2009)

FIGURE 193   The Bercy Skate Park, Hanged shoes (A. Borgogni, 2011)

The Atelier de Launay

The Atelier de Launay is a French studio ruled by Alessandra Toniolo Thomson, an Italian artist, and composed by sculptors and craftsmen. Since 1971, it is engaged in producing original furniture for playgrounds and realizes urban planning for architects and municipalities. The relevance of their work for my research is, according to their web-site, that before imagining their designs, Atelier de Launay "studies the area, thinks about the history of the place and meets with local adults and children [respecting] the population's wishes and the characteristics of the place. Each area is given a special answer and a new story". (www.atelierdelaunay.eu). The unique sculptural equipment are "based on a historic, literary, artistic, fantastic theme and are designed with the users of the space" The main materials are wood (oak, sequoia, cedar), stainless steel or granite.

I personally met Alessandrat (artist name of Mrs. Toniolo Thomson) several time in Italy and, in an unexpected way, in France, during an observation carried out in *Parc de* Sceaux, one of the playgrounds designed by the 'Atelier'.

The uniqueness of their realization (Figures 194-200) is evident watching the following pictures taken in Nancy and in two different playgrounds in the Paris outskirts: Parc de Sceaux in the homonymous Municipality, and Parc du Millenaire in the Courbevoie Municipality at walking distance by La Defense district.

FIGURE 194   Parc de Sceaux : wooden scupltures and equipment (Atelier de Launay, 2005)
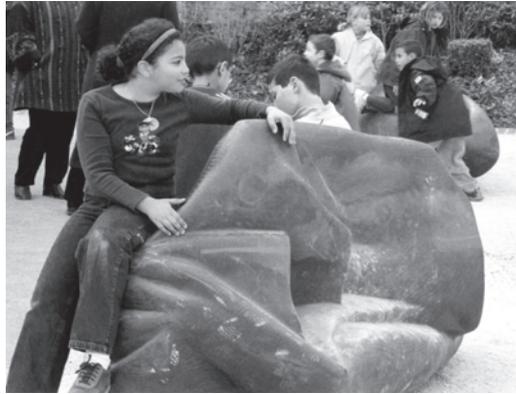
FIGURE 195   A Launay-style bench in Parc du Millenaire, (Atelier de Launay, 2005)

FIGURE 196   Parc du Millenaire, a playground equipment (A. Borgogni, 2009)

FIGURE 197   Parc de Sceaux. Climbing walls made by notes, letters, and books (Atelier de Launay, 2005)

FIGURE 198   Parc de Sceaux. Climbing walls made by notes, letters, and books (Atelier de Launay, 2005)

FIGURE 199   Parc de Sceaux. The climbing bookshelf. (A. Borgogni, April 2009).

FIGURE 200   Nancy: a climbing structure (Atelier de Launay, 2005).

From the body expression point of view, the list of functions they suggest is meaningful: "To shelter, to lie down, to appear, to swing, to snuggle, to hide, to climb, to crawl, to cross a bridge, to discover, to fall, to get lost, to find, to go down, to go for a walk, to go through a tunnel, to go up, to hang from, to jump, to imagine stories, to make noise, to move, to play games, to perch, to roll, to run, to slide, to stride, to touch, to spin, to turn upside down, to watch, to step, to meet…"

The Atelier is one of the most innovative example in Europe for building playgrounds because of several characteristics: their refuse of putting prefabricated structures in any context, the awareness that way and the process of building a playground change the mental representation of the space, giving it the status of a place, the idea of stimulating imagination of all users, the procedures of involvement of citizens, mainly children, the study of the context, the tailoring of the realizations to fit the history of the place, the intentionally undefined way of using the structures,

The doubts, in this case, are related to the costs of the interventions and about the precise documentation, I can add assessment, of the participatory process that is not clear who and how involves.

Beyond these places I observed other spaces between the 21st and the 30th of April 2009: the Saint Denis area, the Goutte d'Or district, Parc Monceau.

Personal remarks and feelings

To a more in depth study of the city, which I already knew quite well, Paris confirmed its prominent role in innovation and cultural matters. Its uncontested role in France and the relevance of its town planning history allows the city to be the place of the planning and architectural experiments aimed at confirming what is know as French *grandeur*. The urban architectural pattern, the homogeneity of the architecture, the parks, the width of the sidewalks made the walking around enjoyable.

The huge efforts which have been produced in modifying the mobility in a city with a high density of inhabitants and hosting, as metropolitan region, the twenty per cent of French inhabitants, is perceptible and visible above all for the widespread presence of the *velib* stations. Paris is a construction site in itself which aims at building landmarks worldwide recognizable like the Centre Pompidou, the Pyramid out of the Louvre, the Mitterand Library, the Quai Branly Museum. It is, also, the unreachable place of the conflicts at national level. In Paris the main events are organized as well as the social tensions are expressed. The richness of the associative life is clearly visible in the thousands of initiatives and events organized and in the relevance of the debate at district and city levels. Moreover, the association is a way to gather citizens in a very proactive way when some minor or major changes occur in the city organization or in the district urban pattern. The proudness to be Parisian is easily perceptible; at the same time there are district that have maintained their village-style life with small markets, shops, and handicrafts in which the

tradition of walking with the *baguette* under the armpit expresses a sense of the desire of preserving a neighbourhood life even if living in a metropolis.

7.2.3 Cities in Finland

7.2.3.1 Town planning history, current situation, and perspectives

Finland was part of Sweden until 1809 and autonomous Grand Duchy under the Russian empire until the 1917. Thus, it is plausible to affirm that a proper Finnish town planning style is relatively recent.

Sundman (2005, p. 128) maintained the town-planning tradition in Finland is not strong. Architecture has made a deeper and more significant impact on the cultural history of the country. The development of urbanism started late but was then rapid, and over the last century has generated a built environment in which integrated conceptions of excellence and originality are rare. Finland has received impulses from Scandinavia and continental Europe.

It is worth to note that the large use of architectural and infrastructural competitions has resulted, in the majority of the cases, in good or interesting projects.

The structure of the oldest towns dates back at the 14th Century to answer to military (fortress and walls), customs (walls), religious (church), and communication (harbour, roads) needs. Turku (founded in 13th century) and Viipuri (15th century), now in Russian territory, are considered the oldest town still existing. The nineteenth-century Finnish town plan had been based on the Turku plan designed by Engels in 1828 (Figure 201). The network of the street was laid out on a rectangular basis. Streets' width was between 18 and 24 meters. The gridiron plan of the blocks was relieved by the tree-lined avenues along the river Aura, the park between the cathedral and the river, and the two large squares in the northern part of the town. […] The two mediaeval monuments, the castle and the cathedral, one at each end of the town, were linked by a single stretch of road north of the river (Sundman, 2005, p. 76).
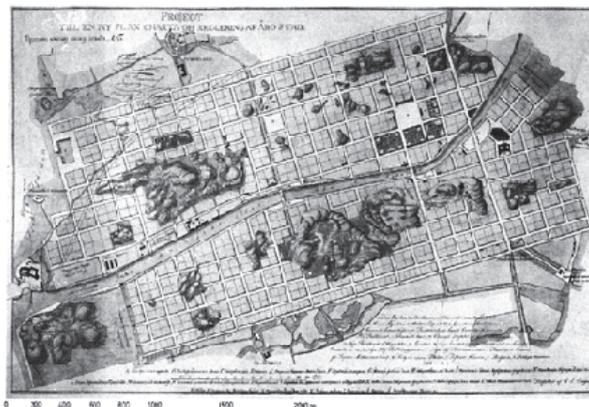
FIGURE 201   The Turku plan designed by Engels in 1828 (Sundman: 2005)

 Jyväskylä, which is together with Helsinki and surroundings, and Kemio, the place of my study cases, was built from scratch in 1837 using a gridiron plan also designed by C. L. Engel (Figures 202 and 203).
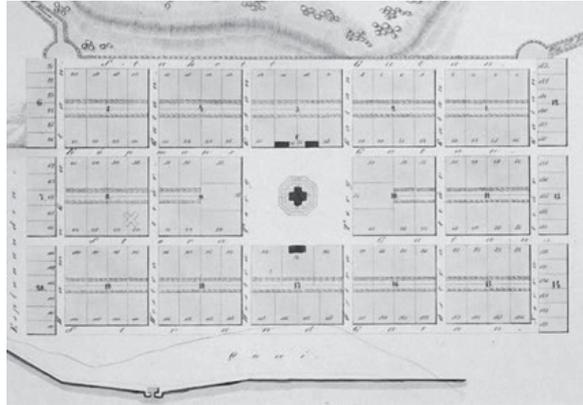
FIGURE 202 In the town's central square plots were set aside for a new church, town hall and school buildings. (Wikipedia, C.W. Gyldén 1840/National Board of Survey)

FIGURE 203 In 1842, five years after its establishment, Jyväskylä had already begun to look like a town – dozens of houses existed and plots that had been sold were neatly fenced. A view from today's Teacher Training School over Lake Jyväsjärvi. (Jussi Jäppinen) (Wikipedia)

The wooden towns and the fires

Among the towns built in the Middle Age only three, Porvoo, Nantali, and Rauma, still present some medieval structures. Suikkari (n.d) presents his elaboration of statistics showing that the 98,7% of the Finnish buildings was wooden in 1747 and 97% of the residential houses as well as 53% of public buildings were made of wood in 1845. In the same period only 208 of the 6651 town houses were in brick and stones and about the "five per cent of the population lived in any of the thirty-two towns of the country" (Sundman,

2005, p. 69). This meant that around 100,000 people only lived in towns or boroughs at that time.

The big fires in Helsinki (1808), Turku (1775 and 1827) and Oulu (1822) brought the authorities to issue a General Building Ordinance in 1856 that would have been influencing the Finnish town planning until the present. The Ordinance divided the Finnish towns in four categories: in the first two, only brick houses should have been built in the city centre. The Ordinance ordered the widening of the street space, a linear street pattern the making of a less dense structure, the division of the towns in parts, and the use of greenery and parks to divide the blocks and, generally speaking, to keep space among the houses. (Suomi, December 5, 2011: personal communication). Moreover, Sundman (2005) points out also a certain tendency towards social differentiation since small plots for lower classes were planned in the periphery.

At the beginning of the 19th Century, when Russia ruled Finland, the building out of stone was promoted but "the immediate effect was that the wooden building architecture started to imitate the stone building architecture (the Empire style)" (Suikkari, n.d, p. 6). The Empire style was a form of Russian inspired classicism typical of the Commissariat [...] until the mid-nineeteenth century" (Sundman, 2005, p. 70).

At the end of 19th century stone apartment buildings started to be built in Finland in the city centre of some towns but immediately outside the core centre the wooden houses tradition continued. Suikkari (n.d., p. 2) explains as in 1918-21 in Tampere "1502 wood and 348 concrete residential apartments were built". The number of fires dropped from 16 in the last fifty years of the 19th Century to just one in the first half of the 20th Century.

Nowadays, the old preserved wooden towns like Porvoo or Rauma, the latest UNESCO World Heritage since 1991, have maintained their medieval structure improving with modern tools their fire fighting organization. Moreover, it is worth to say that several modern wooden towns have been built or are planned throughout Finland as "wooden districts" of cities like, for example, Oulu.

Helsinki

The fire, which destroyed Helsinki in 1808 (Figure 204), was one of the several factors that induced Russian authorities to move the capital from Turku to Helsinki, definitively closer to St. Petersburg.

FIGURE 204   Helsinki at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Detail of a map made after the fire of 1808. [Helsingfors stadsmuseum] (Hall, 1997, questia.com)

A committee for the reconstruction of Helsinki was established but the results did not satisfy the Emperor. The fortifications officer Johan Albrecht Ehrenström was appointed to write a report in which "he produced a detailed and to some extent critical analysis of the proposed plan. He saw Helsinki as the obvious capital city for the new grand duchy, a fact which should be taken into account in the planning so as to preclude the necessity of embarking on costly alterations later" (Hall, 1997, p. 93). The Ehrenström plan (Figure 205) imagined a European style town planning and architecture to demonstrate that Russia was part of Europe.

As a provision against fires, was issued the obligation to build only brick houses in the city centre, which was not original for Scandinavian cities which had similar provisions starting from the 17th century.

Another aspect, which has been characterizing the Helsinki centre until now, was the decision to build every street straight and crossing the others at right angle. Ehrenström report was accepted by the Tsar Alexander I and he was appointed to lead the committee maintaining this position for more than a decade, period in which the general master plan was approved (1917).

FIGURE 205   Ehrenström's master plan for Helsinki. Preliminary version of the proposal approved by the Tsar in 1817. [Helsingfors stadsmuseum] (Hall, 1997, questia.com; modified)

"The most notable feature of this plan is a broad zone without buildings [signposted by the red arrow in the Picture 5] edged by double rows of trees and separating the town proper from the suburb, or in other words the high-density central core from the wooden town beyond. Right from the start this belt was designated as Esplanaden" (Hall, 1997, p. 95). The wooden houses should have been relegated on the suburbs separated by a channel from the city centre.

The 1826 plan divided the area in three. The first to be built was the eastern part, which was fenced and closed at night. In 1840 the park reached the present size becoming the place of the stroll for the upper class while progressively all strand of society began to patronize the area to walk, to meet, and to be seen.

The length of the Ehrenström leading, together with the far-reaching powers given by the Russian regime, is crucial for understanding why that structure has been maintained until present days.

These long-term achievements would have been probably impossible without the Ehrenström collaboration with the architect Carl Ludwig Engel, who designed the townscape "in the particular variant of neoclassicism which in the Nordic countries is referred to as 'empire' " (Hall, 1997, p. 96). Engel was the designer of the Tsar Alexander University main building, of the Senate Square and Lutheran cathedral, of the Esplanadi, and was also a planner; among his works there was the new plan for Åbo (Turku) after the fire of 1827.

The realization of the master plan, and particularly the decision about the brick buildings, entailed important social consequences, obliging to move in the outskirts all those who were not able to finance the construction in bricks of their houses or not able to buy or rent the expensive new dwellings. Writing about the social aspect of this segregation, Hall (1997) uses the thought of Sven-Erik Åström, a historian who paid particular attention at how the system of values, class structure, and stratification influenced the progressive building of Helsinki. According to Hall, Åström's theory of a true 'social planning', we could say 'contrariwise social planning' in the meaning we use nowadays, is questionable because "it is more a question of physical planning which-as in almost all such-had social consequences" (Hall, 1997, p. 96). It is nevertheless true that Ehrenström foresaw the social effects: the town centre began to be populated by upper class categories. This *ante litteram* form of gentrification was common also in the other big European cities, as I stated for Barcelona and Paris, but with the particularity of adding the fire safety at the social, political, hygienic, and mobility reasons.

According to Hall, it was only at the beginning of the 20th century that we could recognize a plan with such sweeping vision. Meanwhile, a plan approved in 1875, collecting several smaller plans, began to answer to the new phenomena spread around Europe in that period: "new era was beginning to make its mark on Helsinki, with accelerating population increases, incipient industrialization, the first railway communications and so on." (Hall, 1997, p. 96). The first manufacturing industries began to appear during the 1860s [...] the

wood-pulp industry [opened up during the 1880s, [...] the first steamboat began to ply the inland waterways in 1833. The important Saimaa Canal [...] was completed in 1856, and the first railway between Helsinki and Hämeenlinna was open to traffic in 1862 (Sundman, 2005, p. 72).

When the industrial establishments began to affect town plans, plots were needed for building homes for the necessary workforce. Thus, Helsinki, Pori, Tampere and Turku acquired special additional areas for workers' dwellings. From the point of view of urban planning, however, the gridiron plans were generally automatically extended to include an anonymous pattern of small plots for cheap houses.

The population in towns increased by the 6.2% in 1850 to 12,6% in 1900, to 32,3% in 1950. (Sundman, p. 2005.)

The modern Helsinki

According to Kolbe (2006), Helsinki started to grow in the 1870s and 1880s mainly thanks to enlightened civil servants and bureaucracy executives rather than a not-so-aware civic society.

Helsinki became the true capital city because of the increased trade, new political and social groups, which determined a change in life styles influencing the town planning.

"In the planning history of every city, there is a moment of transition into 'the modern'. In Helsinki, that moment came in 1899, when a city plan competition was arranged for the Töölo district"; this is the way in which Kolbe (p. 73) highlighted the breakthrough in the Finnish town planning also facilitated by the increasing power of the Municipal level.

The indirect background and inspirer of this transition, according to several authors (Kolbe, 2006; Sundman, 2005) was Camillo Sitte whose book "City Building According to Artistic Principles", published in 1889, had a profound influence in town planning. The relevance for the Finnish town planning was, above all, connected with his criticism about the gridiron design of the cities, typical of that planning which not only did not match with aesthetic needs and artistic planning but also relegated the public space in a secondary role.

The triggering event happened when, in 1898, Lars Sonck published in the Finsk Tidskrift newspaper a provocative article named "Modern vandalism; The Town Plan of Helsinki" in which, using Sitte's ideas, criticized the low-quality of the planning, buildings, and public space. The competition for Töölo, the present site of the Parliament House, Finland Hall and Olympic Stadium, which became "a struggle between new and old" (Sundman, 2005, p. 81), was the immediate consequence of that article. The completion ended with a compromise between the first two proposals presented by Nyström and Sonck himself.

Several district plans, inspired by the Sitte idea of adaptation and exploitation of the morphology of the land, were developed in and north of, the Helsinki peninsula. Those were the first attempts to consider the regional

dimension of the planning that was actually taken into account only after 1910. In 1915, in fact, Eliel Saarinen presented his Munkkiniemi-Haka master plan, considered by Sundman the first modern master plan in Finland, followed by the "Pro-Helsingfors" general master plan in 1918, designed with Einar Sjöström and Bertel Jung. The two master plans merged the principles of the greater city plan and those of the Garden Cities. Saarinen accurately used demographic statistic to calculate the number of inhabitants in the future. He established a street hierarchy, combined the traffic flow with the form of the blocks and the division of the land by functions. Even if Helsinki did not deal, at that moment, with pollution problems, Saarinen planned the workers' dwellings far from the industries. (Suomi, 2011: personal communication) Saarinen moved in the twenties to USA where won several competitions and became University Professor at the Cranbook University.

The project for the district of Munkkiniemi and for the Haka construction company was only partially realised but decreed a turn towards a town planning approach mindful of a larger dimension. The lack of public resources and the need to acquire the land owned by private companies by the part of the Municipality stopped the plans. Sundman (2005, p. 91) stated "Saarinen brilliant design and grand vision were at one and the same time necessary and impossible". It is worth to note that Saarinen is the author of the design of the Helsinki Central Railway Station, designed in 1904 and re-designed in 1909 greatly contributing to establish a true Finnish style.

The 1931 Town Planning Act found the working-class suburbs in an awful situation by the points of view of services, traffic, organization of sewers and water supply. The property companies were almost bankrupt and Helsinki Municipality decided to buy them thus acquiring the right to intervene in the land development (Sundman, 2005). This happened only in 1946 when the suburbs were incorporated. Nonetheless, this period was crucial because marked the emergence of public intervention and planning of the suburbs.

Suikkari, (n.d., p. 3) hypothesized that the tendency bringing towards a *spatially open town structure,* thought to prevent the spreading of the fire, in the early 20th Century "was identical to the later trends of Functionalism. This may be one of the reasons why Functionalist ideals were adopted so easily in town planning in Finland" (Suikkari, n.d., p. 3)

Nonetheless, the Modernism and Functionalism did not catch on in Finland even if represented by architect like Aalto and Blomstedt. Probably because, according to Sundman (2005, p. 96), "the very well-spring of functionalist town planning principles, the big city and its sanitary problems, was lacking in Finland".

Beside the Sunila factory forest town designed by Aalto, among the few examples of functionalist town planning in Finland, there was the Olympic Village built for the 1940 Olympics. The games were originally scheduled in Tokyo, and then awarded to Helsinki after the renunciation by Tokyo for the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war. The beginning of the World War II

definitively cancelled the Games which were conferred to Helsinki for the 1952 edition.
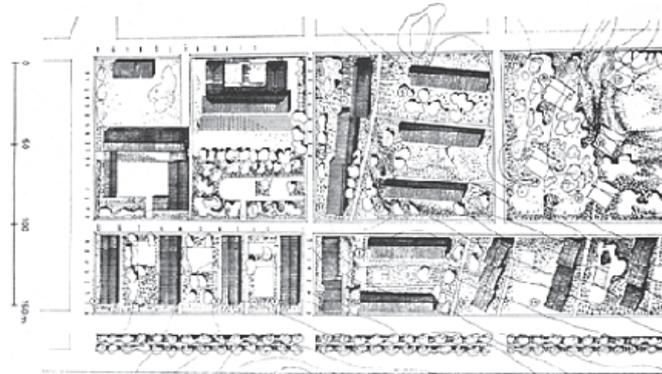
FIGURE 206   The Olympic Village in Käpylä, Helsinki. Town plan by Hilding Ekelund and Martti Välikangas, 1938. The area was built in 1939–40 for the 1940 Olympic Games which were cancelled. (Sundman, *2005 taken from* Wickberg (1959).

The village (Figure 206), as like the Stadium, was built in two years (1939-40) in Käpylä, the district in which the same planner, Välikangas, built in 1920-25 Puu-Käpylä, the earliest example of Finnish Garden city. The village, following the form of the terrain, adopts what Sundman (2005, p. 97) calls a "humanistic approach to the design of a residential area". At city level, the Olympic Games introduced functional transport networks and raised Helsinki at level of a modern sports city. (Kolbe, 2006).

During the II World War, Soviet Red Army bombed Helsinki and the other biggest cities posing the problem of reconstruction that was affected by the raising influence of Anglo American culture. In town planning, the Finnish edition of Mumford's 'The Culture of the city' and the publication of the 'Town Planning Theory' (*Asemakaavaoppi)* by Otto-I. Meurman (Sundman, 2005), in which he promoted the English 'residential neighbourhood theory, produced a large discussion shifting the attention towards those approaches. Meurman would become the first town planning professor in Finland.

Tapiola: a paradigmatic case

Tapiola, close to Helsinki have been one of the most mentioned realizations. It was presented as a garden city or, as Sundman states, more as a British style new town. Architecture of Tapiola represented the modernity of the new community following the urban utopias by International Congress of Modern Architecture (CIAM).

FIGURE 207   Tapiola garden city, Espoo begun in 1951. The plan is divided into a center and neighborhood units—east, west and north—and was the result of close collaboration with the architects who designed the houses. The traffic network with its central streets derives from a 1945 plan for a villa district. The dwelling-houses are arranged informally, in contrast to the rectangular structure of the centre. The northern neighborhood unit was added in 1958 and marks a return to a more formal town plan. (Museum of Finnish Architecture, Helsinki; Tapiola tomorrow, Espoon kaupunkisuunnittelukeskus, 2003).

Tapiola can be considered part of a reaction of Garden city movement (Figures 207 and 208) against the policy of building anonymous suburbs with few services (Suomi, 2011). The history of the building of Tapiola is particularly interesting either for the aspects related with the body expression as well as for the theme of participation. Other examples of garden cities in Finland are Viitaniemi in Jyväskylä and Korkalovaara in Rovaniemi.

Tapiola, in fact, was built as a private initiative taken by a non-profit organization established in 1951 by six trade organizations and coordinated by the lawyer Heikki von Hertzen. The Housing Foundation *Asuntosäätiö* bought 600 acres of land thinking at set up an ideal garden city in which the high standard social housing blocks should have been the 80%. Meurman made the first plan, which was later changed and assigned to a group of prominent architects, including Aalto. The whole project was carried out by an interdisciplinary group including (Tuomi & Paatero, 2003) building, electrical and heating engineers, two independent architects, a landscape gardener, "a domestic science expert, a child welfare expert, a sociologist, and not least, a practical-minded housewife" (Hertzen & Spereigen, 1971, p. 22). This collaborative method allowed to shape houses and flat for the typology of residents, for example building the flats for the families with children at the ground or first floor to allow them to have a direct access to outdoor and parks.

FIGURE 208 The green areas defined in the town plan are interlaced with the small residential blocks. (Tapiola tomorrow, Espoon kaupunkisuunnitelukeskus, 2003)

The main idea was to build a community representing the Finnish society on the whole, in this sense it has been a deep social, utopian, and successful, project. "The basic intent was to build a modern cross-section community, biologically healthful, rich in opportunity and choice, and close to nature" (Hertzen & Spreiregen, 1971, p. 113) as well as a "thriving, self-contained community" (Hertzen & Spreiregen, 1971, p. 45) offering job places and cultural, recreational, sports, and shopping opportunities. The green belts and areas were thought to link the four projected neighbourhoods and the general concept was to separate pedestrian and vehicular traffic. *Tapionraitti* a east-west walkway and cycle path was built to facilitate the sustainable mobility in the town.

Tapiola today is in the middle of contradictory tendencies: object of cult among town planners, social scientists, and tourists, is facing the needs of transformation and actualization of the structure starting from the maintenance of buildings and the rehabilitation of public spaces.

The report "Tapiola tomorrow" commissioned by Espoo Municipality in 2003 to the 'Future of Tapiola Workgroup' by the 50th birthday, highlights problems and positive aspects addressing recommendations for future interventions starting from the relieved problems.

The main threats are related to the ageing and declining population and the consequent decrease in the level of services; the new competitors for the business centers of the town; the increased traffic; the deterioration of the environment due to lack of funding and information, the extension plans for Tapiola's monumental centre, and the fact that the blocks of flats are without lifts (Espoon kaupunkisuunnitelukeskus, 2003).

The working group recommends an updating of the Tapiola's vision as a part of the Espoo and greater Helsinki metropolitan area, a valorization of the town as Finland's national Landscape, and the conservation of the built environment. Moreover, pushing towards a more courageous view on the new constructions, the group individuates diverse functions for the districts as well

as a rehabilitation of the entry routes as well as a valorization of the historical center.

The building of Tapiola coincided with part of the Aalto long period of chairmanship of the Institute of Finnish Architect's redevelopment bureau (1942-1958) allowed the maintenance of a "strong social and humanistic commitment to developing the architectural basis for industrial mass production" (Sundman, 2005, p. 99). The first regional plans were produced.

During the sixties, Helsinki and other towns underwent to a massive urbanization. Notwithstanding, the legacy of the forest towns contouring the terrain and in close proximity to the nature remained as a reference point. Pietilä described in 1960 the goals of a good plan of the Finnish forest town: is a work of art; is plastically structural, plastically expressive and visual; it is architectural; takes its form from the shape of the landscape, it is a way of exploiting the morphological resources of nature; remains flexible *vis-à-vis* the changes that accompany development; the striving for durability should be combined with foreseen changes (Sundman, 2005).

New gridiron plans were realized, for example for the Kortepohja district in Jyväskylä (1964), in which the old concept used for Turku in 1827 were reutilized and adapted to the new exigencies. The buildings were around common courtyards and pedestrians regain the centrality they had at that time. The Haukkala plan by Bengst Lundsten became a model for that period.

The seventies were witness of the break with the functionalism and opened the project to traffic rather than thinking forms for urban setting.

During seventies and eighties, the majority of the dwellings were built in the suburbs, some kilometers from the city center, increasing the problems of mobility. The suburbs grew without a true network of services. Citizens began to protest also for the low construction quality. That was the moment in which some researchers proposed to deal with the protests using participation. The main influencing planners who used participation were Pertti Vuorela, a policy scientist, and Pertti Harju, a psychologist. Vuorela, for example, proposed a classification of the goals of building mindful of several level of needs of the residents in order of importance: physiological (dwellings and equipment, shops, health services, heating, privacy, health services, sunlight); safety and security (traffic, fire guard, police, unemployment, communication, noise, hygiene, view, closeness to the nature; social (values of the area, distances); self-fulfillment (leisure in the area, timing, democracy); cognitive and aesthetic (orientation, schools, communication). He also used this classification in his participatory works (Vuorela, 1970).

In 1985 started a new wave of legislation about infrastructures and the government started to use an evidence based system and participation became more and more central in planning (Suomi, 2011) The renewal of Finland's medium-sized towns on a basis of existing gridiron plans rendered separate regulations for the town centers unnecessary. Differentiation in the traffic network and new motorway-type arteries through the centers or close to them could cope to a great extent with the growing volume of private motor traffic.

The bleak squares criticized by Sonck sixty years earlier allowed sufficient space for banks, insurance companies and department stores (Sundman, 2005, p. 117) as well as for hosting the vehicular traffic and parking.

In the eighties, programs of social housing started to be combined with high standard architecture and the attention to socially mixed population and high environmental standard had a boost thanks to the HITAS, a system of control either of the prices and of the quality of the buildings that offers the possibility of having a reasonable price houses. It is based on the owning of the land by the Municipality; Katajanokka, in the very city center, Pasila, and Malminkartano, in the outskirts, are examples of this policy in which the idea is to have also high standard public spaces, pedestrians streets, and a combination of workplaces and dwellings. "In the 2000s some 300 to 500 Hitas units have been built per year; at the moment about 14% of the total owner-occupied housing in Helsinki consists of Hitas units" (City of Helsinki, 2012)

The districts and the cities more and more were planned in an integrated regional plan. One important element for the diffusion of a shared town planning vision was the owning of the Urban and regional research centre in Helsinki by several Universities. This fact allowed the formation of several town planners and researchers in Finland. This system worked till the transformation of the Helsinki University of Technology in Aalto University in 2009 (Suomi, 2011).

The perspectives and the visions

In 2006, the Municipality of Helsinki launched a competition for international ideas on Greater Helsinki Vision 2050.

The principal megatrends which have been taken into account in the entries were the climate change, the process of ageing, the awareness about health and environment, the ethical approach to consumership, the diversification of lifestyles, the change in the nature of employment, the increase of the mobility due to the work (Jury Protocol, 2007).

As stated in the Jury protocol, and analyzing the themes closer to the contents of my research, from a global scale point of view, Helsinki, in most entries, should have, in 2050 a basis in ICT, logistic, and travel, maintaining at the same time the natural environment as its main attraction.

The regional structure most occurring proposed vision is the finger-model (Figure 209) firstly planned by Saarinen and Jung in 1918 and already included in the Master Plan 2002 (Helsinki City Planning Department, Environmental Office, 2002).
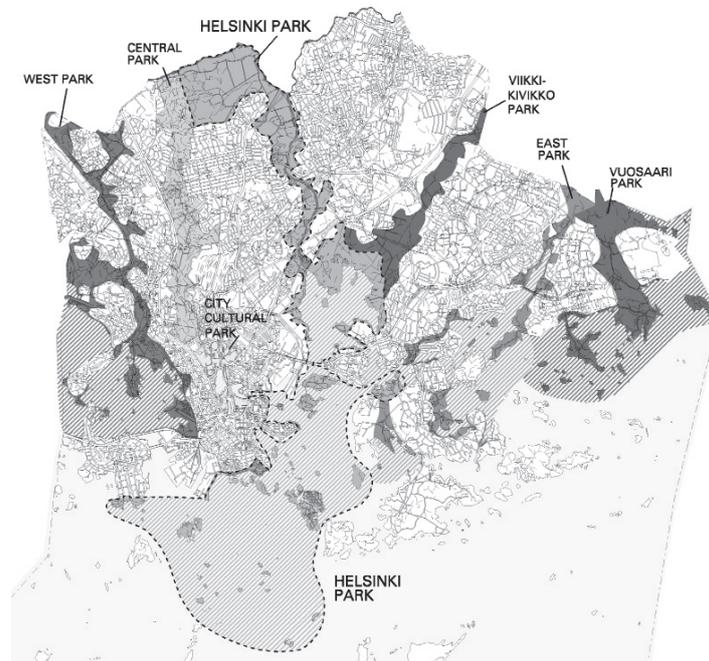
FIGURE 209 The Green Fingers of Helsinki are greenways by the names West Park, Central Park, City Cultural Park, Helsinki Park, the Viikki-Kivikko Park, East Cultural Park and Vuosaari Park. The goal of the landscape planning within the Master Plan of 2002 is to develop these areas as functional, visual and ecological landscape entities. (Helsinki City Planning Department, Environmental Office, 2002)

Some entries add a sixth finger and some others adapt the "current finger-like structure into a grid with new transverse area reservations, development corridors, or transport networks (Jury Protocol, 2007, p. 13).

Many entries dealt with sustainability issues facing several problems in connecting the small walking scale with the largest route network, the growing built surface, and the constrained addition of green areas. The visions, to answer the sustainability, went from the organically growing community to garden city, from modernist nature area to 24-hour living city centre.

The Jury stressed the need of the presence of green and recreational spaces to highlight the continuation with the closeness to nature maintained as "cornerstone of Finnish residential enjoyment" (Jury Protocol, 2007, p. 13).

About transport policies and infrastructural interventions, the entries contain a very clear message

About the need to face the foreseen increase of traffic with extensive investments in rail network, the restriction of private car transport and the facilitation of every 'body powered' mean of transportation.

From the economic viewpoint, the aging of the population is proposed in its potentials, the 'silver economy' proposed by one of the entry is possible probably in connection with the idea of a 'Social Silicon Valley' of another

project. The role of an extensive participation helping the spread of several social innovations is stressed.

The contact or the living near the nature or water is emphasized in several entries about the residential solutions. The proposed housing is mainly high rise while there are some entries in which the areas at the boarder of the so-called Greater Helsinki, or rather the Helsinki metropolitan region, is similar to village communities taking care of organic growth and zero energy consumption.

The governance of the area, according to the entries, should be unified completely removing municipal borders, and an "open citizens participation was believed to increase the region's appeal, ensure sustainable development, and strengthen residential rooting" (Jury Protocol, 2007: 15).

The visions emerging from the competition are very clearly directed towards a balanced growth in which the fascinating Finnish residential traditions, as well as the general welfare, are tightly connected with the practical use and the development of the most advanced technologies.

The role of the body, in the broad sense I am dealing with, is crucial in the maintenance of the sustainability of the system itself. I would refer here to the transport system, to the closeness to the nature, to the wide attention to leisure and sports space and practices in the sense given by Suomi (2000) and Rütten (2011).

7.2.3.2 The body in the city

The relationship of Finns with their spaces is deeply influenced by the availability of land and by their fondness for outdoor activities and the nature. This is an aspect easily inferable by several behaviours visible in the cities and in their outskirts: the large use of pedestrian and cycle paths in town and, above all, the paths in the green areas and in the woods often integrated in the town structure. These paths include the so-called Finnish rings (*Kuntorata* or *Pururata*, made by sawdust - Figures 210 and 211), conditioning tracks covered by leaves and pieces of bark, largely used by citizens for walking in summer and skiing in winter. Finns are fond of the fact that facilities can be used in different ways all year round; the funding itself is often linked to this possibility. Moreover, as other examples of the use of outdoor spaces, I can mention the use of the school grounds for recesses in every season and weather condition, the freedom of movement of children in the cities, the use of the bicycles by students even when the temperatures are freezing, the high number of elders moving around using walking frames. Lastly, the fact that the schoolyards are not fenced and the wide diffusion of the "neighbourhood sport facilities", *lahliikuntapaikat*. In Finland, Nordic Walking birthplace, sidewalks are usually large and well maintained, separated cycle paths run along the roads in and outside cities, the parks are often used as transit area for pedestrian and cycling commuting. The accessibility is generally high (Figure 212) and the lighting system mandatory.

The frame of these infrastructural and behavioural achievements lies on the accurate study of the future needs of the population but, above all, a

sweeping vision of the public space and the physical activity promoted in concert by national and local authorities together with the achievement of good levels in inter-sector strategy.

This general impression is confirmed by the last Eurobarometer survey that ranks Finns among the most active population in Europe either for practicing sport, either for leisure activities (Eurobarometer, 2010).

It is plausible to affirm that the low population density, the closeness of the towns to the nature and wilderness areas, the town planning choices have been creating good conditions for the body expression.

I would here very briefly describe the experience of eight students of my Faculty in Cassino University. They went to Jyväskylä on the frame of an Erasmus Intensive Program in one of the coldest winter of the last decade. They all were coming from the central-south Italy in an area in which the temperature seldom drop at freezing point. They were hosted in a hostel four kilometres away from the Faculty. During the first days they went to the Faculty by bus. Then they realized that, despite the snow (Figure 213), there were safe pedestrian and cycle paths connecting the two places, thus they decided to walk every day go and back: a totally unknown behaviour for all of them.

FIGURE 210   Figure 211: Kuntorata in Lieto, Municipality of Ilmarinen (A. Borgogni, May 2011)

FIGURE 212   A ramp in Tampere (A. Borgogni, March 2011)

Figure 213: a snow path in Helsinki (A. Borgogni, March 2011)

7.2.3.3 The participation

Finland is very well known for its research and experience in collaborative planning. It has been one of the best examples in Europe for the efficiency of Agenda 21 participative processes.

The history of participatory planning in Finland dates back to the seventies. Without any presumption to be exhaustive, it is plausible to affirm that, as I wrote in paragraph 7.3.3.1, among the forerunners were Pertti Vuorela and Pertti Harju. I would mention the environmental psychologists of the Helsinki University of Technology (now Aalto University), whit whom I have had the honour to collaborate. They have a wide research tradition on the field of methodology of participatory planning (Horelli, 2001), internet assisted urban planning (Horelli, Kaaja, 2002; Kyttä, Kaaja & Horelli, 2003), children and young people participation (Horelli, 1997, 1994), children-friendly environments (Horelli, 1998), children independent mobility and affordances (Kyttä, 1997, 2002, 2004), children place preferences (Korpela, Kyttä & Hartig, 2002). The University of Oulu has developed an important knowledge about participation (Nuoja, Soudunsaari, Hentilä, 2010), temporary use of infrastructures (Hentilä, Bengs,& Nagy, 2002; Hentilä, 2003). The University of

Jyväskylä has developed a more applicative field of research in collaborative planning aimed at realizing and monitoring outdoor sport facilities, as well as constructing a National Data Bank based on the GIS system (Suomi, 1989, 1992, 1998, 2004). Remarkable too the research and field work carried out by Nuori Suomi (Karvinen, 2001; Karvinen, Norra, 2002) on the involvement of children and young people in planning playgrounds. At technical-administrative level, I would mention the projects carried out by Ojanen in Hämeenlinna (2001), and the supporting and attentive work made by Kuusela (2001) at Provincial level, Arto Sinkkonen, in Turku, Ari Karimäki in Jyväskylä.

The administrative point of view

In Finland many projects for the construction of sport and leisure facilities are co-financed by the State and approved by the former Provincial Offices, nowadays Centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment (ELY). In Finland there are nowadays six ELY sports Offices.

The interview with Keijo Kuusela, Inspector of Education, Culture and Sport Affairs of the ELY Southwest Finland, gave me important and detailed information about participation from the administrative point of view.

Concerning the way of funding of the projects, Mr. Kuusela explained that usually the Municipalities apply to the State for co-funding. If the project is approved by ELY level, the state finances between the 20% and the 30% of the amount while the remaining is in charge at the Municipality. Worth to note is that the state fund system is sector based, this means that for more complex projects, Municipalities have to apply to every sector even if there is a leading sector; thus, the project can also be partially approved. Mr. Kuusela stated that it is important, mostly in complex projects, that every sector can know, take account, and evaluate the whole project. The challenging task is that cooperation is needed between municipality and state and within the sectors at the same administrative level.

To carry out participative processes is a common practice also if not compulsory. Many Municipal offices ask people, users and, in the case of sport facilities, sport clubs.

Kuusela stressed that the "sport facilities in the neighbourhood" (*lahaliikuntapaikat)* represent a new task for Finnish sport policies and culture. These projects, while concerning public spaces, invite more than other works at involving citizens directly or through community associations. The participatory processes are not compulsory in planning Neighbourhood Sport Facilities; nonetheless it is increasing all the time. This matter is also ruled by the Sport Act of 1999. Many Municipalities activate participative processes also for small-scale interventions like roundabout or crossroads simply because they know that asking and involving bring to better results.

Speaking about other examples than the ones investigated in this research, according to Kuusela, the school yard in the Municipality of Raisio is a good case in which the Municipality involved citizens, youngsters and children and, at the same time, a good example of cooperation between sectors: school, social

and youth as well sport, which leads the whole project, for the outdoor facilities and technical sectors.

Kuusela underlined that the leading position is in charge at the administration, the private companies are involved in the realization of the plans. The interview with Kuusela allowed me to highlight the area of the connections between administrative approach and what happens at the real, grass-root level. He often referred to the Land Use and Building Act (132/1999) and Decree (895/1999). The presentation of the Act very clearly aims at the facilitation of the participation for everyone and at the need of participatory processes. The need of interactive planning is also mentioned as means to achieve the objectives (Section 5).

The theme of participation is discussed on the chapter 8 of the Act (1999) "Planning procedures and interaction". It is defined that the interested parties must have the opportunity to participate in preparing the plan, estimate its impact and state their opinion on it. […] When a plan is being drawn up, a scheme covering participation and interaction procedures and assessment of the plan's impact must be drawn up in good time, as required by the purpose and the significance of the plan. The initiation of the planning process must be publicized so that interested parties have the opportunity to obtain information on the principles of the planning and of the participation and assessment procedure. Such publicity must be arranged in a manner appropriate to the purpose and significance of the plan. The publicity may also take place in connection with the publication of a planning review. […]The local authority may negotiate with the regional environment centre on the adequacy and implementation of the participation and assessment scheme. […]If the scheme is clearly inadequate, the regional environment centre shall, without delay, arrange negotiations with the local authority to examine what additions are required (pp. 15-16).

The law foresees three possibilities to influence the plan. During the planning process, the participation is compulsory and involves interest groups – schools, land owners, private etc.- since the beginning. If the local authority misses some interest group, they have to start the process anew. This fact happened, for example, in the planning of Hyppos area in Jyväskylä. They called the Finnish Ball Federation as representative of all the "ball" federations. This mistake obliged to start the process of planning again.

After the first draft of the plan, there is the possibility to make suggestions and comments. Afterwards the plan goes to the City Council but before the Council decision the plan is open to citizens' suggestions and critics. If the citizens are not satisfied with the changes, they can file a petition to the regional administrative court. If the petition is rejected, they can ask to High Administrative Court. The courts can oblige to make a new plan as happened in several cases in the last years in Finland. (Suomi, personal communication, 2011)

In the Land Use and Building Act (132/1999), the attention to the body is findable within the objective of the Act (Section 5), where is spoken about the promotion of non-motorized traffic and the need of separate areas for non-

motorized traffic way that forms a part of the public road (section 83). The routes for non-motorized traffic must be safe and free of obstacles (section 167).

What Suomi (2011) underlined is that both the Land and the Sports Acts are the legislative results of researches carried out on the ideal sport municipality in the previous fifteen years.

To exemplify the procedures, achievements and problems on participatory processes, I would like to describe the action- researches carried out in the recent past by Gretschel and Suomi

Three cases of young people involvement: the voice of youth

Gretschel (2002) qualitatively evaluated the methods of youth involvement carried out by three municipalities which were trying "to restore the institutionalised part of each young person's everyday environment, the living environment, to the understanding-oriented actions of the young person in the form of an involvement environment" (Gretschel, 2002, p.201).

The research concerns the involvement of young people and is centred on three specific cases with a very interesting background description. Gretschel's aim is the explanation of the quality of the interaction between youth groups and municipalities mainly referring to the establishment of youth involving processes in many municipalities starting from 1996. The municipalities had a role in supporting the processes in several way building the 'involvement' environment.

The research material consists in data from group discussions of young people and adults, and was mostly collected from discussions carried out with the young people of Nuorten Ääni – Voice of Youth, an involvement environment group set up during a collaborative sports planning process in Jyväskylä Rural Municipality's, and from discussions with adult supporters. This thesis also includes research material from student groups based on the so-called Norwegian model of youth influence systems. These groups were *Hesan Nuorten Ääni* – Voice of Helsinki Youth, and *Kempeleen Pikkuparlamentti* – Kempele Small Parliament.

The three cases had a cross-border nature with respect to municipal administrative sectors. This meant that adults selected as youth group supporters were also multi-professionals.

The aspect of the inter or multi-sectorial issue is probably the main in several projects I have investigated throughout the diverse countries. It is, potentially, the strongest and most valuable (from an educative, social, individual, and systemic learning point of view), and the weakest (from an administrative, political and of the realizations point of views).

The main purpose of her research is "to explain the interaction between youth involvement groups and the municipality by looking explicitly at how a municipality through its own actions can stimulate, support or hinder youth involvement in the living environment and the municipality." (p. 198). The study examines three municipalities that developed youth involvement environments through student bodies in schools. Adolescents aged 13–20 "came up with ideas

and then plan, implement and evaluate their own involvement projects in co-operation with the employees of various administrative departments of the municipality as well as with, for example, adults from residents' associations." (p. 198). The theoretical framework of the study comprises planning and administration, youth research and an evaluation studies. The latest was an internal evaluation carried out by participants, both youth and adults who took part in the process, using an empowerment evaluation methodology.

The study was developed concentrating on the case of three sport facilities construction projects: a barbeque hut, a snowboard ramp and a restoration of beach facilities. The research methods employed are narration, action research and grounded theory.

One of the objectives of the study is to help young people to achieve the position of empowered subjects in their own living environments. According to Gretschel, the involvement process should bring, through narrative method, both youth and adults towards new involvement stories. The action-research approach leads the author to be touched by the stories and, possibly, to a more in depth understanding of them. The grounded theory based process showed her the way towards a 'tick description' of goals, meanings and processes of individuals and groups performing social activities.

The young people, through the feeling of increasing their own value, become aware of their active role and feel "their implementation as part of the community. The sense of involvement manifests itself as a feeling of having the power to act. This feeling is promoted by interaction with and experience of the involvement environment" (Gretschel, 2002, p. 203).

The Municipalities, not only in Finland and not only in the Gretschel' case, underestimate the will of youngsters to do concrete thinks like helping in constructing facilities; sometimes adults don't take care to inform young people of the building youth centres or playgrounds. After errors like these, it's very difficult to build anew the confidence setting up the 'involvement environment'.

The Municipality is responsible of bringing young people in an area of understandings and concrete behaviours similar to the Vygotskij proximal development zone in which, both as subjects, they can keep in contact starting a cooperation towards a youth civic society in which young people can be agents and not customers. According to Gretschel, working in this perspective, the role of municipalities needs to change from producers of physical constructions to provider of involvement services.

Starting from these reflections, Gretschel discusses the theme of the values that young people express during the processes. They were divided into four categories: the value of youth involvement in terms of the action itself, the importance of involvement action for the career of the young person, the democracy-related aspect of involvement action and youth involvement action as a channel for implementing the following values: development of team spirit, equality, mutual interest, other ethical values and doing something useful and practical (Gretschel, 2002, p. 204).

The transformation of the values in actions clashes with "the lack of negotiation and mutual agreement together with a failure to give proper consideration of the methods chosen". (Gretschel, 2002, p. 205). There is not, often, any mutual growth, any common change within the group of adults and young people; this can be attributed to methodological errors but, most of all, to the pomposity/arrogance of adults who don't actually think they need to learn and be in an involvement environment. Gretschel described a visit to the planning office as a 'pointless gig' in which adults have lost an opportunity to offer young people an opportunity of familiarisation with the municipality system.

Moreover, also when the project is correctly and mutually implanted doesn't develop in shared stories. This is a fundamental step for the self-assessment process, which relies on the empathetic mutual perception and leans on reflective-like methods.

The three monitored projects had the common to be weakened by the lack of adult's support. This meant that the projects were carried out through interactions between adults.

All the three projects suffered problems in their realization: technical problems for the barbeque hut; reduction of users in comparison with the expectation for the snow board ramp; not concrete realization and loss of contact with young people for the beach facilities.

Gretschel' conclusions are that the investigated projects, regardless of the realization and other problems, can be considered as part of an involvement environment built with the agreement, even if without the complicity and the enthusiasm, of the Municipalities.

According to Gretschel, the involvement environments can be seen as "adapters created between young people and the rest of the local community" (Gretschel, 2002, p. 208) and the sense of involvement created as the basis of personal belonging to the local community.

Huhtasuo: case description

The Huhtasuo residential area, part of the Jyväskylä Municipality, was object of a wide action research concerning participative town planning carried out during the eighties. The research was carried out by Prof. Kimmo Suomi (1998); the Huhtasuo case represents a sort of frame and point of reference for the following researches.

The Helsinki University of Technology Centre for Urban and regional Studies developed the action research as a part of a wider project for residential areas. The SOFY, an acronym meaning that both Social and Physical aspects were studied, project aimed at analysing and developing social and physical conditions for the development of residential areas. The other point of reference was the "Ideal Community for Sport" carried out by the Finnish Society for research in Sport and Health Education.

The project aimed at understanding the applicability of a collaborative planning approach for planning sports and leisure infrastructures in residential

areas. During the process were collected thirteen different kinds of materials both quantitative and qualitative. The data were also integrated into one database using the GIS.

The collaborative planning is one of the methods of participative planning in which different stakeholders carry out the plan together. "A special emphasis was put on people's world of experience" (Suomi, 1998, p. 126) that, together with the world of systems is one of the Habermas' main concepts. Habermas described the world of experience as inherently familiar and knowable. The creation of socio-cultural understandings is pursued through a high rate of communication and collaboration. When the interactions become more sophisticated and the world expands, the system needs more formal and complex structures to be established. These structures overlap the social interactions of lifeworld actors. Nonetheless, "the lifeworld remains the subsystem that defines the pattern of the social system as a whole" (Habermas, 1987, p. 154).

The planning system can be an example of a complex structure that develops from the increasingly composite demands of the lifeworld. The systems world is strategic, imposed and external. Gradually the systems world uncouples or separates from the lifeworld as the horizons of the lifeworld are no longer able to contain increasingly complex systemic requirements. Moreover, to be effective as a systems entity, however, the systems world must be embedded in the values, beliefs and interactions of the lifeworld.

The participative methods tend to render the two systems nearer, to create a bridge between them. In the case of participative planning projects, the actions aim at connecting several variables: home space and public space, individual and collective living, social and mobility needs, personal and social safety, as well as the institutional times and procedures and the individual and communitarian point of view and rights. The specificity of the town planning fields lies in the fact that the boundaries between the two systems are more visible, often physical, than in other fields. This fact renders more dramatic and urgent the solution of the conflict.

An important part of the action research was dedicated to the follow up of the project. This is, in my opinion, one of the most disregarded aspects of the planning in general and of the participative planning in particular.

The habitats used to investigate the environment referred to the concepts of "home", "block", "residential", and "city". The choice of the action-research methodological frame implied an in-depth immersion in the Huhtasuo housing estate, sharing experiences and solving problems together with inhabitants.

The collaborative planning process, through the combination of the different information by the subjects involved and through the elaboration of the experiences, the problems and the presentation of the real living conditions produced a development plan for the area.

The use of either qualitative either quantitative approach enriched the data with further information allowing a qualitative re-elaboration of statistics and official documents and a reinterpretation of the data through a wide

methodological glance. The distinction between Habermas' worlds of systems and experience corresponded also to the quantitative and qualitative data collection.

The tight relation with the nature, which was one of the characteristics of the planning of the area, can be one of the keys to interpret the gathering of different data. One example can be the children's complex relation with the forest, understandable in depth only through a discursive process emerging by direct interaction: willing to explore and fears mix together and, in a certain sense, merge. The young people asked for wild nature and the children, instead of structured playgrounds, asked for adventure fields full of natural elements. The wish of the nature was strictly connected with leisure and with spontaneous activities with friends. The choice of natural elements as a priority before structured games is confirmed in several researches held in different countries. The nature was above all related with the possibility to have social experiences. The qualitative part of the research pointed out, as a weak aspect, the safety, or the perception of safety due to the presence of many rented "social" dwellings. The perception of unsafeness affected also the outdoor sports activities carried out mostly in the evenings and weekends. This perception the social insecurity especially affects the categories, which, above all, need physical activity.

The collaborative planning was carried out establishing a follow-up group, a specific collaborative planning group, and five sub-areas group constituted by residents and more concerned with qualitative planning material. Almost 300 suggestions were delivered and included in the development plan. Among them the majority (58%) concerned the quarter habitat and the physical environment. Moreover a good attention was drawn toward the social functions.

The follow-up study, carried out interviewing the people responsible for the realization of the plan and the participants in 1992, five years after the conclusion of the project, highlighted very interesting data. The 67% of the suggestions were realized; about 60% of them exactly as planned with citizens.

The main focus of the participants was on the development of a more collaborative spirit rather than the improvement of planning process. Probably also for a lack of communication during the project, few of them were able to understand the whole complexity of the project and the connection with the municipal development plan. The biggest problem, in their opinion, was the absence of the decision makers during the process that made them sceptical about the results of the project itself. Almost two thirds said they had changed their ways of action towards more collaborative planning principles and action concerning either their work or their other social activities in the years after the project. Over two thirds were willing to participate again in similar projects (Suomi, 1998, p. 132).

As I stated before, I consider this is the most important result of the project. Despite the low confidence in decision makers, the participants felt involved in a positive process that was the main reason of their active

participation. The realization of the suggestions made them aware that the lack of involvement of decision makers during the process did not impede the realization of the suggestions.

The percentage of realization of the suggestions, compared with other cases and countries is very high. It could have modified the perception of being listened and transformed scepticism in active citizenship.

In my personal experience, the behaviour of politicians during participative processes is a quite interesting issue: it goes from the absence, in many cases predictive of lack of final results, to a sort of 'control syndrome'.

Both behaviours sensibly modify the collaborative environment: the first decreasing the confidence in the results, the second influencing dramatically the fluidity of the debate.

As Suomi stated, these behaviours can be mostly related with the difficulty, and the fear, in understanding their role in a system aiming at deliberative democracy while they are holders of a representative system.

In my opinion the role of the politicians should be placed at the beginning and at the end of the collaborative planning process. They ought to give importance to the process, confirming their commitment at the end. During the collaborative process only the civil servants or other specialist organizations have to be the interface of participants.

As a result of the research, new procedures were thought to improve the process: a training for participants before starting the process, a more light and flexible planning organization, the preparation of a collaborative planning together with people of the planning object, the involvement of the participants in the follow up phase.

Huhtasuo: observations

The first observation was carried out in the 31st of May 2008 together with Prof. Suomi who showed me the some of the places object of the action-research.

The Huhtasuo residential area (Figures 214-221) is a suburb of Jyväskylä inhabited by low SES citizens with a high percentage of immigrants mainly represented by Russian. This is probably the area of the city inhabited by the people with the low income. The Municipality owns the land and the buildings. The participative process also contributed to diminish the rate of violence and drugs and alcohol use in the area (Suomi, 2008.).

During the planning process citizens succeeded in asking for higher blocks of flats which could have allowed to maintain public space and wood.

Our town-planning stroll started from the ground of the *Pupuhudan Koulu* (School of rabbit field). While in Finland the school grounds are open, this was the most common and used space of the area. The landmark is a five-meter high wooden statue of a rabbit. The ground was planned together with citizens.

FIGURE 214   FIGURE 215; FIGURE 216: Huhtasuo, the school, the rabbit statue and the
              playground (A. Borgogni, 2008)

The hill in which the school lays, as any steep relief in Finland, during winter
presents problems of slippery for the inhabitants. Citizens asked for more safe
and less steep pedestrian routes and the bus routes were changed answering,
from one side, to the drivers' Trade Unions which not allowed them to drive up
and down the hill and, from the other side, to citizens' request to have bus stops
not only at the base of the hill.

There are not big outdoor sport structures in the hill but several little
playgrounds near the flats and many well signed and lighted recreational paths
used for jogging and walking in summer and for skiing in winter. There is also
a private bowling centre.
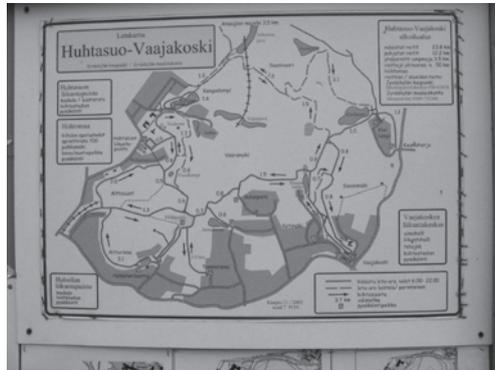
FIGURE 217 The Huhtasuo-Vaajakoski map of paths and sport facilities map (A. Borgogni, 2008):

The second stop of our stroll was at the football field near the Hospital in Kangasvuori at the base of the hill.

The participants asked the football field that, during winter becomes a skiing stadium. The field is open and free but football teams can reserve it. The system of having moving goals allows many possibilities of using the field.

FIGURE 218   The football field in Kangasvuori (A. Borgogni, 2008)

The third stop was in the center of the District where there are a shopping center, several schools and the Lutheran Church. The latest had an active role in the planning process; nowadays the Church has a sports hall that can be reserved only by people or groups, not by Sport Clubs. In the other side of the road the shopping center reflects the social situation of the suburbs; the schools' area, just behind the mall, is very well maintained and the grounds open a part the one of the kindergarten.

FIGURE 219   FIGURE 220: Huhtasuo, the school ground and the plan of the facilities of the
             Lutheran church. (A. Borgogni, 2008)

The fourth place was the area near the lake Kangaslampi probably the wealthiest area in the district. The blocks are owned by a company 100% property of the Municipality and rented at social prices. The quarter has suffered a strong decrease in the number of inhabitants. During the research, in the late eighties, they were 20000 while now around 9000. This is due because the flat was rented to young couples and now their children live by their selves. Parents have remained here because the rent is convenient and because the living conditions are good.

In the whole city the percentage of rented and owned flats is approximately the same; in this district the 80/90% of the flats are rented. People take care of their living environment independently by the fact they own or not the flat. (Suomi, personal communication, 2008)

The surroundings are beautiful and there are many paths in the wood and around the lake.

FIGURE 221   The Kangaslampi pond (A. Borgogni, 2008):

The second observation was carried out on the 18th of June 2010 (Figures 222-234).

It was finalized to visit the new Parkour Park at Kangaslampi, close to the Kangasvuori lake, that opened in August 2009, it is the first Parkour Park in Finland and it has a high reputation in the international Parkour movement.

The practice ground, close to the lakeshore and to the blocks, is very well and simply equipped; granite castles, big stones and metal pipes scaffolding. Nearby there is a beach volley field and it is very well integrated with the seashore and with some original equipment for children playground.

The accidental meeting with a retired teacher of the nursery of the quarter and former city counselor enriched the observation. She had been teacher for thirty years and she knew all the children and young people of the area. She told us the social behaviors of the district and the unwritten rules of the park. The park was planned involving children and young people. According to her, there is a regulation of the use of the area and a sort of informal surveillance by adults to prevent conflicts due to evening and night time noise. At the same time, young people adopted a sort of auto-regulation code not to disturb the inhabitants of the blocks close to the park.

FIGURE 222 FIGURE 223: The granite equipment of the Parkour park (A. Borgogni, 2010)

FIGURE 224   FIGURE 225: The rubber and lawn surfaces of the park (A. Borgogni, 2010)

FIGURE 226   FIGURE 227: The integration with the landscape (A. Borgogni, June 2010)

FIGURE 228 FIGURE 229: The equipment of the adolescent playground (A. Borgogni, June 2010)

FIGURE 230 FIGURE 231: The beach volley field and the lakeshore (A. Borgogni, June 2010)

FIGURE 232   FIGURE 233; FIGURE 234: the children action park (A. Borgogni, June 2010)

Procedures and tools of the participatory processes in planning local sport facilities

Finland boasts a long tradition in the legislation about sport. In 1980, the first Sport act stated that the main values of sport culture in Finland were to enhance the vitality through physical activity and sport, the need to achieve results through cooperation at several levels, the importance of focusing on the local activity as starting point. In 1999, the second sport act stressed the promotion of "physical activity and sports to facilitate population's health and well-being and to support young people's growth and development" (Vuori, Lankenau, &

Pratt, 2004), the importance of a sports culture based on equal opportunities for facilitating active participation and the enhancement of the functioning, the adaptability and, generally speaking, the activity of local clubs (Suomi, 2009, 2011)

According to Suomi, the social aspects of the 1999 Sport Act present permanent criteria as equal opportunities, the prevention of violence, and the sustainable development, and current criteria as tolerance, the growth of the employment, the prevention of social exclusion, the promotion of active life-styles and a life-long interest in sport and physical activity, and health education. These aspects lead to the opportunity to involve citizens in the planning process through several methods.

Suomi (2011) highlights the planning of the organization, of the procedure, of the methods and methodology as basic elements of the participative planning. In the organization planning, the individuation of the stakeholders (from local to national, from evident to hidden) and the decision about the, preferably simple, organizational structure is the starting point. The planning of the procedure begins with a general updated inventory of all the data related to the area, then the contact with the individuated interest groups leads to the clarification of their needs; after these steps, the collaborative planning can start. More detailed steps of the procedures are the formation of a common understanding with participants: the pre-ideas, the mission, the vision, the collection and delivery of the data. As much important are the sharing of the knowledge and language. From that moment a real participatory planning can start managing contradictions, evaluating opportunities in the decision making process, working for the implementation and deciding the evaluation and the follow-up of the planning process.

The evaluation is made using the CIPP (Context, Input, Process, and Product) evaluation model. The method is centered on "facta" analysis, based on the classification and structuring of planning materials and on the production of the planning information by all the interest groups. The method suggested and generally used by Suomi takes into account five environments: physical (facilities, venues, transportation etc.), functional (the kinds of uses of the spaces), social (the users, the socio economical status of the district, etc), administrative and management (actors involved in the management of the space, responsibilities, risks), economic (building, running, maintenance costs etc.). These procedures have been applied in several projects starting from the Huhtasuo one described above.

Finland is among the few countries in which there is a National Data Bank of Sports spaces available at www.liikuntapaikat.fi. It is based on geographic information system (GIS) and automatic data processing (ADP) of sports facilities, outdoor recreational facilities, sport organizations, and sport economy in Finland. It contains and manages over 30.000 sport sites providing general information, locations, the kind of sports disciplines and activities, building and renovation plans. The Virgis section contains the outdoor recreation facilities

describing the accessibility, the attractions, the services, the attributes of the users.

The sports facilities in Finland are categorized into five: local (simple, in the neighborhoods), municipal (standardized for hosting official events), county (for national championships), national (for international events), outdoor recreation (trails and areas in the nature). Going more in depth about neighborhood sport facilities, which are the ones closer to the topic of my research, following the Suomi's suggestions, their aims are strictly related with the sports act objective to promote different kind of physical activity for children's growth. These facilities do not have to cover the needs of facilities built for organized training or competition and official rules of playgrounds; if located in school grounds, they do not substitute but they are in addition to their equipment. Moreover, they have to be available in every season. Some examples of arrangements and equipment are: small hills for sledding and skiing, ski jumps, hiking and ski trails longer than 500mt., skateboard ramps, climbing and ball-playing walls, table-tennis tables, football goals, net stands for tennis, volley-ball, basketball stands, provided with orienteering equipment and maps etc. They have to be multipurpose areas, covered with all types of surfaces, lighted, and less than 2400 square meter. One of the most striking features of these areas is what I call the 'no-no-no philosophy'; in fact, according to Suomi (2008) the facilities have to be without equipment and services often taken for granted: no seats for spectators, no changing rooms, no payment, no booking system, no parking places, no standardization for sport rules.

Finland has been the forerunner for this philosophy in building playgrounds and neighborhood sport facilities that "can be summarized in some key words: the enlargement of the categories of users, the local, intelligent, social, and human developments (Borgogni & Suomi, 2012).

The involvement of citizens is carried out through several tools, from more traditional to very innovative like the Optima web-platform (Figure 235).

Optima is the web platform used by the University of Jyväskylä for communicating with students: it represents an interface system between teachers and students in which marks, assignments and news are posted. Moreover, Optima is the shared electronic platform with whom to involve citizens for sharing plans and projects and in which it is possible to interact to change the structure of a plan uploading materials and proposal.
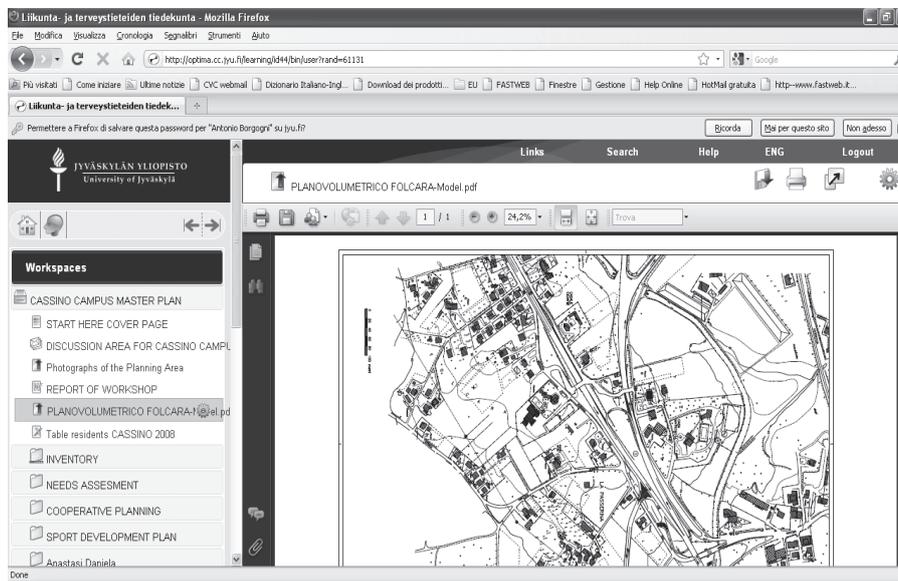
FIGURE 235   An example of the Optima workspace open on the page used for a workshop in Cassino.

7.2.3.4 The sub-cases

Kerava

The Kerava town project aimed at implementing the environment for facilitating physical activities. The two research coordinators were Dr. Michael Fogelholm and Prof. Kimmo Suomi, while the Nuori Suomi executive, M. Sc. Jan Norra, had the role of researcher.

The following description comes from the interviews administered to Dr. Fogelholm and Jan Norra in May 2008 and from the notes of the questionnaire compiled by Dr. Fogelholm for the WHO. The materials has been published in the WHO document "Tackling obesity by creating healthy residential environments" edited by Shoeppe & Braubach (2007), at pp. 66-70.

Kerava is a small town of about 30,000 inhabitants, 30 km north of Helsinki.

The idea of the action-research comes from the general data that show that while sports activities are increasing, less structured, non-competitive activities are decreasing.

In the past, several Municipalities developed policies for the building of neighbourhood sport facilities, mainly in the centre of the towns, but the children living in the outskirts had to travel to reach them. The main idea in Kerava was to use the school grounds on which to build small game and sports facilities. This idea was concomitant with the Nuori Suomi's research and

activity programme. Both the actions assumed that the school grounds were underutilized in the promotion of physical activity.

After a first meeting with the Sports Director of the Municipality of Kerava, was decided to support the project for three/four years, having, as a target group, children aged between 7 to 12 years (first to sixth grade of Primary School). Kerava's sports board intended to build just one new sport facility but they agreed with the idea of the project to build or rehabilitate several sports grounds.

Unexpectedly, the project received support from Mc Donald's as part of the plan to improve physical activity at local level. Mc Donald's agreed to contribute to the building of new neighbourhood sports facilities rather than give direct support to physical activity. Mc Donald's also agreed to the suggestion that no advertisings and logos of the company would appear on the spaces. In total, the sponsorship by Mc Donald's amounted to 100 000 euros during the entire project (15 % of the total costs). At the same time the local authorities applied for money from the state administration. These funds do not regard only Neighbourhood Sport Facilities (NSF) but every kind of sports facilities.

On this basis, the project started in 2002 with the town's commitment to change the schoolyards of six schools in a more sportive way following the NSF approach (2 NSFs per year).

The research started in 2003 with a representative sample of third and sixth grade pupils (9 and 12 years old, n=418). The survey was repeated in 2004 and 2006 with different children of the same age (n=297). They were asked to give their opinions about the difficulties of getting around in Kerava, about their schoolyards and the equipment. Moreover further researches using diaries and observations were carried out.

The preliminary results of the final report do not show any big changes in the overall activity but do show little changes in the kind of activities which can be played in the increasingly popular small areas devoted to ball games. A questionnaire was administered to the children to grade their school yards and how to improve them while Nuori Suomi was in charge of observational studies (recorded by video camera) and of the monitoring of the physical activity diaries delivered to children focusing on two school yards.

The results show that the children gave significantly better grading for their schoolyard in 2006 vs. 2003. However, the improvement in the schoolyards (open for the use of every one in Finland= public spaces) did not increase the activity but changed the patterns of the activity. As Dr. Fogelholm stated, one of the reasons could be that the schoolyards in Kerava needed to be improved but were not in "such bad" conditions. Another reason could be that in a small community like Kerava, children could easily find places to play elsewhere, at their home yard or in the woods around the town. It may also be that in the case of Kerava, the starting point was too good from the point of view of being free of getting around.

The children who changed activity were the most physically active in general, and the ones who had higher grades (7-10 in a scale 4-10) in Physical Education at school. We can preliminarily conclude that a 'simple' change in playground does not change the overall physical activity rate.

Norra (2008) added that another aspect could be that the light rehabilitation of school grounds and the building of small play and sports area could not be so attractive for children while, at the same time, there is always the need to deal with the financing of the project. The very positive aspect of Kerava has been the possibility to monitor the project not only the process. They do not have enough money it do this in other projects like, for example, Lauttasaari.

In Finland many schools use a timetable with several recesses along the school day in addition at the lunch break, thus these facilities are used also during school hours.

Particular attention was posed in addressing the interventions in the Kerava outskirts. The NSF system in Kerava is made by a lot of small facilities spread around the town.

I observed Kerava with Mr. Norra on the 28th of May 2008 (Figures 236-239).

Observing the playgrounds and children playing it is quite easy to notice the differences in the behaviour from many other European countries. For example, except first grade children, which are not allowed, many of them come by their selves by bicycle. Moreover, a part the wide range of game practiced, they have a freedom of movement higher than children in other countries; for example the behaviour of the girl in the picture 37 would not be allowed during school recesses or even in free time in many other countries. In Finland the recesses are free moments for children often not watched in an asphyxiating way by tutors. According to Norra, this is also related to the usual freedom of behaviour of children's in Finland that is also associated with the fact that in many school children have to go outside during recesses.

FIGURE 236   The plan of the schoolyard of Kannisto in Kerava (www.nuorisuomi.fi)

FIGURE 237   FIGURE 238; FIGURE 239: Kerava, one of the schoolyard areas. The bicycle
parking, play and sport equipment. (A. Borgogni, 2008)

Another way to enhance physical activity was the "Neighbourhood Sports
Facility Van": a spin-off project. The Sports Office bought some equipment
(sticks, balls etc.), which was transported in a van and lent to the children. The
van visits each NSF once a week in the late afternoon during spring, summer
and early autumn. The participatory plan was carried out through the internet
by Prof. Suomi using the Optima web platform.

Among the several NSF projects carried out in Finland, Kerava remains the only one in which the town's land has been so widely used for the facilities.

Kemio

The Kemio Municipality (Kimitto in the Swedish official language) has 3300 inhabitants that become 7500 during summer. It is in the south of Finland in the middle of the South Archipelago and it is characterized by peaceful surroundings. Inhabitants have medium incomes.

The Amos Park of the Municipality of Kemio was rehabilitated and built as a sports and leisure park with the aim of offering outdoor sports facilities and attract people from other Municipalities. It was partially planned through collaborative methods. The leading role was played by Mr. Bosse Ahlgren, responsible of the Sport Sector of the Municipality of Kemio.

The information about the Amos Park derive from the interview administered to Mr. Bo Ahlgren and Mr. Keijo Kuusela on the 3rd of June 2008.

The area in which the project of neighbourhood sport facility has been developed takes the name by the Amos Foundation which funded the four square hectares park. The Amos Park (Figures 240-244) was planned as sport facility in the neighbourhood near two schools and in an ideal position to be reached easily by everyone from the community. Onehundred and ten students attend the nearer upper primary school; the second, which is 800meters far away, is a secondary school. As a part of their Physical Education course they often make exercise also walking 1.5 km return to use the park; there is also a kindergarten in the Municipal house. About 600 children and teenagers live at walking distance.

The particularity of this feature is about the promotion of the town; the park, in fact, is part of the marketing strategy of the Municipality as second priority. The Municipality received also EU funds for the planning. The work started in 2003, ended in 2004. In 2006 the park was awarded as "NSF of the year".

The first step of the marketing strategy was to attract people promoting a high level image of the town. The plan of the Municipality, in fact, is to build 60 new plots for buildings expecially thought for new families with children. The area was plenty of sport opportunities also before the project, the lawns attracted several activities, there were trekking paths, an agility dog field, gyms, an orienteering area, and a hippodrome nearby.The first idea of the Municipality was to build a track and field stadium but Mr. Ahlgren opposed to this proposal because of the limitation in use and because the costs higher than the present project. There was already an unusual and favourable situation: a large lawn area to use in many flexible ways. For example it was possible to draw several football fields or to move the goals. Thus, it was decided to invest and to ask for State funds for a 'park with sport facilities' and not merely for sport facilities, a place where spend time having several opportunities for practicing sports.

FIGURE 240   Kemio, the lawn and the goals (A. Borgogni, 2008)

The park is composed by several facilities, playgrounds, football fields, skate park, beach volley, and a mini arena.
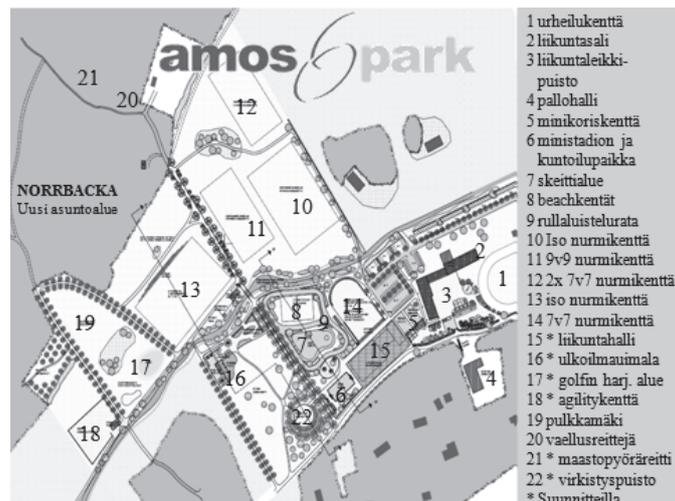
FIGURE 241   The map of Amos park (B. Ahlgren 2008)

The decision making process started in 2000 with a meeting of the city council. After that moment a crucial decision for the involvement of the citizens in the planning procedures was to involve Nuori Suomi following the suggestion of Mr. Keijo Kuusela. Mr. Jan Norra was in charge for that Association.

The participatory process was carried out in the schools. Children of the primary school were involved asking them to produce individual drawings which were evaluated by the students in a specific meetings. The adolescents were involved in a meeting in which they showed their wishes not to have very costly facilities. At that moment the Municipality did not have the youth parliament, which was activated later. At that moment there were only youth committees at school.

The architects and then the company that produced the furniture followed the children wishes. The Municipality did not choose on a budget basis; at the same time, following their wishes implied a saving of 15000€ respect the original budget allowance. The mini arena (number 6 in the plan) was quite new for Finland, like a pilot project and is the most successful for its flexibility. It is used by students and by other citizens also for unplanned activities like lacrosse. Moreover the students of the two nearest schools use the facilities during recesses. For the kindergarten, only teachers were involved.

FIGURE 242   Amos Park, the mini arena (B. Ahlgren, n.d.)

FIGURE 243   Amos Park, the playgrounds (B. Ahlgren, n.d.)

FIGURE 244   Amos Park, the skate park (A. Borgogni, 2008)

The first draft of the Master Plan was showed to inhabitants during an assembly and then exhibited for several weeks in the Town hall to collect suggestions. The project was evaluated by Nuori Suomi (Nuori Suomi, *n.d.*): there were very good results for the implementation of physical activity for children and young people while not very good for adults.

The Amos Park has become a sort of landmark for the diffusion of the "neighbourhood sport facilities" approach: it has been presented in dozens of seminar as a best practice. Mr. Kuusela often suggests visiting the Park to the Municipalities that apply for funds.

About thirty delegations from Finland and from some European countries came to visit the Park.

The total cost of the project is 300.000€ without the new football field; the Municipality invested 200000€ while the State, through the former Provincial office, funded for 88000 the building of the sport facilities. The running cost are about 15000€ per year. The number of presences per year is around 35000; many adults and elderly people use the facilities, which are free and open 24 hours. In the project's idea, it's important to offer the possibility to practice activities for families also not together but at the same time separately. Families come from other towns by car for practicing activities.

Mr Kuusela reminded that roughly the 25% of the application received concern NSF. The aim of the State is to fund more project is possible because they are a priority; in 2008 half of the projects were funded, in 2009 three out of four.

Lauttasaari

The Lauttasaari district, on the outskirts of Helsinki, used to be a crucial point for the defence of Helsinki together with Suomenlinna. It is an island whose southern part, close to the seashore, was declared a military area by Russians in 1885. Later on the non-military part was bought by Julius Tallberg and owned by his heirs until 1950's. In 1935 was linked to the mainland by a first bridge and in 1946 it was incorporated into Helsinki. From the 50' to the 70' was object of heavy construction (Suomi, 2011; www.histdoc.net).

It is nowadays a very pleasant area with 19000 inhabitants in which has been built a complex NSF (*lähiliikuntapaikka*) planned through collaborative methods above all involving children.

Nuori Suomi, in particular Mr. Jan Norra, played the most important role in the action-research.

I collected several documents gathered during two observations (4th of June and 5th of August 2008), two interviews with Mr. Jan Norra, one with Dr. Fogelholm, one with Prof. Suomi.

The park connects one new area, where there was a traffic park, to the beach area, passing through a wooden part in which other sports and leisure facilities were installed.

FIGURE 245 Lauttasaari, the area of the park crossed by a road; the beach area is clearly visible in the lower part of the picture (Google map)

The park was planned thanks to cooperation among the Public Work, Sport, and Youth sectors of the Municipality of Helsinki and a private company and was inaugurated in August 2007.

FIGURE 246 Lauttasaari, the traffic park (www.nuorisuomi.fi)

FIGURE 247 Lauttasaari, the plan of the area (www.nuorisuomi.fi)

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FIGURE 248   A panoramic view (A. Borgogni, 2008)

FIGURE 249   The poster of the inauguration (www.nuorisuomi.fi)

FIGURE 250   Various bodily practices in the park (A. Borgogni, August 2008)

FIGURE 251   Children playing with a trampoline and comparing their jumps (A. Borgogni, August 2008)

Lauttasaari was a pilot project in which there was the involvement of private companies. The cost was 850.000€ mainly covered by the Helsinki Municipality which also used Lottery and other funds (130.000€) and sponsors' money (50.000€) for a total amount of around 180.000€.

The part dedicated to children presents some very new interesting equipment built by Lapset Company. The main concept was to have a place in which many different activities for different age groups could be played with different surfaces: asphalt, concrete, rubber, wood, gravel, and sand. The two parts of the park are owned by different organizations (State Park Office and Municipal Sport Department); thus there was the need to coordinate the two planners.

The newest part contains equipment for children, multipurpose grounds, a skate park, and table tennis. Crossing the already existing bridge towards the seashore, the path goes through a wooden area in which there is an old basketball ground. Getting to the beach, in addition to the services, a huge wooden ship play equipment lays, which became a landmark of the area.

FIGURE 252   The wooden ship on the beach (A. Borgogni, 2008)

The area is thought for an intergenerational use and the parents and grand parents are supposed to use the equipment by their selves or when accompanying children. Mr. Norra said that they know that also youngsters use the structure. It looks more like a leisure park than a traditional sport facilities and it is close to the Youth centre whose youngsters participated to the planning process. For example the skateboard ramp idea came from their suggestions. The project started in 2002 and lasted five years. Comments were also gathered asking the users of the beach their opinion after the realization of the works. Lauttasaari was a pilot project; the Municipality is now expanding this model to other districts. The Lauttasaari district hosts medium-high level socio economical status families.

The sponsors of the project were a construction company, Lions Club, Silja Lines which had also an agreement at that moment with Nuori Suomi about spaces for children play in their ships.

One aspect, remarked by Mr. Norra, and not valid just for Lauttasaari, is related to the information about the different uses of the equipment facilitated by the information boards on how to exercise not just for children but also for accompanying parents or grand parents.

On the 5th of August 2008, I made a second observation using the grid of the perceptive qualitative survey (Appendix 2). I choose the moment because it was out of the school period but, unfortunately, it was a rainy day with little attendance in the park.

The traffic around the park, also in the road which cut the park, is not heavy and it is not a problem because there are several at-grade pedestrian crossings and, moreover, the pedestrian bridge linking the two parts of the park. There are separated lanes for pedestrians and cyclists. There are not dedicated parking lots but there are many parking spaces available along the roads. The signposting is accurate like in the other parts of Finland. The area is also well served by public transportation. The sidewalks are well maintained

and wide. The quality and maintenance of the sports and play equipment is high except the basket ground equipped with regular backboards and boards for children in the wooden area. The beach is equipped with toilets, a small grill, sports and play equipment, including 'the ship'. In practice, what is very important from a body facilitation view- point, there is a continuity of the paths between those linking the city center to the beach and those, in a beautiful environmental context, following the seashore. Despite of the climate, in the late morning several children and adolescents were playing in the park. The accessibility is very good. In the other side of the street another park lays with older equipment. No vandalism has been perceived in the area. A very interesting aspect is that at walking distance, there are several small parks or school-grounds. Thus the Lauttasaari new park does not replace other playgrounds in the area but is in addition and, I would say, in a physical and psychological continuity with them.

Beyond the spaces described here above, I visited during my several journeys to Finland, many other places: Kupitta in Turku, the Lieto school complex, the Salo and Raisio sports areas, several nature tracks.

Personal remarks and feelings

I have been many times in Finland and, a part my doctoral studies, developed personal and job relationships in several cities.

The case of Finland is quite diverse from the others because of the decision to study cases in diverse cities and towns. Nonetheless, for a foreigner, the perceptions about Finnish way of life are somehow homogeneous. There are obviously differences between Helsinki city centre and the remote forest but is clearly perceptible a certain slowness, this is what impressed me the first times I visited Finland, in moving and walking around also in the busiest and crowded parts of the cities. The combination of high levels of education and services, the trust in the public administration, the love for the nature, the social protection, make Finland a highly liveable country even if with regional and local differences.

The theme of the body is strictly connected with the above-mentioned characteristics: the low density, the availability of space, and the careful preservation of the environment, the relatively new urban tradition, lead Finns to seek for nature and, even, loneliness. Anyway, the nature is inside the towns and cities in form of woods and lakes that are easily findable around the corner or close to the backyards. One of the most surprising aspects during my observation was the frequency of use of the infrastructure and the equipment. For Italian or Spanish, standards, at a first look they seem underutilized. Remaining in the place, on the contrary, is possible to observe small groups of children, arriving in full autonomy from the neighbourhood, playing, adolescents, elderly people practising Nordic Walking or walking using walking frames, adults jogging, groups of students using the playgrounds for Physical Education lessons or during school break. This depends also by the fact that spaces like schoolyards containing sports furniture are usually open

for the use of everyone through the day and not fenced. During the day, a relevant number of people use the spaces, which rarely, become overcrowded. The autonomy of children in moving around, even if Finns complain about the decrease of this habit, has been something astonishing for me when I observed hundreds of bicycles out of the primary schools. In my research I did not deal with the theme of the children autonomy, which is one of my favourite topics, but it is worth to mention here the policies that, beginning in the nineties after the approval of the Children's Rights Convention in 1989, have referred to children's presence in the city scene as the indicators of the quality of life in the city of the so-called developed countries.

7.2.4 Ferrara

The case of Ferrara, the town where I live, was chosen at the beginning of this research, not for parochialism or overestimation but for the relevance of several aspects strictly related with the topics of the research. Moreover, Ferrara has been the place where I have led or carried out researches and action-researches in the field of participatory town planning.

During the last years, the situation has deeply changed. As it is described in a detailed way in the next paragraphs, Ferrara, even if confirming a very good liveability, has abandoned the participation as general political strategy. Furthermore, the infrastructural interventions realized in the last few years are the results of planning and funding decided several years ago.

This turn in the policies was decided before the beginning of the economical crisis that is, even more, affecting the 'weak' sectors and the 'hidden' processes or methods that led the town in the past in a prominent position in Italy.

7.2.4.1 Town planning history, current situation, and perspectives

To describe in a synthetic way the town planning history of Ferrara, I need to start from earlier periods than for the other cases because the current design of the town, inside the city walls, has remained almost intact since 15th century.

Many town planners consider Ferrara "the first modern town in Europe" (Burckhardt, 1990, p. 48) because of the almost unique historical process of urbanization connecting Medieval and Renaissance parts. The crucial moment was, in fact, between Middle Age and Renaissance, when the Duke Ercole I d'Este commissioned architect Biagio Rossetti to expand the town to north strengthening the defence system. The intervention, called "Ercolean addition" (*Addizione erculea)*, was carried out from 1492 till 1510. The plan, developed following the Vitruvius' description of the Roman town planning, was very innovative for that period and connected with an orthogonal grid the old medieval fabric with the new part of the town.

Ferrara can also be considered one important example of the planning of "urban voids or the poetics of non–completed" (Zevi, 2006). A quarter of the city, in fact, included inside the walls, is called the 'countryside inside the city'

deriving from the vegetable gardens that the Estensi Dukes, which ruled the town for centuries, preserved with the aim to have the possibility of victualing in case of sieges. The gardens, with a long-lasting vision of the following rulers, has been conserved until nowadays.

The period between the two World Wars was characterized by the so-called "novecentist addition" that concerned areas in the very city centre, near the cathedral, the castle, and the former venue of Sant'Anna Hospital, and in the area of the "Garden quarter", inspired by Howard's theories (1898). The Garden quarter (Figure 253) was built in the place of the former parade ground; the works began in 1916. On the frame of that intervention, the planner Savonuzzi, during Fascist period (1922-1943), applied the principles of the functionalist and modernist architecture.
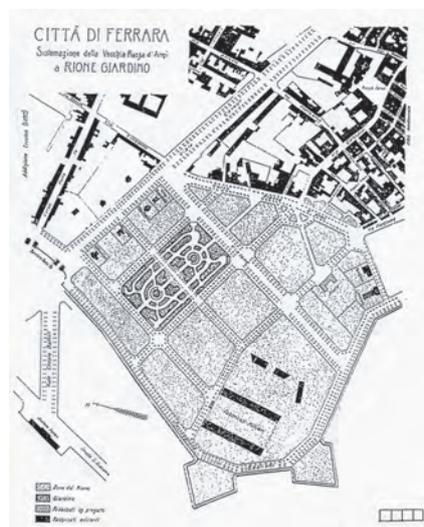
FIGURE 253   The plan of the rehabilitation of the parade ground as Garden District, 1916 (www.isco-ferrara.com)

The main purposes of the project are relevant for the aims of the research. The garden quarter will represent the healthier and enjoyable resting and meeting point for every social class […] it will diversify the habits of the town promenades […]. The garden will be fenced and surrounded by the district avenues. […] It is a true garden square in which every vehicular traffic will be excluded and around whom, due to the shape of the district, never will be heavy business or industrial traffic" (Comune di Ferrara, 1916).

The football stadium (Figure 254), which has been used till nowadays, was built, using donations, in 1927 by the football club S.P.A.L. (*Società Polisportiva Ars et Labor)*, after the free concession of the land by the municipality. The Municipal resolution describes as main reason for the free concession that the "SPAL for years has developed a worth of prise and highly effective activity for the physical education of the youth" (Comune di Ferrara, 1927)
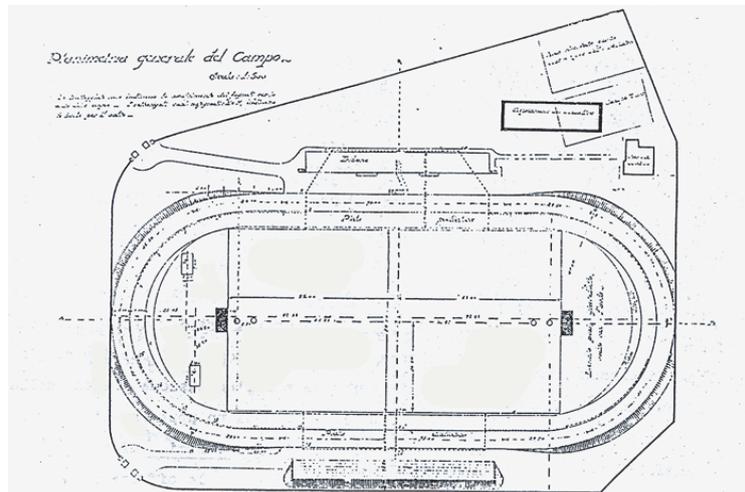
FIGURE 254   The plan of the football stadium 1927 (www.isco-ferrara.com)

It was only in the eighties that Ferrara began a process of rehabilitation and improvement of its heritage. The rehabilitation of the walls, among the best-preserved in the world, in the 1990's led Ferrara to achieve the UNESCO World Heritage status in 1995, which was extended to the territory of the Ferrara Province in 1999. The walls are, actually, the first sports facility in town.
Ferrara (Figure 255) counts on 134.464 inhabitants, 35.419 inside the area enclosed in the walls. (Comune di Ferrara, 2008).

FIGURE 255   The map of Ferrara nowadays. The walls are clearly visible encircling the historical city centre with the tight fabric of medieval streets in the southern part and the orthogonal Renaissance design north. The vegetable gardens are in the north-east part, the Volano river cut the southern part of the town from northwest to southeast, and the Garden district, which includes the Stadium, is in the in the west part (Google map)

One of the most controversial theme in the development of the city is the rehabilitation of the Volano river, nowadays a branch of the river Po, that cut the city passing few hundred meters south east of the city centre. In the last decades many plans have been done and many researches have been carried out. One of the most extensive has been that included in the project 'The rivers as cultural infrastructures' included in the Culture 2000 Program, leaded by the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Ferrara that had as case study for Italy the Volano river. On the frame of the research coordinated by Prof. Romeo Farinella, (Farinella, 2005) I and the team of the 'Il corpo va in città' association had the role of investigating the socio anthropological aspects of the life along the river. The conclusions of the qualitative survey led towards a rehabilitation of the river in which the leisure and sport activities have a leading role.

The survey, in fact, investigated the qualitative and social aspects of living the river, attempting to find connections between the visions of the elderly and the young.

The methods of research that were utilized ranged from literature review, interviews, focus groups and the 'sharing day-life' method. The vision that emerges from the research varies according to different sensitive points investigated. In particular it is possible to map out a generational path along the river that sees the young and young adults as the protagonists at the first and last stretches of the Volano (Ferrara and the way out to sea respectively). Here the practice of sports such as rowing and sailing seem to be some of the few ways in which the community realises the presence of the river. The two extremities of the Volano are also rendered as 'young' by other factors, such as the gathering of groups of youngster in the bars of the 'lidi' on a nightly basis during the summer. At the opposite end of the river, in Ferrara, similar scenes are to be found at "Darsena City', a series of much-debated buildings near the river basin amongst which there is also a multi-screen cinema. The middle section of the Volano, with the exception of Codigoro in void of human habitation. Here the only relationship with the river is that of drawing its water for irrigation. Some long fishing boats are the exception to this, since they serve as a meeting point for elderly people on a daily basis.

To many citizens the river is invisible, sometimes even frustrating source pollution. According to elderly people living near the Volano, especially outside the cities, the river represents the past, nature, security, nourishment, cleanliness, and manual ability. On the other hand youngsters perceive it as an urban waterway, a source of insecurity and pollution, but also as a possible location for recreational activities. Another fundamental difference in the perception that young and elderly people have of the river is that the former never experienced a direct physical contact with the river.

Despite these apparently opposing perceptions of the river, it is possible to find ideas for its future use: the attention of young people to recreational, tourist and sporting functions of the river, of the docks, of the banks and of the surrounding areas is connected to the request for a new central role of the Volano, as it also emerges form elderly people's accounts. The possibility to use

the river as a public space for recreational activities with low environmental impact, together with a valorisation of its natural features, could allow the Volano to regain a central role in the perception and in every-day life of the community (Borgogni, 2005).

Nowadays the discussion about the river, above all in the urban stretch, is continuing. As example I can mention the recent controversy between local authority, represented by the chief engineer of the Province, Monti, and Prof. Farinella concerning the building of a huge roundabout between the San Giorgio bridge on the Volano and San Giorgio church, one of the most prestigious church in Ferrara. The controversy is about the opportunity to build a trivial traffic regulator in front of one of the most beautiful feature of the town without any valorisation of the perspective and of the square itself. Farinella complained that a city able to produce, in the eighties, a far-seeing town planning policy, which led Ferrara to achieve the UNESCO heritage status, in the last twenty years has produced, in general but with the particularity of the Volano, only unimportant interventions not oriented at the valorisation of the river but to deal with traffic or commercial issues answering in a technical way to the complexity that should be needed for a world heritage city. From the side of the Provincial Administration, Monti replied defending the intervention and being ironic about the usual Academic role not paying enough attention to practical problems (Farinella 2011b; Monti, 2011).

FIGURE 256   The master plan of the works in the San Giorgio area (www.Estense.com)

FIGURE 257 The rendering of the works, the planned roundabout is clearly visible (www.Estense.com)

The fact is that, after decades, the river is a sort of dead, unknown, sometimes hated, big ditch without any functions that can improve the liveability of the river and of the entire city. This is a true pity also considering the European town-planning tendency in the rehabilitation of the river banks.

7.2.4.2 The body in the city

At the end of the sixties Ferrara has been among the first Italian towns to pedestrianize the historical centre and since that moment has developed a network of cycle paths considered to be one of the best in Italy. In fact, given the flat layout of the city, Ferrara boasts a long tradition in the use of bicycles, so much so that it is now named "City of Bicycles".

The city of bicycles

The tradition in the use of the bicycle dates back to the invention of the bike itself and has been facilitated by the flatness of the Po Valley, the river that flows into the Adriatic Sea 50 km east of the town.

In a literary style Chiarini & Chendi (1994, p. 7) explain the reasons of the large use of the bikes: "the city lays in a totally flat land, without any height difference and certainly terribly boring if it were not the ideal place for the bicycle. Riding their bicycle, the inhabitants feel gratified and contemporaneously transgressive. Their traditional apathy, basic characteristic of being *ferrarese*, lambasted without mercy by writers, historians, critics […], when riding the bicycle turns into a uninhibited vitality at the limit of the indiscipline". The authors write about the connection between the peculiarities of the land, the straight streets of the *Addizione Erculea* and the facilitation in biking and the, tacitly agreed, delightfully anarchic behaviours. "In this regained sensation of full freedom lays the secret of the success of the bicycle" (Comune di Ferrara; Chiarini & Chendi, 1994, p. 7). The former Major of Ferrara, Mr. Sateriale stated that the bicycle is for the residents an extension of

the body, I would say that the *ferraresi* are *cyclorg* instead of cyborg. The current Major, Mr. Tagliani, did not lost the habit to move by cycling.

To go more in depth about this crucial aspect for understanding the relationship between body and public space in Ferrara, I interviewed Gianni Stefanati (31st of May 2012). The following drafting is the result of the interview and of the documents he provided.

Stefanati is the executive of the Municipality who was the first manager of the Bike office established in 1995, the first in Italy. That was the period in which Ferrara achieved the status of UNESCO World Heritage and the effort of the Municipality to promote the use of the bicycles went in the direction to enhance tourism.

Ferrara is the Italian city of bicycles where use of this means of transport is among the highest in Europe: in 1991 the percentage use was 30.7 against 30% in Copenhagen and 27.8% in Holland. In 2000 a survey carried out by Data Bank on a representative sample confirmed that 30.9% of Ferrara's inhabitants use bicycles referring to the total number of journeys.

In 1999 the DG XI European Commission published the volume "Cities for Bicycles, cities for the future" in which Ferrara is quoted as an example to follow. Ferrara is currently included in the BYPAD project co-ordinated by the ECF for evaluating the policies adopted in different European cities for promoting the use of bicycles. Nowadays, Ferrara is partner in the EU project "Cyclelogistic" (www.cyclelogistics.eu) aimed at developing the use of cargo bikes to reduce energy used in urban freight transport.

In 2000 the Ministry of the Environment gave an award to the city of Ferrara for its promotion of the use of the bicycle in town through the setting up of the Bike Office for Sustainable Mobility.

Upon the recommendation of the Ministry of the Environment, Ferrara was included as a practical example of sustainable mobility in the guidelines drawn up by the UNECE (UN agency for the environment).

Within the Urban Traffic Plan an operative and planning instrument for the improvement of the conditions of cycling mobility, the 'Bici Plan', has been included since 2000. In 'Bici Plan' the historical centre has been considered as a part of the city that favours cycling, while for the outskirts of the town separate radial cycle tracks (seven in the planning stage, two already completed) that allow cyclists to reach the outlying areas have been thought out. The problem of the accident rate has obviously been the most serious we have had to face up to and in order to reduce the risks we have decided to operate upon criteria of traffic-calming and separation. A city wall, on the outside of which a cycling ring road has been constructed, surrounds the historical centre. Work on raising the road level for vehicles passing through the gaps in the wall is in progress, which means continuity of the cycling route and at the same time a slowing down of the traffic flow. The primary objective is making the points of conflict, identified in the urban Traffic Plan, safe.

According to Osti (2010) the results of the 'Bici Plan' are the followings. The cycle paths planned in 2002 were 117.14; the total Km of urban road

network were 990; the total km of cycle paths realized in 2004 were 84.37 leading the Km of cycle paths per inhabitant at 0.64. In October 2006, the percentage of 'Bici Plan? completed was 72%. The percentage completed on the urban road network was 8.5%. (The latest figures on the Municipality website refer to October 2006). According to the survey held in 2006 by the Municipality, every family owns 2 bicycles for a total of 123.000.

The increase in the number of kilometres of cycle paths from the 33 km in 2000 to the 86 km in 2007 is shown in the Figure 258, representing a table, "Cycle paths in the Comune di Ferrara", and the network shown in the Figures 260 and 261. The increase had occurred despite the fact that the only law (n° 366/1998) is not implemented anymore and the Municipalities must build the network using their own funds.

Cycle paths in the "Comune di Ferrara"				
Year	Km	Population	Km/1.000 inhabitants	Km/100 km² of surface area
2000	33,0	131.713	2,5	8,2
2001	50,0	131.032	3,8	12,4
2002	60,8	130.169	4,7	15,0
2003	60,8	130.135	4,7	15,0
2004	60,8	131.907	4,6	15,0
2005	62,0	132.471	4,7	15,3
2006	68,8	133.214	5,2	17,0
2007	86,1	133.591	6,5	21,3
Source: Comune di Ferrara, 2008.				

FIGURE 258   The data about the kilometres of cycle paths in the years 2000-2007 in the Municipality (Comune) di Ferrara (Osti, 2010, www.ferrarainbici.it).

The comparison among the other main Italian cities proposed in the Figure 259, representing a table, "Journeys made for work and studies in main cities", is favourable to Ferrara by the point of view of the journeys by bicycle but if we sum the on foot percentages, above all for study reasons, there is a re-balancing of the results.

Journeys made for work and study in main cities in the same local council where inhabitants have residential status and the means of transport used-Italy and Ferrara				
	Main Italian cities		Ferrara	
	Study	Work	Study	Work
Train, Tram and Underground	4,2%	5,3%	0,0%	0,0%
Bus, coach, trolley bus	15,3%	9,2%	11,6%	2,3%
Company or school bus	2,8%	0,4%	3,5%	0,2%
Private car, driver	5,7%	52,7%	8,2%	58,2%
Private car, passenger	30,0%	4,1%	33,9%	3,0%
Motorbike, moped, scooter	7,6%	9,8%	6,7%	5,4%
Bicycle	2,8%	4,1%	25,7%	22,8%
Other means	0,2%	0,5%	0,0%	0,2%
On foot	31,4%	14,1%	10,3%	7,9%
Total	**100,0%**	**100,0%**	**100,0%**	**100,0%**

Note: 94.7% of the journeys for study and 78.5% of those for work take place in the council of residence.

Source: ISTAT - General census of 2001 in the Comune of Ferrara published in 2008.

FIGURE 259 Comparison of the journeys for commuting for work and study between Ferrara and other Italian cities (Osti, 2010; www.ferrarainbici.it)

Moreover, Stefanati reminded a recent field survey (May 2011) carried out in three points of access to the city centre. Between 7.30 and 9.30 in an average labour day: Via Bologna 1380 bicycles and 1595 cars; Corso Giovecca 642 bicycles and 443 cars. This means that on average the number of cars and cycles used for mobility in entrance to Ferrara in the peak hours is more or less the same.

FIGURE 260 The cycle paths in town (retrieved May 5, 2012 from http://servizi.comune.fe.it/index.phtml?id=985)
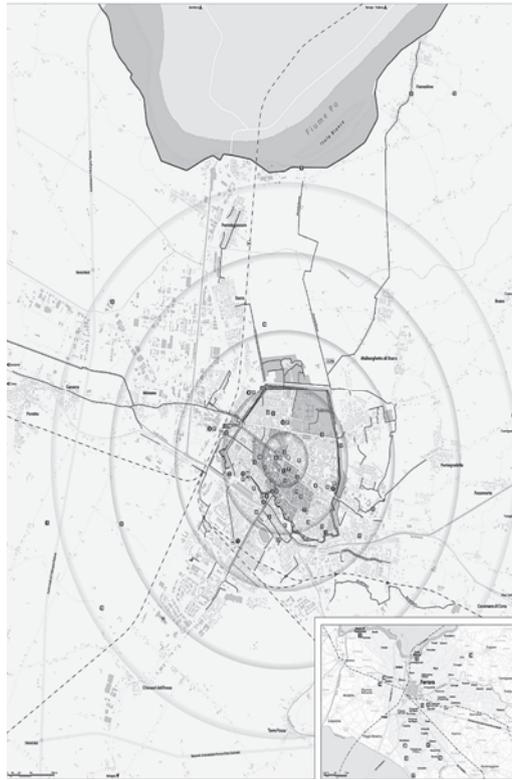
FIGURE 261 The cycle paths towards the outskirts (retrieved May 5, 2012 from http://servizi.comune.fe.it/index.phtml?id=985)

Stefanati mentioned a specific program for the prevention of theft that has been delivered and the information published in the leaflet *Ferrara 12* (twelve ways to prevent thefts). Against theft it is also possible to register in the Bicycle National Register, a service providing a not removable number plate.

About public bicycles, in 2004 the *C'entro in bici* (I enter in the city (c)enter by cycle) program launched a bike sharing free service for commuters with 144 bicycles and 350 users.

On of the most interesting service is the *Ricicletta* (Re-cycling, i. e. cycle recycling), involving also former patients of public mental health services, which is specialized in cycles repair.

The walls

As I wrote above, another relevant aspect for the facilitation of the body are the city walls and the Urban Park (Figures 262-265). The ring of the walls is almost complete; it is, in fact, interrupted for few hundred meters where the old parade ground laid. The walls represent the first sport facility in town. According to the season hundreds or thousands people use them for walking, jogging, cycling or just for a stroll or resting.

FIGURE 262   The green path going through the Estensi gardens towards the walls (A. Borgogni, December 2011)

FIGURE 263   The countryside inside the city (A. Borgogni, December 2011)

FIGURE 264   The cycle ring paths outside the walls (A. Borgogni, December 2011)

FIGURE 265   The multiple uses of the tree-lined walls (A. Borgogni, December 2011)

The Municipality, which maintain attentively the area, however, seems not to be aware of the importance of the Walls and the Urban Park and, generally speaking, of the non-formalized places for sport and leisure. This is the case, for example, of the leaflet for young people produced in 2010 by the sport sector of the Municipality in which these areas are not mentioned among the opportunities to practice sport (Figure 266). Moreover, the only mentioned activities are with fee and the leaflet is not downloadable if not the cover page, aspects that render the leaflet not useful and appealing.

My observation of the walls is continuous while I use them for walking and jogging. Nonetheless I systematically observed them on the 27th of December 2011 and on the 17th of June 2012.
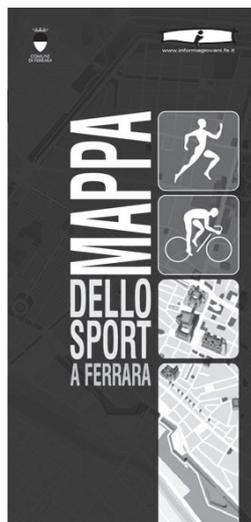
FIGURE 266   The cover of the leaflet 'The map of the sport in Ferrara'
(www.ferrarasociale.org)

Another example of the difficulties in considering the non-organized physical activity as an integral part of the opportunities to practice sport is the Skate park (Figures 267-270) owned by the Municipality. It was built in a small square not far from the Area Giovani, the office of the Youth Sector in charge of the fieldwork, base. The square was originally planned to practice rollerblade but several mistakes in respecting safety provisions in the realization induced the local authority to build a skate park entrusting it to Area Giovani. The history of the park is controversial, above all because the involvement of the young people and the opening hours. Despite the work of Area Giovani, these two aspects have always been the most important limits for a true exploitation of the park. The traditional lack of confidence in young people of the Ferrara Local Authority obliged to open the park only at the presence of a Municipal street operator. Moreover, as shown in the pictures here below, dictating an incredible number of rules and sanctions discouraging everyone to be involved. Despite of these limits, the young people, coordinated by the operators of Area Giovani, worked in the rehabilitation of the park with effective results. The situation nowadays is disheartening. The announcement in the Area Giovani website in February 2012 (http://areagiovani.comune.fe.it) reads

In Ferrara there is the possibility to practice the most 'metropolitan' sport and amusements. Come to the skate park to try your tricks in a complete freedom! Thanks to the new running of the 'Skate for FE' committee, the skate park is open Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday, and Sunday from 15,30 to 19,30. The new youngsters group is engaged periodically in the maintenance of the equipment. If you want to participate get through Area Giovani.

The announcement sounds contradictory and explains the mentality with which the facilities are conceived by the Municipality. In fact, the skate park, which is closed out of the indicated timetable (16 hours per week), seems to be managed to prevent participation. In May 2012 the skate park was going to be dismantled.

I observed the park on the 13th of March 2009, on the 2nd of November 2009, and on the 4th of June 2010.

FIGURE 267   The crabbed sign with the rules (A. Borgogni, April 2011)

FIGURE 268   The sign with the opening hours covered by graffiti (A. Borgogni, April 2011)

FIGURE 269   The broken fan guard can be considered vandalism or the expression of a wish to use the park. (A. Borgogni, April 2011)

FIGURE 270   The skate park (A. Borgogni, April 2011)

7.2.4.3 The participation

In the nineties, Ferrara was the second town after Modena to activate Agenda 21 process in Italy, and promoted several examples of participation: first of all Agenda Under 21 dedicated to young people. At the same time the Municipality improved town planning participative actions, some of them involving young people.

Nowadays, at regional level, but with effectiveness also at local level, the law n. 3/2010 defines and promotes the consultation and participation rules to the elaboration of the regional and local policies. (Regione Emilia Romagna, 2010).

The law describes the importance of the deliberative and participatory democracy including the forms of direct democracy, to be placed side by side to the representative democracy. Among the objectives there are the enhancement of the quality of the democracy of the administrations, the creation of a better social cohesion to deal with conflicts, the improvement of immaterial resources like mass trust and the valorisation of widespread competences, the gender and social equality, the implementation of the constitutional principle of the subsidiarity. Single citizens or associations can petition to start participatory processes at local or regional level. If the local authority denies the petition, citizens can ask the guarantor provided by the law.

At present, three participative processes are carried out in Ferrara.

The first concerns the planning of the future use of the Sant'Anna Hospital. It is directly managed by the Municipality and involves external consultants. The association '*Basso Profilo*' (Low profile) managed by students and former students of the Faculty of Architecture, is carrying out two projects sponsored by the Municipality: '*Un quartiere di nome Giardino*' (A district named Giardino) and '*Interferences/Il Parco Urbano di Ferrara*' (Interferences/The Ferrara urban park). The first project aims at producing ideas about the regeneration of the green areas of the district while the issue of accessibility characterizes the second.

From these information it is easy to infer that the third sector in Ferrara, as well in the entire Emilia Romagna Region, is very active and strong. In the Ferrara case I would stress that often, more or less in an intentional way, the relationships with the local authority is characterized by becoming an instrument of the latter.

Furthermore, the Municipality holds a dedicated page of its web site (www.partecipaferrara.it) to participation but it is actually a one way participation because, mentioning the site itself, it is useful for getting informed about four main themes.

The young people participation nowadays

In Ferrara, after the projects carried out in the past, the Municipality has started a low profile policy concerning participation. The Agenda 21 process was practically interrupted letting the Provincial[7] Agenda21 carry out the process with diminishing strength, the "Town of children" office dismantled from an operative point of view. The "Bike office", established in 1995 was dismantled and included in the Mobility Agency in 2010. The Student and the Children Councils seldom meet.

The only remaining project directly involving young people, carried out by the Municipality in cooperation with some associations is "PartecipAction a bank for the young people's ideas".

The information about the project comes from the interview and the materials provided by Mr. Giorgio Benini, at that time (March 2010) coordinator of the Adolescent Service of the Youth Area (*Area Giovani*) of the Municipality (Figure 271).

The general aim of the project is to enhance the young people's participation. The specific aims are the building of a steering group with representatives of Public Administration and third sector; the strengthening of the participative planning; to give continuity to existing aggregative projects; to enrich the projects of the Districts; to enhance peer education.

In the frame of participation, one of the aims is to carry out, using a van and street operators, light town planning participative processes financed by the 'bank'.

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[7]   Political-administrative level between the Municipality and Region
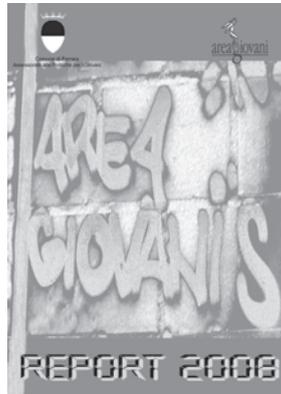
FIGURE 271   The Area Giovani logo scanned by the 2008 report of the service.

The project funding comes from the Socio-health Zone Plan, an integrated tool financed and coordinated together by three political levels (Region, Province and Municipality) and the Health Service. The project involves adolescents and young people aged between 14 and 24.

The methodology is divided into three sections: it counts on the video-monitoring on the spots where young people gather and aims at building a topographical map of the places; on a cognitive map based on the description of the youngsters of the aggregative places; it is based on a relational map of the relation between them and the other categories of citizens; on a survey about young people needs; it relies on the face to face contact with the groups of young people and on the establishment of a significant relationship ("loosing time with youngsters" in a "street education" meaning; Benini: 2010); participative planning of different projects (amongst them some "light" town planning actions). The bank, managed by the associations, has had the important role of shortening the time needed to put the actions into practice.

The project is evaluated using quantitative (number of young people contacted and involved, number of micro-projects carried out) and qualitative (video interviews, "focus group" during the meeting of the District board.

Examples of micro-actions carried out are: the re-planning of the displacement of the furniture of some parks; the organization of an informal football tournament on green areas.

One very interesting action has been the creation of a multi media work station managed by youngsters in a condition of social hardships. The action has been developed during the Spring 2009. The youngsters' visual products were uploaded in a tv-web-platform (www.glooc.tv not anymore working)

7.2.4.4 The sub-cases

The Ferrara case study, for the participatory planning actions carried out in the past, is described through those carried out by the association "Il corpo va in città" (The body goes to the city).

In the description of the sub-cases, the documentation provided comes from that used in the period of the action and that coming from the more recent observations.

The epistemology of the Association proposes the body as a means of analysing the quality of life: the main idea is that letting the body expresses itself is an indicator of high levels of user-friendly city.

The association, which from 1999 to 2005 was a sector supported by UISP (*Unione Italiana Sport* Pertutti) local Ferrara Committee, has been established from 2005 and has carried out actions on town planning, involving inhabitants in decisions concerning the reorganisation of the city districts and roads by means of surveys, workshops on urbanity, information and entertainment. The aim has been to carry out interventions based on the inhabitants' proposals. Its uniqueness is the idea of the body as an urban life quality indicator: the higher the possibility the body has of expressing itself in an urban context, the higher the standards of living. The body discussed in this context is that of everyday movement, coordinated to climb steps or walk along paths, playing, cycling, roller-skating, taking a seat, shaking hands, establishing relationships, or playing sports.

Till few years ago, the actions of the association were aimed at involving children and elderly people in the planning of urban spaces. Lately, however, the attention has been focused on teenagers and young adults, the 'great absents' of social and educational policies. In more recent projects they got involved in territorial planning actions by means of manifold participative strategies and methods which were differentiated case by case according to diverse working situations.

The methods result from the interdisciplinary nature of the work groups, which consist of young architects, educationists, sociologists, psychologists and physical educators.

The members of the work groups participate together in drawing up the operational project. Each operational group is composed of members with different professional education and backgrounds, and they all participate together in the work with the youth. Each single group together, under the supervision of the project co-ordinators, chooses the observational, didactic and operational tools.

I would focus on two of these actions (Borgogni, 2006) carried out in 2003/2005, both related with Agenda Under 21, the young-directed action within the framework of Local Agenda21. It's to mention that nowadays the Agenda Under21 process is interrupted and the Agenda 21 is more and more dismantled.

Barco District

The first action, regarding the Barco ward, was financed by PROMECO, a social prevention and promotion community service (Borgogni & Spettoli, 2004).

Barco is a neighbourhood of Ferrara, characterised by governmental working-class housing projects. The informal territorial planning carried out with young people on the spot was included in a larger research, whose aim was to investigate the mutual perception between the old and new inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

In fact, the four-family houses and small blocks of flats in the neighbourhood are currently being demolished according to a governmental programme and new, multi-apartment buildings are being built instead. The neighbourhood is going through radical urban and social changes, as only a part of the old residents have chosen to return in the new houses assigned to them and as the arrival of the new inhabitants, who are mostly middle-aged families and young people with low income, is modifying the demographic composition of the neighbourhood.

The observations, after the period of the planning (2004) were carried out on the 12th of March 12th 2008, on the 1st o November 2008, and on the 3rd of June 2009.

The research-action was based on a multidisciplinary kind of observations including interviews with key informants, urban surveys and observations as well as on questionnaires for a restricted (10%) sample of inhabitants (n=470) representative of the age ranges and gender (the 44,7% males and the 55,3% females). These surveys showed that the attitude of the inhabitants towards the changes was generally positive. The majority doesn't expect particular problems except for an increase in the traffic in the neighbourhood.

Answers/ages	16-25	26-39	40-60	61-75	> 75	total
Nothing particular	17,8%	23,7%	24,1%	38,1%	41,4%	28,2%
More traffic in the neighbourhood	16,4%	26,0%	20,8%	17,1%	14,3%	20,2%
Less parking space	11,0%	6,5%	6,6%	2,8%	4,3%	5,9%
More noisy young people and scooters	8,2%	4,7%	7,3%	7,7%	7,1%	6,9%
More untidiness	13,7%	11,2%	9,1%	9,9%	11,4%	10,5%
More small criminality	11,0%	16,0%	16,4%	12,2%	11,4%	14,3%
Integration difficulties between old and new inhabitants	4,1%	7,1%	5,8%	6,1%	5,7%	6,0%
Worsening of services	6,8%	3,0%	7,7%	5,0%	4,3%	5,6%
Other	11,0%	1,8%	2,2%	1,1%	0,0%	2,5%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

FIGURE 272 Table taken from the official report explaining the possible negative consequences resulting from the construction of new buildings in the neighbourhood

The residents consider positive the increase in the number of children and teenagers in the neighbourhood, one of the oldest in town.

Answers/ages	16-25	26-39	40-60	61-75	> 75	total
More children	18,2%	29,9%	28,3%	27,6%	32,9%	28,0%
More young people	39,4%	31,2%	28,8%	25,1%	17,7%	28,1%
More people in the park, at the club, etc.	19,7%	7,0%	8,3%	12,1%	7,6%	10,0%
More relations with neighbours, mutual help	3,0%	4,5%	4,6%	11,1%	11,4%	6,9%
More services	7,6%	13,4%	12,1%	10,1%	15,2%	11,8%
Getting to know directly different social situations	6,1%	10,2%	9,2%	6,0%	2,5%	7,5%
Don't know	4,5%	3,8%	7,1%	7,5%	12,7%	6,9%
Other	1,5%	0,0%	1,7%	0,5%	0,0%	0,8%
Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

FIGURE 273 Table taken from the official report explaining the opinions about the positive consequences brought by new families.

The relationships among the residents are considered being only among restricted circles (26,2%), or based on indifference (24,1%), many people are considered at risk of seclusion (20,5%). Thus, the 'lack of solidarity' is the main problem of the neighbourhood. Elderly people are the category most at risk.

The 57,2% of the respondents highlight that young and elderly people are the categories within whom there are more difficulties in establish relationships and in sharing spaces.

The perception of safety is closely connected with the previous results: the 74% of the inhabitants feel unsafe after dark. The main cause of insecurity is the vandalism and micro-criminality connected with the (supposed) presence of young people in the area. At the same time, a strong affection towards the green areas of the neighbourhood emerged in the research.

The most frightening area was the park F.lli Rosselli"). These were the reasons that led the research group to start a street workshop with the teenagers and young adults who met exactly in that area and a workshop with the grown-ups of the neighbourhood. The workshop with adults was inaugurated with the presentation, given by the youngsters, of the results of the street workshop.

North Western District

The second action (Borgogni, 2005), then, was carried out in the north-western district of Ferrara, composed of many small centres at the distance of a few kilometres from the city. The Municipal Administration promoted this action, and many offices of the Municipality actually participated in realising the project.

In this case the focus was put on involving the young people in the planning of meeting places in the centres where they live and on inventing initiatives to connect the different small centres with the biggest one, Porotto, closest to the city and the centre of the district. of planning

The observations, after the period of the planning (2004) were carried out on the 4th of June and on the 12th of September 2009.

In both the two projects the method of the street workshops, consisting in 'hooking' and involving young people, was based on surprise, on intentional wrong-footing and on a mixed use of 'poor' tools and materials together with advanced technologies. These projects were carried out in collaboration with the activity leaders of '*Area Giovani*'.

The young people were 'attracted' by means of a camper-van equipped with a sofa, a veranda, a stereo and the information technology equipment that was used during the different activities.

FIGURE 274   The first meeting with youngsters. The van is on the background (Il corpo va in città, 2005)

FIGURE 275   The youngsters plan the area using a dismantled playground (Il corpo va in città, 2005)

FIGURE 276   Detail of a drawing planning a drinking fountain (*fontana*) and a dustbin (*cestino*) (Il corpo va in città, 2005)

FIGURE 277   Detail of a drawing planning a drinking fountain (fontana) and a skate ramp (rampa skate) (Il corpo va in città, 2005)

The planning, together with the young people, here and in other projects, was done outdoor, in places where they normally meet each other: on the benches, under the trees, on the boundaries of public parks, in the premises of neighbourhood parishes, in youth centres and so on: in the same places, that is, where they choose to spend their time every day, but also in places they don't normally go to because they don't correspond to their needs related to a meeting place.

FIGURE 278   The group of youngsters of the Barco action (Il corpo va in città, 2005)

FIGURE 279   The planning with the group of youngsters of the Northwest district action was carried out in a parking area (Il corpo va in città, 2005)

FIGURE 280   The planning with the group of youngsters of the Barco district was carried out in the park (Il corpo va in città, 2005)

A street workshop is very different from those carried out with restrictions of time and place, like for example the workshops realised in schools. On the streets, there are a great number of variables: before you go, you don't know whom you'll meet: you cannot know his or her age, interests or how much time this person has. This is why the activities never had a rigid schedule, but an open, flexible structure composed of actions that could be adapted to single encounters and interlocutors.

The workshop phase consisted in interviews and focus groups on the streets, useful to study the spaces in which the young people spend their time in the neighbourhood and to find out the positive and negative aspects of these places.

Later on the boys and girls carried out a town planning survey. This phase consists in gathering morphological and descriptive data of the urban context, but also lots of information based on the human body as a measure, or, more precisely, the body of every single young person participating in the survey.
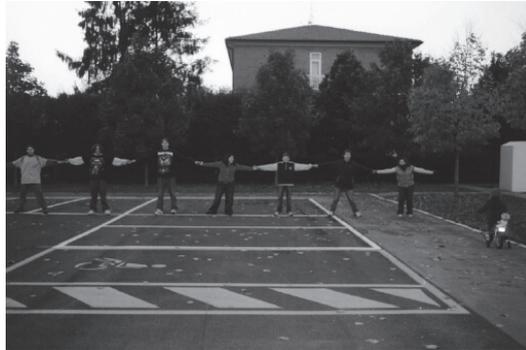
FIGURE 281   Body measures of the space (Il corpo va in città, 2005)

The body thus becomes, besides the young people themselves, the real protagonist of these projects.

The town planning survey is based on the method of "mental maps" of Kevin Lynch (1960) and on the system of perceptive-qualitative survey developed, starting from the Lynch' theory, by the Department of Architecture of Ferrara University and adapted by Il corpo va in città for children and youngsters. The Lynch approach was a sort of epistemological break in town planning and was based on the city users point of views by constructing navigation maps on how people move around and the, until that moment, scarcely investigated reasons of the choice of the directions and ways. According to Lynch, people create mental maps of the cities using some key points of reference: landmarks, nodes, edges, districts, and, above all, paths. These points of reference lead people who move around the city to find their own directions following their sensations. The survey tool, a modified version of whom I used for this research, allows constructing maps on the basis of personal senses and sensations, such as security, discomfort, pleasure and so on, and on the subjective perception of the surrounding environment. Particular attention is paid to accessibility, safety and orientation. In addition, the memory and the description of the space help defining better the elements studied in the perceptive survey.

The maps deriving from this approach are based on sensations, emotions, perceptions and memory and can offer fundamental importance information in determining the final project actions.

The perceptive survey allows a direct experience and includes exploring the surrounding spaces with all senses, not only sight, in order to gather all the information available.

FIGURE 282 The perceptive survey includes also blindfolded experience guided by a mate. (Il corpo va in città, 2011)

FIGURE 283 The blindfold experience becomes also a way for playing (Il corpo va in città, 2011)

The mental maps approach and the perceptive-qualitative survey grid, offer information that would be impossible to obtain with the usual quantitative town planning methods based on quantitative measurements. That's why they may provide the planners with radically different points-of-view for drawing up town plans.

This method aims to awaken in the young a feeling of identification and belonging to the urban context, so as to stimulate their participation in planning the spaces but also in other related activities. That's why they are often asked to leave a visible sign on the territory, something that works as a first 'message' of the experience towards the rest of the neighbourhood.

After the analysis, the young participants were involved in planning the spaces in the light of all the information that has been gathered. Together, we look for the best possible ways to answer to the needs emerged in their discussions, by making a critical selection among the ideas, making it easier to reach compromises between all possible solutions. Particular attention is also

paid to other users like children, elderly people, grown-ups, who have not participated in the workshops.

All proposals are merged together in plans and plastic models. These are realised with poor and recycled materials, often found at the spot.
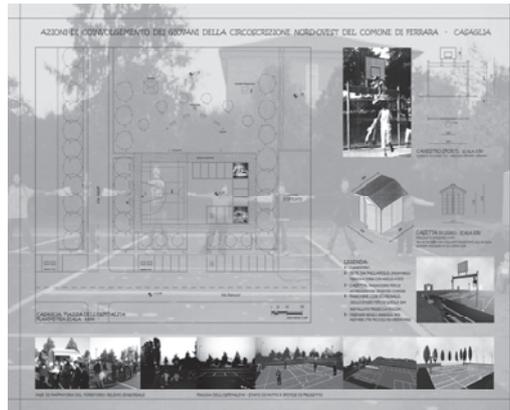
FIGURE 284 The general plan of the area designed by the students of architecture involved as street operators (Il corpo va in città, 2005)
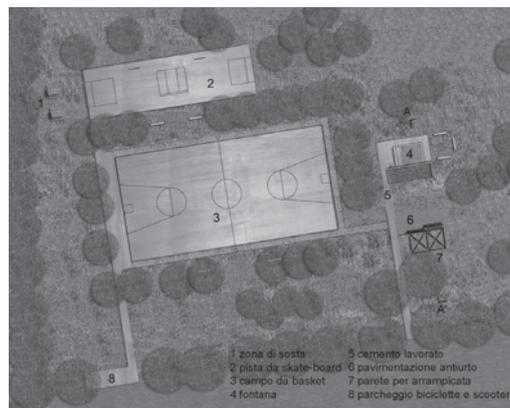
FIGURE 285   A detailed plan of the playground area (Il corpo va in città, 2005)

The meeting places the young people want are simply furnished – just benches, tables and dustbins. Almost in all actions they ask for sports and playground – and if possible, they should be separated from the places where grown-ups go. They remark differences but, at the same time, they do not refuse dialogue. In fact, on this project, one of the most significant moments has been the participation of the young in the workshops organised for the grown-ups, where the project elaborated by the young has been enriched by further points of view.

To sum up: the method of the two described actions includes the following three phases: first, a preliminary observation of the territory; second,

an action-research; and third, the workshops. The results of each phase allow drawing up the final project.

Again, these urban planning strategies reached a triple objective: offering meta-plan models to public administration, that was also committed to the realisation; helping young people to trace paths of active citizenship (this was also thanks to their involving in the presentation of the results of the action to the authorities and to other inhabitants of the neighbourhood); training new professional figures (so-called *operatori diffusi*, broad actors). It is relevant, in fact, to stress as the young operators came from diverse formation backgrounds: street operators of the Area Giovani Municipal Service, students of Architecture, Pedagogy and Sport faculties.

They planned, organized, and carried out the workshops together sharing their diverse knowledge to build a new, operational one, applied to the fieldwork. I would propose this as applied concept of "emergency" knowledge as Morin (1994) proposed.

The results of the actions consisted in sensitising young people to their living environments and in the planning and realisation of some of the urban interventions proposed.

The project strategy can be transferred to other contexts under the condition that there is willingness to cross the borders between different disciplines on the field of research-actions and to create synergy between the different stakeholders (public administration, universities, associations etc.) on the territory.

The young people plan the city

The project, whose subtitle was 'Actions of Development of participation of young people to Municipal Structural Plan', was carried out in 2005/06 when the Municipality was finalizing the Plan. It was included on the frame of the actions aimed at involving citizens in the planning and was managed by Arch. Laura Rullo and Arch. Stefania Trevisani (Figures 286-289). At that moment, in fact, the Agenda 21 Forum was active and the opening of the Urban Centre, not yet happened at the beginning of the 2012, was announced. The project was developed together with Punto3, a Company involved in sustainable development and participatory planning, and the Faculty of Architecture of Ferrara, which hosted one event and carried out a parallel, more technological, work of involvement of the youngsters.

The Youth Department of the Municipality funded the project. The town planning Department was involved since the beginning because the young architects or students who facilitated the first workshop needed to understand the complex structure of the Plan.

The project was carried out from December 2005 to May 2006 and had been involving 180 students of three Secondary Schools chosen because of the position in town and of the different attendances: a Scientific Lyceum, a Technical and Accountant School, a Vocational School for Hotel Services.

During the first meeting, which involved all the participants, after a presentation in plenary session, the students were divided into groups.

The main themes of the group work were: the mobility network, the green city, and the new centralities. With the help of a map every group needed to highlight the positive and negative aspects, and the missed potentialities of their area.

The two wide fields emerging by the workshop were the enhancement of the urban mobility services, especially in relation with the public transportation and the cycling network, and new amenities both as events and facilities in the suburbs.

The workshops carried out in the three schools in the following months aimed at a direct observation of the investigated areas. Students worked in small groups of five scouring the chosen areas. We did not ask them to do a technical work but to categorize their feelings according to four conceptual-couples of key-words: static-dynamic; old-young; free- not free; possible-impossible.

On the basis of the direct observations, the students produced hypotheses of development of the areas describing the resources, the objectives, the actions and the actors able to put into action the plans. The entire work of the schools was presented to the Local Authorities in an open conference before the end of the school year.

The parallel work of the Faculty of Architecture used the same categories and key words in a more technological way. The students were provided with the, at that moment, new mobile phones able to make pictures and videos. The students could send their pictures and videos to a central server accompanied by a text message including the category and the key words.

FIGURE 286 The cover of the final presentation with the three investigated areas highlighted (Il corpo va in città, 2006)
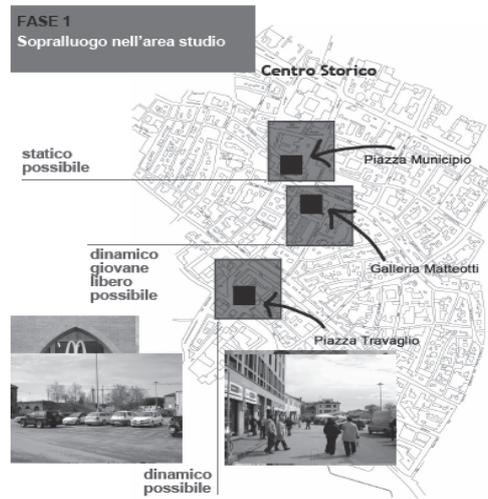
FIGURE 287   One of the map describing the survey in the city centre (Il corpo va in città, 2006)
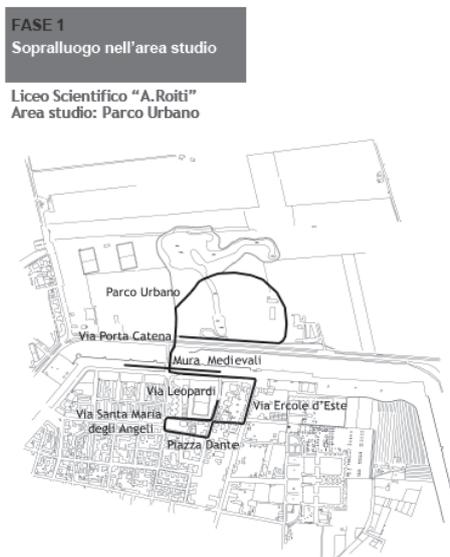
FIGURE 288   The area of the survey between the walls and the urban park (Il corpo va in città, 2006)

The three described actions have, as a common thread, a methodology of listening and involvement thought to involve young people. All the actions were complex both in chronological terms and in the need to collaborate with different subjects and decision makers.

Even if ambitious, the fact that the local authority had funded them, allowed the hope that the works would have been carried out. On the contrary, the follow up of the projects was disheartening. Several years after, only few works, without any connection with the plan, were realized by the Municipality in Barco, nothing in the North-West ward. The posters asked by the Municipality to be exhibited at the end of the Municipal Structural Plan, were not displayed in the general exhibition.

FIGURE 289   An unused door nearby one of the bus stop used by students (A. Borgogni, 2006)

Two paradigmatic cases

I would like to describe here very shortly two opposite cases. The first concerns a group of elderly women attending the gymnastic courses of UISP (Unione Italiana Sport Pertutti) the largest sport for all association in Italy as well as in Ferrara. The research-action, aimed at planning a small green area near the gymnasium they attended, was carried out in the frame of the Master thesis in Pedagogy of Rosa Sessa. After a research concerning their life styles and their needs the women opened to the researcher the possibility to contact other women who got involved in the project. The rehabilitation of the green area and the purchase of the equipment were carried out by the district and cost 2500€. It was inaugurated in 1998 and named *Parco dei frassini* (Ash tree park). It represented, at that moment, the sole example in Italy of park planned with elderly people. Moreover, the process was short, the scale affordable and the costs very limited. The park is nowadays very well maintained and used by the residents of the neighbourhood. It would have been expected that action-plans like that had a development throughout the town but nothing happened in the following years notwithstanding the several project proposed by the

association. I observed the park, after the period of the participatory project on the 13th of June 2011.

FIGURE 290   The Parco dei Frassini green area (A. Borgogni, 2011)

The second example is the construction of a playground for adolescents in the same area of the skate park above mentioned. It has been planned and built for the adolescents without any involvement of them. The pomposity of the adults created an area "reserved for adolescents" and an "Adolescents' hideout" without their participation. The result here is fully disheartening: in the several observation I carried out, I saw adolescents in the park only few times and never using the equipment that are occasionally used by children (Figures 291-293).

I observed the park, close to the skate park mentioned above, on the same dates: the 13th of March 2009, the 2nd of November 2009, on the 4th of June 2010.

FIGURE 291   The sign "Area reserved for adolescents" (A. Borgogni, 2009)

FIGURE 292   The "Adolescents' hideout" sign (A. Borgogni, 2009)

FIGURE 293   The sign vandalized two years later (A. Borgogni, 2011)

Personal remarks and feelings

The risks of biases speaking about the city where I live are very high but I would concentrate on what I feel and walking, or cycling since the nature of the town, around.

Ferrara is an astonishing beautiful town with beautiful historic monuments and remains. The monuments and the remains are lived by all the citizens because totally accessible like squares, the castle, used as a short cut, or the walls, as I already stated, the main sport facility in town. On the contrary, for example, of many historic towns in other Italian regions in which the historic part is on the top of a hill, around the castle or the fortress, the flatness of Ferrara renders the city centre contained inside the city walls easily accessible and very frequented by citizens.

Ferrara is the Sleeping Beauty of the Emilia Romagna Region, one of the most developed in Italy. Its historic slowness in developing and growing respect the other cities in the Region depends by many reasons, which include the agricultural characteristics of its economy and the fact to be, with Ravenna,

the only Provincial Capital out of the Via Emilia, the Roman-traced road linking the Adriatic sea in the Rimini area to Milan. These are, nonetheless, also the reason of the preservation of its urban extraordinary pattern that lead to become UNESCO World Heritage. These reflections, far from being political or cultural, are, in my opinion, very useful to describe the city way of life, the apathy, and the very slow decision making process.

It was truly perceptible that Ferrara lived a blaze period during the nineties when as I described above, many objectives from the point of view of the liveability, were achieved. Among the others it is worth to remind the UNESCO award, the sustainable city award, the children city award, the building of geothermic network, the Agenda 21 leading position, and the opening of the Palazzo dei Diamanti to world known exhibitions. After that time, on the contrary of other cities like Modena, in which the local politicians and executives understood that those achievements could lead to establish a higher liveability and a new brand of the city, the impetus towards these aspects declined. The courage lacked and the attractiveness of the city was delegated to several medium-high level events, organized almost all by the same association/organization, which attract many visitors but do not involve citizens. The world of the associations is lively but at the same time, very institutionalized and controlled by the local authority. Ferrara remains, in any case, a very liveable city. What is lacking is a vision, a perspective able to involve citizens in a common effort.

8   DISCUSSION

Considerations on hypothesis and findings

The research had been carried out following two levels of hypotheses.

The first, at theoretical level, aimed to prove the connections between the body and the town planning.

The second at applied and practical level, aimed at proving the pragmatism of the participation as a way of planning the city. The frame hypothesis of the applied research was that participative processes could help the development of cities in which people can experience a greater feeling of belonging therefore taking care in a better way of the public space. More specifically, involving young people in planning their leisure and sports spaces can enhance their active citizenship, their positive feeling of belonging, facilitating the identification process, giving opportunities to practice sports and physical activity, and decreasing conflicts among different ages.

The theoretical hypothesis is proved according to the results of my study, which aimed at emphasizing the history of town planning from the body point of view. There is a read thread linking the Vitruvius' canons to the paradigm of sustainability. Sometimes the thread is very visible, sometimes is hidden. The phenomena are more or less synchronic in the investigated cases. What is permanent is that the body remains a disregarded protagonist, a sort of ghost-director and scriptwriter of the urban scene. Either in the hygienist movement of the XIX Century and in the current progressive achievements of the sustainability, the changes came in name of the body without expressing it in intentional way but having its health and, in the sustainability case, its wellbeing, as main aim. Both processes are a reaction against the excesses of an unregulated urbanization and against a lifestyle in general exceeding the natural resources, and, more specifically, allowing motor vehicles to dominate the scene.

The second is generally demonstrated but there is the need of being much more analytical in the answer referring at the investigated cases, methods, and planning processes.

I would start by the processes affirming that they are deeply rooted in the history of the investigated cases. There is, I suppose, in any other investigable case, the need to study the history of the situation but there is a greater need if the situation is complex. When the case study is a city, this becomes essential.

When we speak about behaviours that are carried out in the public spaces we are at the border of several fields of study; thus the reflections have to be tailored for any specific case.

Finland presents the most effective top down participatory approach. Participatory processes are anticipated in the national Land's use planning law and facilitated but, above all, have become a sort of social custom, at least at small scale, even when not compulsory.

The Paris case shows a top down approach, very structured and able to maintain participative processes, through diverse legislative tools and provisions, for many years. Long term committees and consultants work on this. There is the risk, but is only a hypothesis, while I was not able to carry out interviews, to exclude ordinary and young people by a so structured process.

Barcelona presents a mix of official and unofficial actions. In the last years some projects carried out in a demagogic way failed – for example the Consultation about the rehabilitation of Avinguda Diagonal – but a feeling of acting often positively in the interstices of the rules is generally perceivable.

Ferrara saw an increase of participative planning during the nineties. The boost provided by some local good practices was also transformed in national laws and provisions concerning the involvement of citizens in the decisional processes concerning social services and town planning. The situation, nowadays, despite the fact that a good legislation is in force, is weaker and, at national level, endangered: only few regional or local administrations carry out participation.

The substantial failure of the actions is ascribable, in my opinion, to two reasons. The lack of cooperation within the public administration's sectors, levels and roles, above all between politicians and executives, and the complexity and the last of the projects.

It is, ex-post, evident the demagogy and the lack of thought of the politicians who promised several time to realize or, at least, to take into consideration, the young people's plans. It was not the scale of the projects to block the results because they involved very diverse scales. The clearer example was the Municipal Structural Plan in which the scale was so large that nobody would have been expected a concrete realization and for whom the results would be to display the results as a true contribution to the general plan.

This bitter consideration does not invalidate the projects in their selves that were developed through methods transferable in other contexts. Probably, in the future, a major attention should be dedicated to know in advance the budget for the realization of the works as a measure of the real commitment of the politicians in realizing the plans.

Primarily in a comparative research it is very important to highlight the differences between legislation, political announcements and what happens at

grass-root level. In the legislation of all the four countries, the participative processes are mentioned in the main acts or laws concerning town planning. True differences are evident when we compare the legislation with the real processes.

I would like to use the Hart's and Arnstein's ladders as described in Chapter 5 to, very roughly, grade every examined case at the right step.

When I speak about cases I precisely intend the cities I examined but the reflections can be, with some attention, extended to the National level above all were, like in Finland, there is only a National legislation.

In my opinion, Finnish case is at a medium high level. This corresponds in the Arnstein's ladder to a rung between six and seven (partnership and delegated power) and in the Hart's ladder to a rung between five and seven (consultation/information to leading and initiating the action).

The French case is at medium level, collocated from rung three to six following Arnstein (informing to partnership) and four to six (assignation/information to sharing decision) following Hart.

The Spanish case presents a wider range but can be collocated at medium level. Following both Arnstein (therapy to delegated power) and Hart (decoration to leading and initiating actions) it is from rung two to seven.

The Italian case is at low level. Following both Arnstein (manipulation to placation) and Hart (manipulation to consultation) it is from rung one to five.

This is obviously a straining because the situation is much more differentiated than a ladder can represent. The experiences of informal appropriation of spaces, for example, do not match with those ladders.

From a scientific point of view the way to assess the impact of a project is to carry out longitudinal studies that can highlight its sustainability and the social capital developed around and in parallel with the actions. There are probably, strictly methodologically speaking, no applicable overall methods: every country and case have too many specific aspects.

The structured approaches generally carried out in Finland take for granted a good level of social cohesion and respect for the environment. Moreover, the short time, after the participatory planning, of the building of the infrastructures provides positive feedback for participants rendering easier the development of future projects. The monitoring of the projects, sometimes longitudinally studied, makes the policy makers aware of the effectiveness of the interventions.

The French structured approach represents the very centralized structure of the public administration. A well-organized District Committee, monitored by a guarantor, is divided into several sub-committees. The whole system makes possible to carry out very long processes.

The Spanish way is a mix of very top-down processes with a flexible and positive management of the processes by the side of the Public Administration, at least at District level. This general way leans on a very lively network of associations and groups and in a general social cohesion. I would hypothesize that this is an effect of the recently achieved democracy and a cultural vivacity.

In Italy, the obligation to activate participative processes for every town planning process concerning land owned by public administration is often disregarded. In fact, instead of involvement processes, often mock workshops and conferences are organized by the public administration without any true involvement of citizens who are, not always, invited at the events.

Nonetheless, generally speaking, I can affirm that there are positive connections between the correct use of the spaces and the participation in planning, the planning of flexible spaces, and the administrative and political flexibility in managing spaces and, above all, processes.

The sustainability as a paradigm

As Hall (1997) stated, at the mid of the 19th century, in most of the capital cities, and most noticeably in Paris, the planning projects could be regarded as part of a more comprehensive programme for raising the standard of hygiene. Population growth and incipient industrialization were also putting more pressure on the street networks. The building of the railways aggravated the traffic problem. Each capital city became the centre of its country's railway network and the terminus of several lines. In the centre of the towns many streets were still largely as they had been in medieval times, and even principal streets were often very narrow. "The situation became chaotic when carriages, goods transport, pedestrians, stalls and booths etc. all had to fight for space on the wretched surfaces of these streets It was becoming increasingly obvious that straight, broad thoroughfares were required (Hall, 1997, p. 265) (Figures 294, 295).

FIGURE 294   A preindustrial main street under pressure from the big city's growing traffic. 'City', engraving by Gustave Doré. (Hall, 1997 from questia.com)

Being aware that it is a straining, I affirm here that, as I already declared, what is happening now in the city concept is similar to what had happened during the 19th century.

FIGURE 295   A traffic jam on 6th Street in downtown Los Angeles during a transit strike, 1950 (theniftyfifties.tumblr.com)

I would like to use the example of Hertogenbosch in the Netherlands to argue my point of view and creating a parallel between the overcrowded situation of the previous figure and the second part of the 20th century car overcrowding.

The reaction against the city illness, as Calabi (2004) stated for the 19th century rehabilitation in Europe capital cities, is now directed, above all, against the reduction of the pollution produced by the vehicles' traffic. Generally, in Europe, there are not problems nowadays for the sewing system as in the 19th century, even if sinking and water supply problems remains in some areas, but the unbearable situation, caused by vehicular traffic, about air and noise pollution and the physical space occupied by cars has led to an unsustainable situation.

As stated in chapter 4, the reaction to the invasion of cars began in the seventies in some sensitive countries and in a scattered way in some regions and cities of other countries. Since that moment, some countries (above all Germany, Scandinavian, Netherlands, Denmark) have continued till now in implementing policies and applied actions towards sustainability. Other countries joined with a certain delay the movement (France, Italy, Spain after the fall of the dictatorship in 1975). An impressive boost towards sustainability came from the Rio Summit in 1992, from the start up of the Agenda 21 processes and the approval of the Charter of European Cities & Towns Towards Sustainability in Aalborg 1994 followed by other commitments and charter till nowadays. Not to forget, in the nineties, the connection of these processes with the projects developed around Europe after the approval of the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989 in New York. These new sensitivities merged and gave birth, in several countries, to projects having the children and the sustainability as main matters and the autonomy of the children in town as main indicator. In the White Paper on Sport

(2007), for example, the support of sustainable development is clearly stated in Paragraph 2.8 as well as a great attention to educative (2.3) issues and minors' protection (2.6 and, more precisely, 4.5). As I already maintained, while in many other European countries, the process has continued, in Italy it has been disregarded starting from the beginning of the current century opening the gap with several countries.

The pictures (Figures 296-306) from the advanced experience of Hertogenbosch (NL), chosen because very well documented among those similar in several other towns and cities around Europe, show as one of the most important action of the city rehabilitation pass through the sustainable mobility management. It would sound redundant here, to reassert, how much all these features are relevant for the body expression.
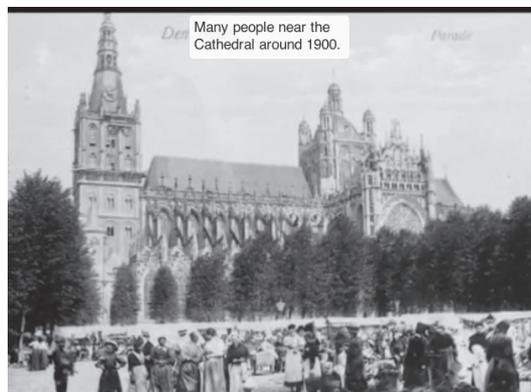
FIGURE 296   Hertogenbosch, the cathedral square in 1975 (www.youtube.com)

FIGURE 297   Hertogenbosch, the cathedral square around 1900 (www.youtube.com)

FIGURE 298   Hertogenbosch, the cathedral square in 2010 (www.youtube.com)

FIGURE 299   Hertogenbosch, the market square in the sixties (www.youtube.com)

FIGURE 300   Hertogenbosch, the market square in 2010 (www.youtube.com)

FIGURE 301   Hertogenbosch, a street and a square in the seventies (www.youtube.com)

FIGURE 302   Hertogenbosch, the same area in 2010 (www.youtube.com)

FIGURE 303   Hertogenbosch, a typical street in the seventies (www.youtube.com)

FIGURE 304   Hertogenbosch, the same street in 2010 (www.youtube.com)

FIGURE 305   Hertogenbosch, a street in the sixties (www.youtube.com)

FIGURE 306   Hertogenbosch, a street in 2010 (www.youtube.com)

At least in the cities where the people and political sensitivities are higher, the process, even multifaceted, is clear: the body, protagonist of the cities' landscape for centuries, is regaining the public space. It is not a matter of

ideology; it is simply a statement of the facts just observing hundreds of cases. Some of them are truly experimental and advanced, like Shared Spaces, some of them are realizing now the traffic calming solutions experimented in other countries in the seventies. It is not anymore an experimental issue, it is not a question of political parties while right, left, or centre coalitions are carrying out similar policies. It is simply a fact of reaction against an unbearable, i. e. unsustainable, situation similar, for diverse reasons to that of the 19th century.

The pictures of Hertogenbosch redefine a theme I deal with when I wrote about the history of Ferrara town planning, that of the 'urban voids'. This approach, actualized in the work of Sommer (1974) and, more recently, Franck and Stevens (2006) when speaking of tight and loose spaces, could be a criteria that redefine the epistemology of city planning in a perspective assuming the point of view of the body and of the diverse bodies living and walking in the cities. To plan urban voids means thinking at spaces whose functions are not totally defined, with removable or light furniture, ready to be used in diverse ways, hours, seasons, weather conditions and by diverse users. Franck and Stevens define the spaces as tight when allowing only particular, and planned, uses, while the loose spaces offers opportunities to carry out diverse activities. They affirm that it is actually people's actions that create loose spaces. When various activities, unrelated to the original designed purpose of a particular space, are tolerated, space may become loose, more open and socially accepting.

Nonetheless, Franck and Stevens (2006) warn against the easy interpretations: "It is tempting to see looseness and tightness as opposite conditions and to dichotomize urban space accordingly. Over the past decades we have witnessed the emergence of new kinds of 'public spaces' that discourage or actively forbid the kind of unplanned activities that make a space loose. Often privately owned, such as malls and corporate plazas and atria [...] these are places of public gathering but restrict many of the activities that have long characterized truly public urban space" (p. 23). Even if I agree with their statements, I would remind that, for example, the malls acquired along the years several social functions crossing the border between what Augé (1992) called *lieux* and *non-lieux* (places and non-places). Not only spaces of meeting for adolescents, young people and families substituting the Saturday's 'mall stroll' to the traditional 'windows stroll', even with the same 'socially commodificated' intent, but also places for recovering elderly people at risk during hot summers. For example the project *Uffa che afa!* (Phew, it's so sultry!) carried out by the Municipality of Ferrara in cooperation with the Public Health System, which started in 2003 as a preventive measure for hot summers, organizes the movement of elders to the air conditioned malls. Similar projects are carried out in several Italian cities.

Starting from the end of the previous century, the information and communication technology (ICT) has fostered this perspective enhancing the possibilities of an intelligent and monitored management of the houses, districts, infrastructures and public spaces, for example for mobility. The so-called Smart city approach can be easily coordinated with the active city idea,

with the healthy cities network and with the approaches aiming at increase liveability in the cities having the sustainability as mainframe.

Moreover, we can highlight the return, also boosted by the current economical crisis, to habits and behaviours of the past more and more influencing brackets of citizens, to more sensitive citizens. I would here just mention the Ethical Purchasing Groups, groups of citizens organized to buy food and other goods directly from producers at a fair price for both producers and buyers, and the Transition Towns network that started from Kinsale in Ireland and Totness in England as community project based on the possibility for the towns to deal with peak oil and climate change. The 'transition' is towards a low energy future. As described in the Transition Towns website, the projects supporting the transition are "community supported agriculture, shared transport, local currency, seed swap, tool libraries, energy saving clubs, urban orchards, reskilling classes, drought-busting teams [but also] energy descent plans and the rebuilding of local economies by starting up, for example, local energy companies, social enterprises and cooperative food business" (Transitionnetwork, 2012).

The role of participation and community is crucial in all the described processes: the change of behaviours towards a more sustainable future needs the contribution of the people involved.

The mentalities

The arguments I am dealing with are not a new ideology of the city, a position from whom 'selling' projects or ideas but a scholar's point of view, whose research definitively offers a new, we can say actually very old, interpretative key to read the city. To maintain this statement, I have tried to justify the approach with a study on the recent history of the body, of town planning but, moreover, reading a parallel while not juxtaposed history of both of them. To explain the statements, I individuated some study cases but I think we need a more inclusive glance.

Le Goff (1974) wrote about the history of mentality, an approach that can well represent the width needed to tackle the huge amount of variables when we analyse the history of the feelings, attitudes and behaviours of the people living in that context. In the process of forgetting the possibility to analytically describe the context, this choice can help to fill the gap between the ideal and the real world.

The main criterion to review the effectiveness of the processes (mainly in the case of informal appropriation) and projects is their sustainability meant as the length of use of the spaces.

If we agree with this statement, we can say that the only way to assess them is to carry out longitudinal studies focused on the use of the spaces and on the changes occurred thanks the participative process and the building of the spaces. The changes can be social (people meeting in the space, the neighbourhoods' perception of the area), or individual (life styles, behaviours). Some changes, like the availability to be involved in similar processes in the

future, have to be ascribed at the social capital and belong to a wider field that can connect us to the history of mentalities.

The history of mentalities, and the stratified processes leading towards the reciprocity of behaviours and planning, is crucial because strictly linked with the processes of involvement of citizens in the planning. The involvement can be at official level, giving their advices to authorities' plans or unofficially, modifying the public space transforming it by physical, concrete, matter to human pulsing bodyfulness (Ferrer, 2008, Suomi, 2011, Warren, 2006).

It is not possible to study a urban phenomenon without understanding that they are deeply rooted in the city's town planning history which is, above all, the history of the mentality of those who had been living there.

9 CONCLUSIONS

9.1 Purposes and aims

The general purposes of the research were the analysis of the relationships among the body, the public space, and the town planning, the observation of the spaces and places where these relationships occur, the description of the participatory ways in which the spaces have been planned or used, the underlining of the specific needs and wishes related to the spaces of the young people.

To implement these purposes, the analysis of the cases carried out in chapter 7, had the role to study the connections between the theoretical perspective investigated in chapters two to five and the applied view coming from the fieldwork. The chapters two to five had answered to the main theoretical hypothesis, that is the connections and influences between town planning and the body; the chapter seven had responded to the assumption aimed at supporting the pragmatism of the participation as a way of city planning.

The main idea in the study of the cases at city scale was to have a 'bird's eyes' perspective on the urban fabric, squares, streets, and parks, as well as a view on in-between spaces like wasteland, hidden or disregarded areas. Furthermore, the 'bird' had the possibility, and the need, to alight or perch on branches, benches, and lawns to observe behaviours, to interact with people. The role of the key informants was fundamental to orient him towards the benches and branches nearer or better matching the main topics of the research in order to understand the 'space and place' conceptual couple, which is not only fundamental but also the pendulum measuring the feeling of belonging of the people who live (in) the place or, to the other extremity of the oscillation, stay in a space.

The walking, the stomping, the seating, the cycling, and the attention to perceptive aspects represented the bird's eyes perspective in my research. These data were recorded using tools and notes.

Despite the orientation provided by the informants, and plainly speaking out of the metaphor, this procedural choice implied, as expected, the impossibility to be complete and fully comprehensive.

The aim of the research was to investigate the effectiveness of experiences of participative planning of public spaces involving young people in the cities and towns objects of my study (Barcelona, Paris, Ferrara, and Finnish cases, which include Helsinki (Lauttasaari), Jyväskylä (Huhtasuo), Kemio, and Kerava and in the sub-cases.

The results are, as expected, dissimilar; nonetheless it is possible to focus the connections among them and some common background elements.

9.2 A comparison among the cases

The comparison among the cases has been synthetized in seven dimensions taking account of the following aspects: town planning history in general and specifically concerning the planning of the public spaces for leisure, recreation, and sport; town planning and general provisions (e.g. mobility, sport facilities, projects) concerning the body in the last twenty years; the current use (for mobility, sport, recreation) and respect of the public spaces; the confidence in public administration and the attitude towards its provisions; the legislation concerning participative processes in general and in town planning in particular and the actual application; the kind of participative processes (bottom-up, top-down, formal, informal, involving young people, adults, children, the role of the associations) and the methods; the results and the processes activated by the actions.

In building tools and the dimensions I broadly referred to the works of some authors who dealt with the issue of the comparative research. Smelser (1982) worked on the de Tocqueville study on democracy in America comparing it to the works of Durkheim and Weber. Duverger (1967) distinguished the comparison methods between those comparing analogous phenomena using the same technique and those comparing diverse perspectives as results of several techniques.

Scheuch (1990), referring to the aims of the comparison divided the research of similarities from the focus on differences, and the consideration of the object of study as a real thing or as a set of variables. Sartori (1970, 1971, 1984) gave warning to the effect of stretching that occurs when a concept is applied in a broader field or, on the contrary, the risk to choose a concept so general to be fitted into broader fields. Ragin (1989) highlighted the similarities among the several comparative methods affirming that the characteristics of the macrosocial units appear in the explanation of every comparative method. Delli Zotti, (1996) proposed the comparative as meta-method mainly referring to socials sciences and highlights also the meaning of comparative methods in the sense of the use of diverse disciplinary approaches for studying the same problem phenomenon.

I would like to go more in depth about the Lijphart approach that helps me to better classify my research.

According to Lijphart (1971), who declared to owe his approach to Smelser, the comparative method is an analysis of a small number of cases, the so-called 'small N'. Every case needs to be studied with at least two observations. The method must be assessed in relationship with the experimental, statistic, and case study methods. The criteria that can assess the different approaches are related to how well they test theories choosing among diverse explanations, and how much is difficult to obtain data to develop each method.

According to Lijphart the comparative method principal problems are: many variables, small number of cases. These two problems are closely interrelated: "the former is common to virtually all social science research regardless of the particular method applied to it; the latter is peculiar to the comparative method and renders the problem of handling many variables more difficult to solve" (1971, p. 685).

Lijphart, defining weakness and strengthens of the comparative method, described ways and means to minimize the many variables/small number of cases characteristic of the approach. He divided the ways in four main fields. Increasing the number of cases as much as possible improves the chances of instituting at least some control even if it is impossible in many situations to increase the number to have a true statistical sample. If the sample cannot be increased, the reduction of the "property-space" (p. 687) of the analysis can be made through a combination of two or more variables expressing similar basic feature into a single variable. Concentrating on the comparability of the cases, that is on the similarity on a large number of important characteristics to be treated as constants, but dissimilar as far as those variables are concerned which one wants to relate to each other. If such comparable cases can be found, they offer particularly good opportunities for the application of the comparative method because they allow the establishment of relationships among a few variables while many other variables are controlled" (p. 687).

Focusing on some key variables avoiding the risk of being overwhelmed by a plethora of variables "and, as a result, losing the possibility of discovering controlled relationships, and it must therefore judiciously restrict itself to the really key variables, omitting those of only marginal importance" (p. 690).

Lijphart spoke also about the case study method that can be applied to one case while the statistical method can be applied to many cases, the comparative method to relatively few, at least two, cases. The case study method can and should be closely connected with the comparative method (and sometimes also with the statistical method); certain types of case studies can even be considered implicit parts of the comparative method. The study case, according to him, allows to intensively examining a case even with limited resources. Even if from a scientific point of view, the method is "somewhat ambiguous because science is a generalizing activity" (1971, p. 691), Lijphart highlighted as the case study can indirectly bring an important contribution to the establishment of general proposition and to theory building.

Collier (1993) defined as suggestive the subdivision of the case studies made by Lijphart (1971): the atheoretical case studies are the traditional single-country or single-case analysis; the interpretative case study differs by the previous for the use of a general theory. The other four types have all a theory building purpose. The hypothesis generating case studies begin with a more or less vague notion of possible hypothesis and attempt to formulate definite hypotheses to be tested subsequently among a larger number of cases. Their objective is to develop theoretical generalizations in areas where no theory exists yet. Such case studies are of great theoretical value (Lijphart, p. 692)

Above all if they can represent a relevant experiment in which certain variables occur in special ways. The theory confirming and the theory infirming case studies, if not representing crucial experiments, and while they are based on a single case, strengthen or weaken, raising doubts, the theories. The last type is the deviant case analysis studies cases known to deviate from the generalizations. The cases are selected with the aim to reveal why they are deviant, for example to discover relevant additional variables not previously considered or to better define some variables. They can weaken a proposition but offering a new proposition to explain cases and variables. According to Lijphart, the hypothesis generating and the deviant case studies are the greatest value in contribution to theory: the first for building new hypothesis, the deviant refines and sharpens the existing.

Analysing my research using the Lijphart categories, I maintain that I have used case studies as core action of the research assessing the data using statistics. Referring to Yin (2009), who enlarged and actualized the Lijphart categories, as maintained in the paragraph 6.1, it was carried out as a multiple and comparative case study with several embedded units of analysis.

Very immodestly I include the case study part of my research in the 'hypothesis generating' kind described, because, I approached the theme with a broad hypothesis starting from a theoretical and pragmatic experience and seeking for confirmation or disconfirmation while testing it enlarging the number of study cases. Moreover, I studied the cases not only using a literature review but also formulating, in the theoretical part of my research, a frame hypothesis, connecting body and town planning, which lightened the case studies research procedures.

While the number of variables as well as the differences among the cases in my research are outstanding, the grid and the following description represent a qualitative tentative of comparison through a "comparative microanalysis" of several cases included in a cross national research as Delli Zotti (1996, p. 162) stated referring to studies concerning research objects as parts of larger fields. These studies are often based on a meta-analysis of the literature and of the cases.

9.2.1 History of town planning concerning public space

The history of town planning is relevant or highly relevant in all the investigated cases.

I can refer at the XV century to highlight the main themes of the Ferrara's present morphology.

Barcelona and Paris were objects of a planning revolution, somehow similar, during the XIX century. Helsinki main plan dates back at the beginning of the XIX century while Jyväskylä was founded on 1837.

In all the cases, the historical planning decisions have characterized the structure of the investigated cities till nowadays**.**

9.2.2 The recent interventions involving the body facilitating environments

The recent town planning and provisions related to the facilitation of bodily practices have characterized the four cases. I would highlight the provisions concerning light mobility and free sport activities.

In Barcelona the turning-point can be considered the 1992 Olympics that, as well as other international events carried out in the past, were well used by the city to improve its services, official sports buildings and to build many 'admission free' playgrounds and outdoor facilities. The main idea of the Olympics was, in fact, to complete and integrate the Catalunya network of sport facilities also developing grass roots sports through the implementation of district level and free access spaces (Millet, 1995). The peak concerning the body-facilitating policies was probably reached in 1999 with the provision allowing the practice of skateboard everywhere unless in the crowded spaces (*Provincia de Barcelona*, 1999, p. 41). This provision was contradicted in 2006 by a Municipal bylaw aimed at regulating the cohabitation in public spaces (Camino, 2008); this bylaw intended the skateboard as an improper use of the space. Between these two provisions, the Strategic Plan of the sport (2003) affirmed that one of the way for carrying out sport policies should have been "the promotion of the use of public space for sport practices" (*Plà estrategic de l'Esport de Barcelona*: 2003). The municipality (2003) affirmed that "the sport practices in public spaces contribute to turn them into meeting and cohabitation places meanwhile it implements the quality of life of the citizens" (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2003, p. 78).

Moreover, cycle and pedestrian paths, a bike sharing system, and free sport facilities in many parks were built. Moreover, a tolerance towards the informal use of the space by the side of migrants was developed.

In Ferrara the rehabilitation of the walls (1999) was the main reason of the appointment of the town and its Province as UNESCO World Heritage. The walls are the first sport facility in town used every day by thousands of joggers, walkers, bikers.

The tradition of the use of the bicycles, very common in the towns of the *Pianura Padana*, the flatland area created by the Po River, was implemented during the eighties and the nineties by the construction and the plan of cycle lanes. They were built into the town, connecting the outskirts, and a cycle path linking the town to the sea (60 km east) on the banks of the Po river.

These were the preconditions from which Ferrara started, during the nineties, from some very high levels on use of the bicycle and use of the walls

for sport and recreational aims. Ferrara, as already mentioned, was several time awarded as "city of bikes" and established, first in Italy, a "bicycle office" in 1995. Nevertheless, there has been a scarce attention to other body issues: no sport facilities in public space were built and some of the pre-existent, built in the seventies, were abandoned. Nowadays there is only one private skate park and the Municipal one, subject to restrictions and fenced is going to be pulled down; children, always accompanied by adults, have several playgrounds and green spaces while the adolescents have only few organized spaces at their disposal.

From the body point of view, Ferrara continues living on the tradition of the use of the bicycle and on some good infrastructural interventions. Unless the liveability is high, the quality of the interventions facilitating the body has been decreasing in the last years.

One of the main themes of the Ferrara city planning is the rehabilitation of the Volano's banks. Volano is a branch of the Po river which was, until the second half of the 12th century, the main course of the river and nowadays is cutting the town in the southern part outside the walls (Bosi, Ronconi, 2005). The master plan of the Ferrara waterway (Farinella, 2006, 2008) drawn some years ago foresaw a use of the banks mostly dedicated to leisure activities and a requalification of the connections with the city centre as well as with the southern districts but, until nowadays, any pragmatic act has been carried out.

In Paris there is a long established tradition of an attentive planning and care of the public space. Errors occurred in the last decades due to the planning decisions following the zoning approach like in the *Defense* district where, in the afternoon after the employees leave, a feeling of empty and abandoned space is experienced. Recently, more attention has been dedicated to the *mixité* from both a functional and a social point of view: in the Rive gauche on going project, in the close district hosting the Paris VII 'Diderot' University, and in the Saint Denis area. The first is a plan of complex requalification of the district linked with the on-going roofing of the Austerlitz railway station. The second, as a part of the first but almost completed, hosts companies' buildings close to students' houses, and an abandoned mill now patronized by squatters. The third, near the *Stade de France*, is hosting a process of housing and public space rehabilitation also through the positioning of sport and social facilities connected to the roofing of a *Boulevard Peripherique*.

An extraordinary example of body facilitating planning is the *Promenade Plantée*, a 4.5 km-long elevated park in the 12th Arrondissement. It was a rail trail constructed on an abandoned viaduct of the 19th century. The conversion ended in 2000. It was for a long time the only elevated park in the world, now joined by the High Line Chelsea-Manhattan Park in New York.

In Finland a long tradition of infrastructural interventions concerning pedestrian and cycle paths has been established as well as an attentive planning and monitoring of neighbourhood sport facilities (http://www.liikuntapaikat.fi/). The presence of cycle and pedestrian lanes separated by the roads and the number of free outdoor sport facilities facilitated by the attentive

management and by the availability of land, put Finland at the top of the ladder in body friendly environments.

The use of the bicycle is frequent also during winter season, above all among students while it is common for primary school children to walk or cycle alone to school or back home.

In Helsinki, the attentive preservation of the parks allows the use of them as transit spaces to move safely around the city; in Jyväskylä, as well as in Turku, every part of the city and of the outskirts is safely connected with the main net of pedestrian and cycle paths.

Among the many interesting projects completed, I would mention the Huhtasuo district in Jyväskylä, the Lauttasari area in Helsinki, the Kupitta park in Turku, and the Amos park in Kemio.

Huhtasuo was the first district in Finland object of collaborative planning aimed at improving leisure and sport facilities. The second because of the well distributed and connected facilities for children and youngsters leading toward the seaside and hosting permanent and temporary facilities. The third is a key point in the development of the advanced and integrated sport policies of the Municipality. The fourth because of the centrality of the park in the branding policy of the Municipality to invite people to move on its territory.

9.2.3 The current use and respect of the public space

With the comparative analysis of the current use and respect of the public space for light mobility and sport I would like to use a more discursive and hermeneutical way of interpreting the cases.

This means that the deductions I describe come from my personal experience during the observations, the strolls, in the space object of my research and in the other parts of the cities.

Barcelona presents a huge variety of ways in using the space. Walking around it is easy to note that the respect for spaces for mobility and sport is usually quite good also due to the high attendance throughout the day.

In the Barcelona case, the informal use of the space for recreational, physical activities and sports aims is quite common. Skate boarders, joggers, body builders, bikers, climbers, bowlers, basketball, volley and ecua-volley players, *pelota* and football players patronize the parks, the beaches, the roads. Among them, many migrants use organized space and spaces commonly used for different functions like Malls' parking lots during closure times as well as wastelands not designed for sport or for that kind of sport.

The way of use is entropic, above all during summer when tourists join local people in using the facilities. The sport and leisure use of the city is, in fact, among the factors of touristic attractiveness.

In comparison with the high density of use, the respect of the public space is quite good a part some areas, for example the Gracia district, during summer and the week days dedicated to *movida* and *bottellón*, phenomenon in which young people sit sometimes in circle sharing big bottles of alcoholic drink.

Ferrara presents a relevant use of the space for mobility and sport aims. As described above, the town boasts a long tradition in the use of bicycles and the medieval walls are the first sport facility.. Nonetheless, I would highlight that the policies are underestimating the value and potentiality of these characteristics; the bodily us of town remains a common but disregarded heritage. The respect of public spaces is quite good for Italian standards. As in Barcelona, the movida phenomenon, which takes place on Wednesday all year round, creates problems of vandalism and noise related with the number of people gathering, and the alcoholism. Recently, episodes of vandalism and arsons have been reported by the local newspapers in Barco district[8].

The Finnish culture and lifestyle, so strictly linked with the outdoor activities and the nature, lead towards a remarkable use of light mobility and of the outdoor sport facilities in every season. In the Finnish case, we can observe a very high respect for public spaces a part some act of vandalism during week ends in some areas caused by drunk people.

In Paris, referring to the complexity and the size of the city, the use of public space for mobility and sport is quite good and is on the way of an implementation through specific policies concerning, for example, bike sharing. The respect of public space is differentiated from district to district. The constant care of the public spaces by the Municipality plays an important role as a positive example in avoiding excesses in the bad use.

9.2.4 The confidence and attitude towards the public administration

With the theme of the confidence and the attitude towards the public administration, I would enter in a more socio-political issue. The field of the discussion must be restricted at the aims of this comparison and, at the same time, due to the public and cultural nature of the issues, we can just mention that the analysis can be considered a symptom of a more general attitude. For 'confidence' I mean the people's trust that the administration is working having in mind the general advantage for citizens regardless of the agreement with the decisions. For 'attitude', I mean the introjections of common values, expressed in behaviours, connected with rules and provisions.

Barcelona shows a confidence in public administration that is accompanied by an active criticism. On the matter of public space, a tradition of debate and discussion has been established since the Cerdà plan which has been followed since now by other events (Del Bene, 2007). The last examples was the referendum about the requalification of the Avenguda Diagonal in 2010.

In Ferrara, as in other towns in the northern part of Italy, a substantial good government attenuates the typical complaint against the public administration. Nonetheless, the confidence in the administration is lower than in the other European cases and the attitude is a sort of sceptical delegation. The debate is often composed by a criticism and there are not adequate institutional

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[8]   The district was object of a participatory action described in chapter 7.3.4

places in which the proposals can be expressed. For example, the Agenda 21 was dismissed, the "zone plans", representing the main tool of the Law 328/2000 that introduced a collaborative method of integrated actions on the social and health fields, do not accomplish adequately the task of involving citizens.

For the Finland case, we can highlight a relevant confidence in public administration, which offers high-level welfare and social protection. The tone of the debate is usually calm but, at the same time, the opinions are expressed in a very direct and precise way. The public administration is able to anticipate critics and complaints or to shift them towards longer perspectives due to a far-seeing planning. The on average high level of services helps to increase the level of the debate.

In Paris the average confidence is good and the attitude is very differentiated and characterised on the frame of the high attention on the matter of public space, by important public debates and initiatives. Every important change in town planning is accompanied by a debate; this attitude is facilitated by the mandatory participatory process carried out through the 'Z.A.C.'. The level of public services and social protection is quite good.

Even if the argument is faced by a larger point of view, some data coming once more from Eurobarometer (2010) can help the discussion about this issue.

The last available survey (June, 2010 - Figures 307-309) shows a tendency to trust in national government double in Finland (49%) than in France and in Italy (25% each) and in Spain (20%). For a correct interpretation, it is worth to consider the strong decrease on the tendency to trust occurred in Spain. In the April 2008 survey, it was, in fact, at the highest percentage (55%) of the period investigated (2003-2010) falling down sharply afterwards.
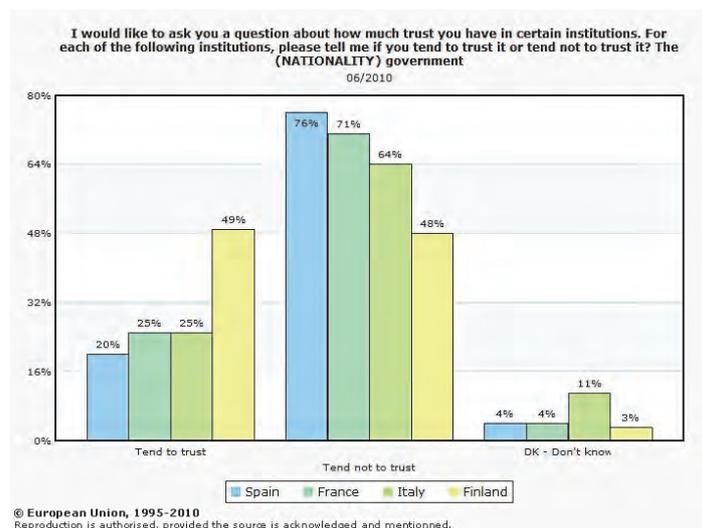
FIGURE 307   The trust in the national institutions in the four countries (Eurobarometer 74, 2010, modified)

The reading of the data in the same survey (2010) concerning the tendency to trust in local authorities show a percentage of trusting undoubtedly higher for every country a part Italy.

The figure for Spain passes from 20% to 36%, for France from 25% to 57%, for Finland from the 49% to the 67%, while for Italy rises from 25% to 29%.
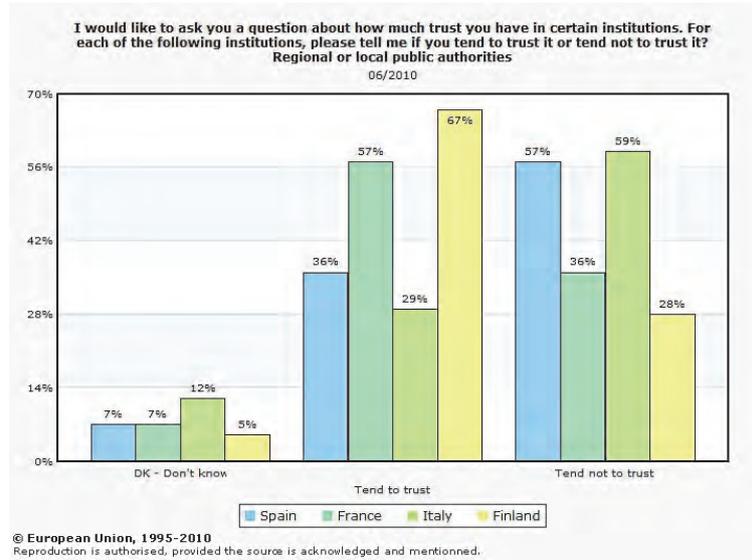
FIGURE 308 The trust in the regional or local institutions (Eurobarometer 74, 2010, modified)

While clarifying that these data are not matching exactly the theme of the confidence and attitude towards the public administration either from the point of view of the contents and of the territories, it is possible, nevertheless, to infer some arguments.

These national data roughly confirm the attitudes highlighted here above from a quantitative point of view. It is worth to consider that the first gap is due to the difference between public administration and governmental and local authorities. Moreover, the political and short-term economical situations can strongly influence the answers.

Finns, despite the decrease from 61% to the 49% from April 2008 to June 2010, show a high tendency to trust in the national government and are among the six countries in which the tendency remains higher in comparison with an average of 29% of EU.

Italians seem to trust less in Institutions in general and their trust in local authorities is slightly better than for the national while for the other three countries the Local authorities seem to be decisively trustable or, at least, more trustable than the National one.

France, a very centralized and somewhat efficient administration, seems not to match the expectations of the citizens that tend to trust the local authorities at higher grades.

In Spain, the economical situation has probably influenced the sharp decrease in trusting, whose rate was very high for national authorities before 2008.

The answers described here above partially matches with the answers about the efficiency and the responsibility of the city administration I discussed in the previous paragraph and, even if in a broad sense, confirm the Eurobarometer perceptive survey described there and the data coming from my observations and documentary research.

The qualitative part of my reflections, in which I define the climate of the grassroot feeling about the local authorities, is most difficult to demonstrate. I found my reflections on the experiences, contacts, observations, talks. The Barcelona, Paris, and Bologna situation seem to be similar but the richness of the associative network in Barcelona, often very critical, the attitude to open a meaningful public debate in Paris, are 'added values' not usual for Italian public debate.

It is true that Emilia Romagna is considered one of the best administered Regions in Italy but the difference between the legislative and administrative systems and the citizens' experience is very wide. I know that some of the indicators of the "Ecosistema urbano" survey, for what concerns the 'Environmental planning and participation', in Ferrara are empty boxes. For example, the Agenda 21 has been maintained only by the web and by some conferences; the walk to school projects have not been implemented since 2006, the Bicycle office is not working anymore as autonomous entity.

I am aware that the gap between public administration and citizens is wide also in the other countries and cases but I think that the degree of the Italian gap can explain the low level of trust in national and local authorities mentioned in the last figure.

A recent survey (IPSOS-Il sole 24 ore, 2011) carried out in July 2011, shows a worrying hiatus. One of the statements was: "the President of the Republic asked several time for an effort of national cohesion to foster the economic growth and the political solidity of our country". The major part (49%) of respondents answered, "the Italians are disposed to a joint effort and to privations but the politics is not able to do the same", the 23% answered "Italy will not be able to react, is a country too divided and with few energies". Only the 22% answered positively.

From my research point of view, the trust in the institutions is a factor that not only allows inferring correlations between opinion and behaviours but even allows to start-up a top-down process, for example a participatory action, in a more fluid way or to manage a bottom-up process being confident in a rather positive attitude of the public administration.

The level of general satisfaction in the 'life the respondents are leading' can be useful to explain the data: Finns are the most satisfied, followed at a distance by French and Spanish, Italians are the less satisfied.

On the whole are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the life you lead ?
11/2010

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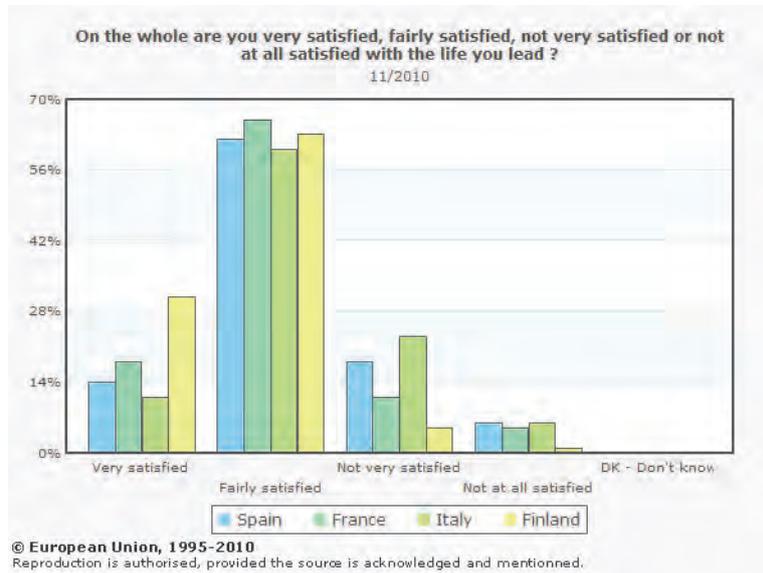
FIGURE 309 The satisfaction about the life citizens lead in the four countries (Eurobarometer 74, 2010, modified)

9.2.5 The legislation concerning participative processes

The field of the legislation concerning the participative processes in town planning has to match with the real procedures carried out at grass-root level.

The starting point of the comparison is that, in every investigated case, the participation is mandatory, at least for public interventions.

In Spain, the "Ley del suelo" (Real Decreto Legislativo 2/2008), in which the participation of the citizens is mentioned, is accompanied by Local planning laws and plans. In Barcelona there is a specific document about participation, approved by the city council in 2002 (*Normes reguladores de la participació ciudadana*, 2002). There is a specific page "*Barcelona participa*" of the "*Urbanisme y infrastructures*" of the website of the Ajuntamiento (www.bcn.cat)

The Municipality is in any case very interested in participation and to shows its attitude to involve citizens like the open consultation concerning the rehabilitation of Avinguida Diagonal or the exhibition FENT concerning the Municipal Strategic Plan. At grass-root level citizens participate in the processes having real possibility to implement and change plans like, for example, in the Plaça de Lesseps projects.

In Italy, the national law (Contratti di quartiere I e II – District agreements 1st and 2nd; DM 22/10/1997), has been implemented by provisions (Emilia Romagna Regional Law n.3/2010) at regional level. In Emila Romagna there are several excellent cases of participative planning like the one carried out nowadays in Bologna in the Bolognina district (http://www.comune.bologna.it/psc/pagine/2745).

Nonetheless, in the Ferrara case, the participative procedures are not actually implemented and often, if not always, substituted by demagogical actions like conferences. Nowadays a new participatory project is being carried out concerning the area of the Sant'Anna Hospital which is going to be dismissed by the 2012 and moved to Cona, a small village 8 km east.

Thus, while there is not a real control of the procedures, some Municipalities develop only a mock participation or form of participation involving children, highly visible and not expensive to be carried out.

In Finland, the Land Use and Building Law (132/1999) and Land Use and Building Decree (895/1999) has implemented the previous obligations. There are not regional or local law. What is more important to highlight is that, mainly in the small centres, has been established a habit of consultation between public administration and the citizens also for minor works. Moreover, it is worth to mention, on the theme of sports facilities and neighbourhoods sport facilities, the Sport Act (law 1054/1998).

The rules concerning participation in the town planning of public areas in France were established in 1967 through the ZAC (Zone d'Amenagement Concerté – Zone of Participatory Planning) with the law 1253-67 reviewed several time until the law 1208-2000 (on Solidarity and Urban Regeneration) which includes the ZAC into the PLU (Urban Local Plan). The interventions, like the one I am investigating (Paris-Rive Gauche), can be huge and the processes can continue for a long time, over twenty years. This implies a very strong and experimented organization and procedures.

9.2.6 Types and methods of participatory planning

The field of the kinds of participative processes, the age groups involved, the methods and technologies used is wide and strongly interrelated.

Barcelona shows both top-down and bottom-up processes. A key characteristic is the process dimension observed either by the synchronic and diachronic points of view.

During the development of the action, there is, often, a reciprocal process of accommodation and assimilation between the rules of the public administration and the way of use of the users. This happens either for formalized and non-formalized processes (for example the Foixarda climbing wall) or for non-participative processes allowing successive transformations produced by the users. After the realization of the works, this process continues, like in the case of the Bon Pastor district, and can start anew after several years modifying the previous plans.

Indubitably, the most original characteristic in the Barcelona case is the informal appropriation. Obviously in every city of the world we can observe forms of appropriation of public spaces but this case is very particular because of the substantial tolerance and reciprocal respect of public spaces. Every type of body expression seems to be allowed in town for every age groups, ethnicities and practices. The role of the strong associative fabric is relevant: from one side associations produce debate in a proactive way and are

established as answer to specific problems; from another side they are asked to be established to interface the local authority.

In the top-down processes the methods are both (Fagence, 1976) consultation/referenda and involvement through meetings; in the bottom-up, often coinciding with the informal appropriation, the process described above develops at its best in a multifaceted way.

In Ferrara the processes have been mostly top-down, directly managed by the Municipality, delegated to association of experts like *Il corpo va in città* or commissioned to private firms.

During the nineties, several actions were carried out on the frame of Agenda 21 and carried on by the specific office inside the Municipality. Processes were wide and probably the city or provincial scale was too big to allow the understanding of the participants. These kinds of actions progressively diminished at the beginning of the last decade. Nonetheless, financed at local level or through national projects like the Sustainable cities for children financed by the Ministry of Environment, some other, very precise actions were carried out by *Il corpo va in città* involving children, adolescents, elderly people and the inhabitants of some districts (Mizzana, San Giacomo, Doro, Barco). The Municipality, not allowing the conclusion of the works, and often leaving the projects unrealized, seldom implemented these actions revealing a manipulatory attitude either towards citizens and facilitators, which Hart (1992) calls "tokenism".

Independently by the substantial failure of some of the action, it is appropriate to highlight the relevance of the research-action method carried out and the innovativeness of the "on the spot" town planning workshops with adolescents.

The Finland case presents different situations in the several towns and cities investigated but some common characteristics too. First, we can speak of top down widespread processes jointly financed by the state (through the supervision of the Regional offices) and the municipalities. Secondly the projects, mostly involving childhood and the first years of adolescence, are carried out in connection with a very well organized and structured third sector. The more active association on this matter is Nuori Suomi. Thirdly, the projects foresee a follow-up phase to be monitored diachronically. Moreover, the use of electronic platform like Optima, with the aim of contacting and maintaining contacts with a large number of people, is nowadays frequent.

In Paris, the processes are above all top-down, very well organized and carried out beyond the law's obligation with the aim to involve and to prevent the protests. A decisive role is played by the third sector, which is involved as stakeholders, or, in several cases, gathers the protests and the proposal of citizens establishing new associations at very local level. The strong and well organized associative world, enhanced by the municipal and national policies, seem to be an important stakeholder of every participatory action. The processes can last decades, like in the Rive Gauche project, or few months, like in the Seine River Banks or in the building of a playground.

9.2.7 Results and activated processes

About the results of the plans, projects, actions, and interventions, we can divide the comparison analysing how the physical environment changed as a consequence of the projects (playgrounds, benches, skate-parks, green areas) and what kind of social processes have been developed through participation.

In Barcelona, once more, the results are highly differentiated. Social processes, thank to a very participated network of associations, are lively. The urban furniture like benches, basketball-boards, tables, bike racks, flower plots, trash bins, is partly standardized, partly built in a shared way with users, partly totally built by users.

The Barcelona case evidences the need of an intelligent management of procedures and processes to accommodate every acceptable urban behaviour and body expressions.

In Ferrara, some results were achieved in the past but they were scattered, unplanned and either the plan either the urban furniture were standardized.

Finland shows a high effectiveness in the realization of the works. They are very well planned; usually the furniture are standardized, sometimes innovative. In some cases (Huhtasuo, Kerava), the development of social processes or the improvement of active life styles have been investigated after the realization of the works.

The case of Paris shows a rather good effectiveness also for prolonged time and large-scale projects. The works are well planned and realized in the scheduled time. There are very structured realization as well as good examples of innovative furniture and a broad use of public green spaces, which are informally patronized by people.

The table 20 shows a synopsis of the analysis expressed in the last paragraph as a synthesis of its results.

TABLE 20   The Synopsis of the results based on the seven dimensions

Paragraphs	8.2.1	8.2.2	8.2.3	8.2.4	8.2.5	8.2.6	8.2.7
DIMENSIONS CITIES	Town planning history	Planning and provisions in the recent past concerning the body	Use and respect of the public space	Confidence and attitude towards public administration	Legislation about town participatory planning	Types and methods of participatory planning	Results Processes
BARCELONA	Relevant Since XIX C.	Relevant. Specifically aimed at sports and mobility.. Highly facilitating and contradictory in the last years.	Entropic Facilitated Differentiated by districts	Medium-low High level of public debate	Anticipated by national and local laws and provisions.	Top down Bottom up Diachronic forma/informal dimension Informal appropriation. Relevant role of the associations	Highly differentiated. Accomodation and assimilation process
PARIS	Relevant since XIX	Relevant. Aimed at sustainable mobility.	Facilitated High Differentiated by districts	Medium High level of public debate	Anticipated by national and local laws and provisions. Compulsory for public areas.	Top down Diachronic formal dimension Relevant role of the associations	Effective Planned Differentiated
Cities in FINLAND	Relevant since XIX C.	Relevant. Specifically aimed at sport and health	Facilitated Very High	High and critic	Facilitated by national law. Compulsory Usual even when not mandatory	Top Down Monitoring Use of technology Relevant role of national level association in NSF	Effective Planned Standardized
FERRARA	Relevant since XV C.	Relevant even if not centred on the body and sports.	Disregarded Not facilitated unless for commercial reasons. Medium/High	Medium level The public debate is characterized by complaints.	Compulsory for public areas. Discouraged	Top down Action-research methodology Tokenism of associations	Scattered Unplanned Standardized

9.2.8 A synthetic and comprehensive view

The Barcelona case had the merit to introduce a new category in my research, the informal appropriation of the public space that became a new way of observing the other cases. The issue raised during the research is solved: the informal appropriation of the public space can be considered a form of participation in town planning.

As I stated above, using cognitive psychology terms (Piaget, 2009) for explaining social processes, the continuous process of accommodation and assimilation between local authority and citizens, above all young people and migrants, led me to consider generally effective these kinds of procedures as light forms of participation. Moreover, I affirm the effectiveness, having as main criteria the socio-economical sustainability and the durability of the processes, which have, as main point of conflict, the unsolved issue of the skateboarding.

The key informants in Barcelona had been researchers: Camino (interviewed in 2008, 2009, 2012), Maza, (2009), Magrinya (2009). During my three journeys I made in depth observations of thirteen spaces, some of them two times.

The Paris case showed as a centralized bureaucracy is able to count on participation. It is a kind of participation planned and carried out by the local authority that needs to deal with a very lively associative network and, on the average, a vivid citizens' awareness. The Paris case was also marked by a certain difficulties in obtaining contacts for the interviews The interventions are mainly oriented to active citizenship and to the quality of the urban landscape. I did not have the opportunity to directly investigate specific processes involving young people in planning but I had the explanation and materials about the project and the bodies taking care of them. Young people have councils, bodies, and associations in which can express their opinions and be active starting from the institutional Youth Councils at City and Arrondissement levels.

As far as my investigation concerns, there are not specific programs or actions about their participation in town planning.

The key informants had been an executive of the Municipality in charge of the participation (Kouidri, 2011) and a scholar (Farinella, 2009, 2011); during my four journeys I observed eleven spaces, two of theme for three times.

The Finland case highlighted how a strong will in planning interventions, a long lasting vision, and a short decisional chain, also involving Non Governmental Organizations, a longitudinal monitoring of the on-going processes after the realization, can achieve effective and sustainable results. I directly examined several cases of spaces planned with the involvement of children and young adolescents like in the case of Kerava, Lauttasaari and Kemio, districts planned with the involvement of the citizens (Huhtasuo in Jyväskylä), and, through a literature review, those studied by Gretschel (2002) involving young people.

The interventions are mainly health-enhancing oriented following the policies begun in the eighties. The availability of the spaces for everybody and for the entire day, for example the school yards, is a crucial aspect of the

success, in terms of attendance, of the spaces: this freedom of utilization multiply the opportunities to be active in a space planned with the involvement of people of the same age groups. At the same time, the Gretschel's (2002) remarks show as a general distrust mentality towards young people is actually present in some local authorities.

The very innovative point here has been the use of electronic platforms to plan and involve citizens.

The key informants were scholars like Dr. Fogelholm, at that time director of the UKK Institute for Health Promotion, interviewed in 2008, and Prof. Suomi, Professor in Sports Planning, University of Jyvaskyla, interviewed four times between 2008 and 2011), executives of the national and local authorities (Kuusela, inspector for sport of the ELY, two times 2008, 2009; Alghren, head of sport sector of the Municipality of Kemio, 2008), a coordinator of NGO (Norra, coordinator of the educative projects of Nuori Suomi, 2008). During my three journeys I observed eight spaces in eight cities, two of them two times.

In Ferrara, which was a leading case at the beginning of my research, the planning processes involving young people had never become a systematic way to develop territorial policies. The fragmentation of the sectors within the Municipality and within the same sector, the several local authorities involved in the actions and in the planning (District, Municipal, Provincial levels with diverse but not precisely defined and overlapping competences), the several bodies and boards committed to the results (besides local authorities, PROMECO, a Municipal office in charge of prevention, ACER, the Regional Company for public housing) have led to carry out scattered interventions without a common thread. Moreover, the rigidity of the Italian legislation concerning the use of spaces like school-grounds or the insurance and legal responsibility about the free use of space and infrastructures, often strictly applied by Ferrara local authority, have rendered even more difficult the use of spaces and, above all, resources. The examined planning actions were carried out in the past. At present, to the best of my knowledge, there are not planning processes directly involving young people even in the participatory actions for planning the rehabilitation of the former Hospital and for the gathering of planning ideas in the Giardino district.

The key informants had been two executives of the Municipality (Benini, interviewed in 2009, at that time coordinator of Area Giovani, one of the office for Young People of the Municipality; and Stefanati, interviewed in 2012, the first coordinator of the Bike's Office in Ferrara) I observed six spaces, three of them three times.

9.3 The informal appropriation

As mentioned above, one of the main inputs given to my research by the Barcelona case was the informal appropriation of the space, aspects that had been useful also for reading the other cases.

Those cases, together with other examples, can lead us to think that the de-formalization of town planning and tolerance of the local authority, at times ambiguous and hypocritical, can enhance the city landscape with many unexpected aspects. Among these aspects, the evidence that the tolerance towards a bottom-up informal participation implies the maintenance of the public spaces as a meta-objective. This happens even when the process heads to other specific (climbing, playing) and non-specific (social networks building) objectives.

The informal appropriation concerns diverse and not univocal processes.

It is, in any case it is a form of auto-construction of the space that can entail a relevant modification of the space itself: flowerpots on the sidewalks, benches moved for facilitate chatting, hanging the laundry in the public spaces can be examples.

In some cases, the process needs a small scale planning like in the Guinaeta or in the Foixarda cases. The small scale refers to the area of interventions but the action can imply a medium or long term planning to achieve a considerable durability of the project.

To sustain this interpretation, I would remind the case of Foixarda that represents an on-going project of appropriation begun 20 years ago in which people have invested their own money under unwritten rules.

The reflections of Magrinya & Puig (2008) about these issues in Barcelona are relevant for all the cases. They consider these forms of cooperation a shared management of the public space while reading the relationship between the formal and informal systems of management of the space. In the half of the spaces they investigated in Barcelona (n=30) the management was carried out by the institution, in one case out of five through an agreement between the network and the institution; the same figures are for the cases in which the practises occur out of any interaction with the institution while almost one case out of ten presents a lack of agreement. The institutional actions concern mainly the cleaning and lighting while the maintenance of the furniture comes afterwards. The people of the networks use the apparatus and furniture; in half of the cases they bring their own materials and, in one case out of six, they transform the furniture.

They affirm that the shared management "either planned or not, is a fundamental aspect of the appropriation of the space and of the creation of *topophilia*" (Magrinya & Puig, 2008, p. 42).

Mentioning *topophilia*, 'love of place', they explicitly refer to Bale (1989) who, in his turn, cites Yi-Fu Tuan (1974). The use of the term, in this case is an extension because Bale refers above all to the fans when writes about the stadium and the feeling of "peace and contentment, and intimations of unity with the environment" (Bale, 2003, p. 153). In the Barcelona cases, the idea of *topophilia* as feeling of belonging that is able to transform a space into a place exactly because auto-constructed can be appropriate.

Some appropriations of the space tend to be hidden, like in the Barcelona Ecua-volley field of the Estatut, or in Biloma, in some playgrounds in Ferrara, in

several places used for skateboarding or in several cricket pitches (Zoletto, 2010) or football fields. The modification of the space is, in these cases, very light, temporary, and recurrent. This is a very particular way of land management that differentiates Barcelona by, for example, Ferrara and, at a lesser degree, Paris, in which the residual spaces are used because of the lack of infrastructures. Barcelona, in fact, offers several other solutions like structured Ecua-volley facilities or residual spaces like car parks. Probably two factors play a role for that kind of choice: the lack of the other spaces, considering that these events take place during the weekends, and the identification with a space considered more and more communitarian. Analysing the aspect of the distribution of the networks of sport practice according to the hours, Magrinya & Puig (2008, p. 41), writing about the thirty public spaces they investigated in the city, affirm, "in a spontaneous way, the spaces are mostly used by different networks[9] and hours. This facilitates their multifunctional use. In some ways, we can say that there is an unconscious planning of the uses that optimizes the use of these spaces". The post modern sports[10] tend to be practised in the evenings in a balanced way between weekdays and weekends, the traditional games tend to be practiced during week days in the morning, the modern sports tend to be practiced preferably during weekends in the morning and afternoon. These, very interesting, research approach, can be one of the ways in which to carry out further comparative researches on this field.

Assuming that the forms of appropriation have, largely, a positive correspondence with the wish to practise, we can separate those having a low impact on the land and on the infrastructures (the Voluntary Gymnastic in Paris, walking, running) and respectful of the urban furniture and of the others users, those needing to change or use the space in conflict with the other users' needs and behaviours (football, skateboard). This classification does not consider the behaviours vandalizing the space for the aim of the practice.

I affirm, here, that these cases, deeply rooted in the town planning history, are actually light forms of participation because transform needs or wishes in physical changes in a somehow planned way bringing to the town planning the freshness of a direct action. Nonetheless, there are other cases in which the appropriation does not seem to be harmonious with the environment and looks as self-referential.

The role of the body is crucial in every investigated context: the body modifies the space and then uses it or the body changes the space while it is using it.

In any case, from the point assumed for this research, all these cases are signs tending at modelling the cityscape towards a more body friendly direction.

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[9]   The basic networks considered in the research were: families, friends (adolescents and young people), friends (adolescents), young people and adults, friends (elders), institutional initiative.

[10] The subdivision made by the authors is: post modern sports include skateboard, rollerblade, bmx, climbing, surfing, wellness; modern sports include football, basket, cricket, ecua-volley, beach volley, jogging; the traditional games include fronton, pelota, petanca, bolos leoneses etc.

9.4 Bodyscapes and cityscapes

Many cases represent, in their selves, a real micro-cosmos of the universe of the research fields: the themes of sportscapes (Bale, 2000), ethnoscapes, ideoscapes (Appadurai, 1996), in fact, are strongly present in them. Sportscapes refer to the old and new landscape created by sport facilities. Against a simple interpretation of the relationship between sport and landscape as a linear process bringing towards the artificialization of the sports landscape, in the second edition of Sports Geography (2003), Bale mentioned Eichberg (1998) to explain the cyclic approach. Eichberg, in fact, used a trialectic explanation seeing different tendencies in this process. The first is the tendency to "confine and artificialize the sporting environments" (Bale, 2003, p.130). The second is what happens with "keep-fit movements (which may include sport-like activities) [...] such activities may be found in gymnasiums, windowless sport halls and keep-fit studios" (Bale, 2003, p.131). The third presents itself as a reaction to the specialization of the sports environments and concerns "Yoga and tai-chi, running uncompetitively, and the emergence of skateboarding" (Bale, 2003, pp. 130-131). The spaces I am describing refer mostly to an expansion of the latter category.

Ethnoscapes, referring to the people who move between the nations like migrants, exiles, refugees, as well as guest-workers, and ideoscapes, which refer to the state ideologies and the related counter-ideologies, are part of the five different 'scapes' imagined by Appadurai (1996) to explain the global cultural flow going beyond a simple vision which, also nowadays, tends to explain global phenomena using a too simple centre-periphery model. The other landscapes are the technoscapes, matching with the new technologies and the global corporations, financescapes, referring to global capital and the internationalization of financial markets, and mediascapes, which deal with the new media, electronic, and the Internet.

These 'scapes', in the perspective of my research, are deeply written, I would say engraved, at the same time in the bodies and in the spaces/places system. Far from the spirit to coin new glamorous definitions or mottos, nonetheless having the wish to synthetize a complex structure, I affirm that the process of body and space embodiment can be considered as a single 'body-cityscape' system based on the two poles and carried out in their 'in-between'. The Bateson (1972, 1979) attention to the invisible part of the structure of the interactions, the Winnicott (1971)'third space' between self and the external world that can be filled by the playing, the Canevacci (2003) concept of body and corpse scapes and 'corpography' can be some among he many references useful to understand the importance of the in-between space in a figurate and actual sense.

9.5 Young people and town planning

The study of the cases highlights that there are no answers that can be applied throughout Europe. This, apparently simple and not sole, finding, is based on the awareness of the deep rooting of the cultural, social, territorial processes on the land's uses, perceptions, visions, and feelings of belonging.

The synoptic table displayed in this chapter shows as the laws and the provisions are epiphenomenon of stratifications that are the consequences, and at the same cause, of the way of living the public space. Consequently, the participatory processes settle in diverse ways or do not settle at all depending by these processes.

This finding is not trivial and opens the way to a range of possibilities to be applied on the field at local level.

An accurate study of the history of that city or, even better, of that district, is needed to establish procedures and choose the most suitable methods, tools, and achievable results.

Without this kind of study, and the consequent choice of the adequate methods, the participatory actions sail in unknown waters. The deepness of the background research, together with the actual determination of the decision makers and the ability to listen the territorial processes, above all for bottom-up processes, is a crucial factor for the success of the projects.

This also means that the participatory processes in town planning can be, sometimes, not sustainable, because too long and costly, and have to be limited at the surface of the problems, establishing, for example, only an opinion poll.

As I already stated, every project has to be tailored for the specific context.

There can be a common philosophy which, always through a communicative approach, can be transformed in planning methodologies and in methods and tools facilitating the communication among planners, public administration, citizens, stakeholders.

In all methodologies, the planning of the process, of the methods, of the organization, and of the evaluation is crucial.

The problem is often that politicians, and civil servants, give start to participatory processes with demagogic intents or without a clear idea of the times, procedures, and of the societal engagements. There is a lack of intelligent management of public policies, which have, as their frame, active citizenship, and as a target, real sustainability of the interventions, expressed in actions to be developed as an on-going process.

The point of view of the public administration lacks consideration of the process nature of these kinds of projects. Often, they consider these as easy processes without taking account of the variables. For example they don't care of the seasons' weather or of the school terms and finance them asking for results in the wrong period.

The focus, we can say the concern, of the Public Administration is on the way of contacting the youngsters but more often the problem and the reason of

the failure of a project is due to the lack of connection within the Public Administration: mainly Youth and Town Planning Sectors.

The public administration often underestimates the will of youngsters to do concrete thinks like helping in constructing facilities, maintaining spaces, or managing youth centres; sometimes adults, mostly from technical sectors, don't even think to inform young people of the building youth centres or playgrounds. There is, in fact, a relevant problem of perception of young people and adolescents. They are considered, as Camino (2009, 2010) reminded, unable to project and plan, and a threaten for what he considers the obsession of control of adults and public administration. If the adults rely on young people, and they start a process, it is fundamental to observe it with an institutional and intelligent glance, to foresee elastic procedures and monitor the process allowing them to use their tools. It is crucial, moreover, to maintain the promises to give start to a climax leading towards active citizenship.

This problem is even stronger when talking about public spaces whose control is crucial for the urban policies. The public space, in fact, is the object of continuous fighting amongst several strong powers, public and private, citizens, companies, third sector, and other stakeholders.

Starting from these assumptions, there can't be any mutual growth, any common change within the group of adults and young people. As Gretschel (2002) argued, there is the need of a change of mentality in the role of the public administration from producers of physical constructions to provider of involvement services. This concept is comparable with that expressed by Healey (2005) when spoke about a governance arrangements that should go more in the sense of 'enabling' rather than 'controlling. Often, decision makers or citizens who opposed to this facilitating rather than obstructing way of political action, maintain that, without control, 'those' would destroy furniture, playgrounds, infrastructures, considering 'those' incapable to plan, to act, to manage their selves and the spaces. It is true that the situations are very different among the countries and within the countries and the cities themselves but, what it is possible to observe, is a common mistrusting mentality towards citizens and, above all, young people. The level of this mistrust is acceptable in some cases because it represents a caution, which is expressed through an institutional/normative right attention to the procedures and the laws, but completely deplorable in many others. In my research I presented several cases of failure, most of them ascribable to adults or policy makers. Sometimes failures have been transformed in successes observing them in their full process and in a longitudinal way. Often, on the contrary, the youngsters' proactivity won the fight for the public space in dozens of different ways and results.

The characteristic of effective policies should be the study of the context, the true will to establish supportive relationships with citizens, the connection with the associative networks, the in-depth formation of those who operate in the field.

If we focus on the investigated projects, processes and places, we can notice that in a more or less structured way, the results depend on the confidence given to young people's and citizens' will to positively use the spaces after having started top down projects or after having unofficially allowed bottom up processes. Independently by the nature of the process, the creation of participative environments is fundamental to carry out successful actions. As once more Gretschel (2002) stated, this connective structure can be imagined as an adapter between, and within, public administration and citizens, especially youngsters. It is the basis of the feeling of belonging to a local community. However, a positive appropriation and feeling of the spaces is measurable with the level of accessibility and inclusion for the other citizens.

Sometimes, as La Cecla, interviewed by Molinatto (2001, p. 7), said, "adults [in their minds] immobilize young people, who are in a transition phase, without understanding that this transition - just as we do with butterflies when we fix it with the insect pin -[...] that appears as a difficult experience is, more probably, an experience of innovation".

Healey (2005) reminded that, even when the institutional approach aims to 'link-making' work, it can be carried out in many ways. Thus, she argued about how to judge the quality of the institutional capacity-building in spatial and environmental planning activity.

She proposed three main criteria. The first is related to the rationalist policy analysis measuring the effectiveness of the action through the evidence of the achievement of the objectives. The second is that the "new links were forged and maintained, appropriate to the particular history and current circumstances of an area" (Healey, 2006, p. 70) and is related to take into consideration the social and intellectual capital an action can achieve ad the reciprocal process of building answers and shaping the context between stakeholders and institution/environment. The third criterion is the real consideration and the deep recognition of "all those with a *stake* in the locality. This is a distributional principle" Healey (p. 70). According to her, this criterion is crucial, without it "the spatial planning efforts will make little contribution to addressing local environmental conflicts in sustainable ways" (p. 71). I would add a fourth criterion, mentioned by Healey in a lower grade but in my opinion, as much relevant: the quality of the process able or not to build up permanent relationships, I would say *generative* relationships, among stakeholders. The attention to the process should be expanded to the previous, extracting planning needs "from its various pasts" (p. 69) and future processes, opening the way to a vision both pragmatic and idealistic.

9.6   Reflections on research problems and questions

The main research problems I highlighted in paragraph 1.6 referred to the transferability of methods, above all the construction of adequate tools to match

the heterogeneity of the cases, the dealing with the language and cultural differences, the comparison of legislation, the gathering of informants.

The answers are differentiated but, referring to the 'bird's glance' and to the limits described in the first paragraph of this chapter, I can say that the suggestions given by the informants about other informants and places had allowed me to diminish the foreseen problems making me able to deal with them.

A wide methodology and a kind of intentional sociological imagination (Mills, 2010) made me aware that a plurality of tools were needed to gather information about the complex, often hidden world, laying under the surface of what is possible to observe in spaces and in people's behaviours.

Examples are the need to use other interview or observational grids to be used in the very diverse situations, from the 'pizzeria interview', an interview administered to a key informant in a busy restaurant, to the raining during the observation, to the use of casual interactions and meeting with people in the places I was observing.

The language problems, as far as for what is in my knowledge, had been almost partially solved by my sufficient acquaintance with French and Spanish while the gap with Finnish hade been solved by the good competences in English of the interviewed.

However, even if incomplete, I believe that the data gathered from several sources, have been able to offer a wide glance on the tight connections among cultural, social, territorial processes going on at very local and at city scale. The documentary research, the several kinds of interviews, the observations, and the perceptive-qualitative survey facilitated the width of the glance even if producing a range of data sometimes difficult to compare.

In the perspective to continue the research in other countries, several problems would persist widening the need to be more systematic in the methodological procedures and in data collection.

The main open problem concerns the very core of the research: is the participatory town planning with young people a procedure that can be part of the public policies in the investigated, and in the others, European countries?

The research's limits

The limits of my research refer above all to the quantity and diversity of the research materials and with their location into a consistent methodological frame. The frame supposed at the beginning had been changed since the enlargement of the field of study and the concurrent reconfiguration and refining of the methods, as well, similarly, of the objects of the study. Moreover, this doctoral research path, had been also characterized by a personal and professional learning process allowing me to discover new contents also from a methodological viewpoint.

Another aspect is the underestimation of the numbers of variables implied in a comparative study at so large scale. The varying distribution of the interviews and observations among the cases created difficulties in the

comparison. Moreover, the weakness of the data on the gender differences did not allow me to investigate this issue. From the theoretical viewpoint, I would underline the lack of information about non-European approaches on the body, which could have contributed to a deeper understanding of the issue also in a European perspective.

Finally, and above all, the extent of the fields and the needed knowledge, together with the diversity of the sources, had created problems in the building of the research tools and in the interpretation of the data.

9.7 Further studies and researches

The direction that should be taken is, in my opinion, clearly oriented towards interdisciplinarity and, as a cultural and future navigation perspective, transdisciplinarity. Crossing the borders of the disciplines could lead to explorations based on new bases of departure built around the concept of emergencies (Morin, 1994). My statement is based on the fully awareness of the difficulties embedded in the academic world above all when, like in our case, the academy must work with the fragmentation of the public administration and with the civil society.

Every field of knowledge I dealt with, have undergone profound changes in the last decades emphasizing the limits of tight disciplinary methodologies and ways of interpretation of the data.

From the town planning view point, during the decades started with the seventies, the object of investigation has changed: in some European countries there has been a continuous development of practices aimed at sustainability and, as a consequence, at an increased attention towards body issues at pragmatic level. Some of those practices and projects have been co-financed by European Commission. Other countries have experienced halts due to financial short come or to a weakening of the political will to enhance the projects. Approaches in town planning and traffic management like traffic calming have spread and updated.

The health field has progressively improved its preventive perspective, aiming more at a global public and community-based policy.

Thinking at the relationships with urban context and the facilities, the Physical Education and Sports field were, in the seventies, concentrated in the development of facilities as a major conquest. One of the main objectives was to give the body specific spaces where to act as a reaction towards the lack and the poverty of the existing facilities. Successively, starting from the end of the nineties, a greater attention to environmental issues had grown mainly in managing of facilities and in the organization of events without, in my opinion, a true systematic awareness of the overall challenges and possibilities offered by the consideration of the natural and urban environments as true developing fields for the disciplines. Meanwhile, the PE has begun to take care of the health issues promoting Health Enhancing Physical Activity (HEPA). This is a

direction dealing with the role of physical activity as a health determinant but is becoming predominant with the risk to forget educational, social, and purely learning matters: a further example of a confusion that has brought the field to rock here and there seeking for a coherent epistemology.

There are obviously many differences among European countries but the overall feeling is that Sports and Physical Education have been in a certain delay in producing original, i.e. generating from its epistemology, evidence based studies on the relationship between physical activity, environment, participation, and active lifestyles.

There is nowadays a greater requirement than before in promoting interdisciplinary research groups on the field I am investigating. For the best development of the aims, every field should participate in a collaborative planning with the others. This perspective is also enhanced in official documents, programs and projects released by World Health Organization, European Commission and other organizations but the fragmentation of the scientific knowledge remain a limit to go further searching for a polysemy of answers matching, and gathering, the disciplinary research fields and, above all, with the multifaceted reality of the individuals in relation with the society and their inner and outer environments.

My personal experience of navigation in several fields of knowledge can be modestly useful to understand that students of Architecture, Sport Sciences, and Science of Education can grasp the interdisciplinary meanings and cooperate on the field.

Moreover, there is a general need to implement the evaluation of the projects. The principles for assessing and monitoring the future processes and projects lay in longitudinal studies, independently by their top down or bottom up nature. The indicators should be the quality and width of the involvement taking account of the methods and measured with ladders and other tools, the time of realization of the infrastructures, the growth of social awareness like the availability on taking part in participatory processes in the future, the contribution to more active lifestyles and behaviours, the quantitative and qualitative use of the places, the maintenance of the interventions for built and social environments during the years.

There is, in my opinion, an overall need of more democracy and, above all, of a reconfiguration of the democratic processes, means, and meanings based on a mixture of new and old forms of participation. Even not considering my thoughts, the increasing role of the social networks boosts the function of the direct, informal, bottom-up democracy that enhances deliberative processes through people own movement.

From a research point of view there is the need of study the phenomenon with an increased attention using old and new tools. The immaterial/virtual substance of the social media relationships goes, in fact, hand by hand with the meeting and gathering of the people like in the 'Flash mob' in which, people connected through the web gather in one precise space (a square, a railway station, a street), do 'something' together (dance, music, other performances)

and disperse immediately after that. The physical environment, made by lawns, structures, dust, mud, concrete, water, pets, insects, bodies seating or sweating, and modified by human agenticity, can be planned and used by citizens who participate in the planning process in a practical or virtual way, who can book the space from home or from the park nearby through their portable devices, who can use the space with their body downloading the trace of their run or walk or, through, for example, 'figurerunning' application, decide to walk or run following the way allowing to draw a figure in a downloadable map.

A second aspect, from a research point of view, is that of the temporal dimension. It is related to the, apparently contradictory terms, quickness and slowness. The researcher should think and use methods and tools easily applicable, which can give results and feedback quickly, but, at the same time, should foresee diachronic studies up to include the variations, and consequent variables, in the use of the technology and, probably, in the motivation.

To progress towards a more inter and transdisciplinar researches and action-researches in these fields, the results of my study could provide an advantageous and original perspective.

My research sustains the participation as indefeasible right to enhance the quality of life and proves the effectiveness of the participation whenever it is carried out considering the dimensions and the historic and social context aiming to catch the spirit of the place. The participation is the fundamental dimension in which the communication and diversity, essential elements for the survival of a complex system (Bateson, 1972, 1979), gather, conflict, join, and find a synthesis and common or new ways.

Moreover, my study affirms that the body is an accurate indicator of the quality of life in the city: the sustainability of the urban environment is strictly related to far-reaching policies enhancing its role in the urban stage, that be for commuting, for playing, for walking, for sport, for leisure.

I maintain that the return to the body, in a pivotal role with respect to the other fields, could be highlighted as the uppermost contribution of my research to the advance of the knowledge in the field of sport sciences. The theoretical and empirical nature of the research allows designing and planning new perspectives in the researches about town planning, and, broadly speaking, democracy, starting from the point of view of a body as a whole.

Definitively, my work maintains that the town planning and architecture, whether intentionally or not, are built around the very substance of the body, which everyday measures and experiments their realizations, and of participation, which, whether the planner are aware or not, comes to fruition in the continuous practice, misuse or rejection of the space determining or not its transformation in place.

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FIGURES

Figure 1   Hanna Arendt and a Nazis' running parade ("Il sole 24 ore" 25th of January 2009)

Figure 2   Nazis' goose step (Retrieved April 8, 2012 from www.alphanewsdaily.com)

Figure 3   North Korean soldiers (Retrieved April, 8, 2012 from http//www.wonghongweng.blogspot.com)

Figure 4   The changing of the guard Athens (Retrieved April 8, 2012 from http://fotoalbum.virgilio.it)

Figure 5   The distribution of the slaves into the ship (unknown source; kindly given by Prof. Farinella)

Figure 6   American soldiers on the plane on the way back from Afghanistan (Retrieved March 30, 2012 from www.repubblica.it)

Figure 7   Paddy Hartley's face corsets mimic the results of cosmetic surgery procedures (retrieved May 31, 2012 from http://growingbranch. wordpress.com/tag/body-modification/)

Figure 8   An effective application of the studies on post-human body (Retrieved May 31, 2012 from http://mos.futurenet.com/ techradar/classifications/world%20of%20tech/images/ric-420-90.jpg)

Figure 9   The future soldier presented by US Army (retrieved May 31, 2012 fromhttp://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:US_Army_powered_armo r.jpg)

Figure 10   MIT grad student Conor Walsh and the leg exoskeleton he and other researchers have developed. [Photo: Samuel Au / MIT News] (retrieved May 31, 2012 from http://spectrum.ieee.org/tech-alk/semiconductors/devices/mit_robotic_exoskeleton_struts_1)

Figure 11   Leonardo's Vitruvian Man, end of the 15th Century (Venice, Galleria dell'Accademia; retrieved April 11, 2012 http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/22/Da_Vin ci_Vitruve_Luc_Viatour.jpg)

Figure 12   A marble plaque comparing the ancient measures with the meter in Ferrara Castle. The two first are "arms", the third is "roman small step", the fourth is the meter (A. Borgogni, 2011)

Figure 13   the image of the Modulor 1 (Retrieved April 22, 2012, from http://www.perego1963.it/servizi/)

Figure 14   The original cover of the book La ville radieuse (www.fondationlecorbusier.fr; © FLC/ADAGP; retrieved April 13, 2012)

Figure 15   the map of the sectors in Chandigarh Interactive Map; (Chandigarh Official Website: http://chandigarh.gov.in/; retrieved April 13, 2012)

TABLES

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview grid

Interview Grid
PhD Research
"Body and City Planning"
The Roles of Young People, Participation, Sport and Visibility

Aims of the research
The main objective of the research is to investigate experiences of participative planning of public spaces involving young people in EU countries starting from four study cases (Barcelona, Ferrara, Paris, West and South Finland Province). The focus is on spaces used for sport and bodily practices and on the way young people use and modify them. The research will examine how the participative projects work, will compare them, will discover the best practices, producing applicative tools to investigate those experiences and build instruments to study other experiences and criteria to develop new actions.
The central hypothesis is to find a relation between the visibility of the body (including sport practices) in urban areas, and practical participative methods on planning urban environment. How and how much the conception of the body and the way of town planning in different cultures are connected
I'm Antonio Borgogni, Researcher at the University of Cassino, Italy. I'm doing doctoral studies at the Faculty of Sport Sciences of the University of Jyväskylä in the Department of Sport Sciences, Main Subject: Sport Planning and Administration. The supervisors of my research are Prof. Kimmo Suomi and prof. Romeo Farinella. I'm interviewing you because you are a key informant or observer of a participative process.

1. Information about your position in planning and building the project.
2. Could you describe the project in which you were or are involved?
    a. What are the main aims in the project in which you are involved?
    b. Could you describe the different environments of the project?
        i. physical, (the space and the surroundings)
        ii. functional, (the previous functions and the functions after the project)
        iii. social, (the social climate of the neighborhood and the role of the inhabitants)
        iv. economical, (financing of the project)
        v. administrative, (levels and offices involved)
        vi. sustainable, (procedures aimed at respecting environment)
        vii. city picture (image and marketing of the city/area)
3. What was/is your role in the project?
4. Could you explain the planning methodology of the project?
5. How people were/are involved?
6. What kind of role young people have/have had in the project?
7. Was/is there a specific methodology for involving young people?
8. Did/does the project involve other specific age groups (e.g. elderly people,

children?). Which was their role?
9. What were/are the results of the project?
10. Was/is there an evaluation of the project? If so, what type?
11. Are there other similar projects being carried out nowadays in your area?
12. Are you willing to participate in some other participative projects?
13. Could you collect and give me some materials (articles, pictures, data) about the project?

Appendix 2: Qualitative and perceptive survey

GRID OF
OBSERVATION:
PUBLIC SPACES

<u>**MOBILITY AND TRAFFIC**</u>

Roads with high density of traffic

Where	Positive aspects	Negative aspects/problems

Dangerous crossroads and pints of conflict

Where	Positive aspects	Negative aspects/problems

Foot and bycicle tracks

Where	Positive aspects	Negative aspects/problems

Parking lots

Where	Positive aspects	Negative aspects/problems

Road signals for bikers and pedestrians/school exits

Where	Positive aspects	Negative aspects/problems

Safe/unsafe crosswalk

Where	Positive aspects	Negative aspects/problems

Bus stops (bus network/frequancy)

Where	Positive aspects	Negative aspects/problems

Pavements

Where	Positive aspects	Negative aspects/problems

Safe/unsafe Cycle crossing

Where	Positive aspects	Negative aspects/problems

School exits
Safety/unsafety
Car/car parking
Presence of policman
Children/parents court
Accesibility
Lightning

Where	Positive aspects	Negative aspects/problems

MEETING PLACES

Meeting places
Safety/unsafety Car/car parking Presence of policman Children/parents court
Accesibility
Lightning Users and eventual problems

Where	Use (users and frequancy)	Positive aspects	Negative aspects/problems

Green areas path, grass, playgrounds, furnitures: benches, lightning, drinking fountain

Where	Use (users and frequancy)	Positive aspects	Negative aspects/problems

Small squares/open areas
Safety/unsafety
Traffic
Use
Other positive/negative caractheristics

Where	Use (users and frequancy)	Positive aspects	Negative aspects/problems

PEOPLE'S RELATION
In or around meeting places

Where	Positive aspects	Negative aspects/problems

PUBLIC SERVICES

Where	Use (users and frequancy)	Positive aspects	Negative aspects/problems
Chemistry			
Public Health and General Parctitioners			
Schools			
Family Centres			
Libraries			
Sports and play grounds			
Gymnasiums and sport facilities			
Cultural Centres			
Recreational Centres			
Other			

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