

SPACES OF DIALOG FOR PLACES OF DIGNITY: Fostering the European Dimension of Planning 11 - 14 July 2017 Lisbon

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Instituto de Geografia e Ordenamento do Território VERSIDADE DE LISBOA







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IGOT Instituto de Geografia e Ordenamento do Território UNIVERSIDADE DE LISBOA



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In an uncertain world that is rapidly changing economically, socially and culturally, cities and territories have become the common ground for resilient breakthroughs in the policies and practices of planning and design.

These extreme times urge us to shift towards renewed actions in urban and less urbanised territories. Societal changes, disparities in population growth and incomes and consequential impacts on the sustainability of social services and labour markets, climate change and extreme natural events, complex social-economics trends, challenge us to debate and seek paths that lead to a progressive common future.

The planning and urban minded communities are invited to join efforts under the flag of the next congress topic – SPACES OF DIALOG FOR PLACES OF DIGNITY: Fostering the European Dimension of Planning.

A few of the ideas we may want to provide a platform for discussion include developing people's wellbeing, promoting integrated and flexible planning approaches, encouraging collective engagement in urban and environmental management, inclusiveness and multiculturalism.

From one of the most western cities in Europe we believe that we may address potential European urban futures and the need for opening effective dialogue and cooperation with other corners of the globe.

We look forward to welcoming you in Lisbon and engaging with you in discussing these challenges.

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an information entity that contains: a (typically partial) description of the place, what there is in it and how the place is evolving (e.g. things moving, leaving or arriving, agents acting and transforming them etc.) and possibly the potential interactions between us and what is in the place. A ground context, as opposed to a generic context, is a context that refers to one or more actual/existing entities. A context has to furnish the link between the ontological classification of what we use for understanding places and the actual place that we are experiencing. For this reason, the context has to include physical elements (e.g. location) with material components (e.g. enclosed spaces, object distribution); agentive figures (e.g. habitants, organisations, social roles) with the relationships across them and objects (e.g. generic dependences and actual goal or habits). We intended to start from the higher levels of abstraction, so we started our analysis from the social level. Here we have reported the very first achievement of a long and complex path of an ontological analysis that could be useful to share the complex knowledge that forms the city.

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ID 1637 | TERRITORIAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR URBAN REQUALIFCATION PRACTICES

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1 THE TERRITORIAL PERSPECTIVE AS A PLANNING AND ANALYSIS MATRIX

The urbanization processes of the last thirty years show a profoundly changed urban framework related to the functional and formal orders of the previous periods.



The territorial organization of social and economic activities, in Italy, is affected by the contextual phenomenon of urban sprawling and "territorial coalescence" (Calafati, 2009).

As consolidated as stable forms of urban growth over the last two decades, these phenomena have occurred in path-dependent processes, starting from specific conditions and actions that are «unintended and deliberated, but that are tolerated as minor evils, in the absence of alternatives, or as a result of force relations that have prevailed over every deliberate and programmed regulatory instance» (Donolo, 2011:189, translated by the author). These urban changes are generically referable to a contest of "urban regionalization", and show some relevant instances of "re-shaping" and "re-qualification".

In facing the territorial dimension reached by the urban condition, some traditional criteria of analysis and interpretation – strictly focused on a basic and dichotomic "lecture" of urban "facts" – must be overcome.

Some systemic researches on the whole Italian territory and the monographic work of some authors, especially in recent times, contributed to the increase and improvement of the factors involved into the "urban matter". The aim of those works was to create "dense" representations of territories, in a "laic" and transcalar approach, in order to reveal the potential of "discontinuity", "fragmentation", "heterogeneity", by recognizing some forms of urbanity in marginal contexts, by researching new "models" of proximity relations in dispersed areas, by revealing "the interesting beauty" of unexpected landscapes. They suggest a new paradigm for planning, that comes out from the specific characteristics of each territory, from the "original conditions" (suggesting elements for a new urban governance paradigm that «is faithful to a methodological option, according to which political and decision-makers processes must correspond to the urban processes, by interrogating and interpreting the specifics of the territory» (Donolo, 2011: 177; translated by the author)).

So, in a context of "dense" interaction between the "knowledge" and the "decision" dimension, the "territorial perspective" seem to indicate "promising" paths to decline new tassonomies, to suggest new attitudes to plan the new "urban-territorial" city, in order to achieve re-composition and re-qualification objectives.

The urban relation between "city" and "territory" isn't new and some forms of "civism" projected in large territories inspired, the anti-urban utopianism of the late XIX century, the Garden City theory and some European and North American experiences of New Urbanism and Regional planning.

In the construction of a territorial matrix for the planning projects, it is necessary to consider renewed factor. However, a reflection aimed at providing prospects for effectiveness in contemporary practices cannot limit to alluding to forms of autonomy of communities of 'low-density' settlements.

This contribution aims at reflecting, in particular, on three components implicable into "the territorial matrix" for the requalification of urban contexts: that of the landscape, the energy and the relation factor. The following proposal calls for a reflection on, in particular, three factors which, in the territorial dimension, can play a key role in regeneration and redefinition of settlements: landscape, energy and, ultimately, relational matrix. The following proposal calls for a reflection on, in particular, three factors which, in the territorial dimension, can play a key role in regeneration and redefinition of settlements: landscape, energy and, ultimately, relational dimension, can play a key role in regeneration and redefinition of settlements: landscape, energy and, ultimately, ultimately, relational matrix.

2 CONTRIBUTION OF LANDSCAPE COMPONENT

The idea of Landscape introduced by the European Landscape Convention¹ (extracted from the aesthetic matrix definitions²) leads us to reflect on the interdependence between places (whether urban, peri-urban, rural, natural, etc.), and people who live in and interact with them. Landscape expresses its full identity³ and uniqueness thanks to the persistent and balanced interaction between man and nature: through

¹ «Landscape designates a certain portion of territory, as perceived by people, whose character derives from the action of natural and / or human factors and their interrelationships» (Article 1, (a); translated by the author).

² Relazione illustrativa della legge 11 june 1922, n. 778, Per la tutela delle bellezze naturali e degli immobili di particolare interesse storico; Law 29 june 1939, n. 1497, Protezione delle bellezze naturali.

³ «2. The Code protects the landscape in relation to those aspects and characters that are material and visible representation of the national identity, since expression of cultural values» (Article 131, D.lgs. 42/2004; translated by the author).



spontaneous or forced relationships, created by direct connection with the territory or imposed by need for safety, welfare and renewal, which implies continued environmental stress. It determines the conformation and / or transformation of the physical features of places and of their aspect. (Legislative Decree 42/2004; L. 14/2006).

In this regard, taking into account the important interdependence between man and nature, means above all considering the relationship between new forms of urbanism (urban landscapes) and the exteriority of highly complex environments (natural landscapes) where better ecological-environmental conditions are essential, in order to optimize the quality of living spaces and create more "sustainable" typologies of anthropic intervention¹. If territorial transformation processes – from urban to peri urban – are not appropriately controlled, planned and managed, are the main advocates of the depletion of resources, especially the natural ones, whose customization by man causes and requires attitudes and abilities, by the resources themselves, of resistance, resilience or reaction to changes and anthropic interferences. «The landscape [...] the extra-urban, as the urban one, must be safeguarded in its entirety. Safeguard, however, does not always mean intangibility², because landscape need to be managed by man and the protection of its values must be the result of man's interventions» (Campus Venuti in Oliva, 2010: 125-126; translated by the author).

Therefore, the "semi-natural landscape" seems to represent the weak link of a system of elements that follow and evolve from the city to the countryside, from the center to the periphery and vice versa. «As for the urban development, we perceive changes with greater difficulty, because the built environment evolves at a slow pace [...]. We are concerned about the aspect of the cities and both their social and environmental risks» (Ascher, 2006: 21; translated by the author). Moderating and / or reducing the exploitation of ecological-environmental components means improving landscape management and reconsidering urban renewal projects, so that environmental and anthropic factors are in harmony with each other. This consideration leads us to reflect on the complicated role of urbanism that «[...] has to equip itself with a new city and territory project, in which the borders cease to be invaluable and plans so rigidly drawn within administrative and not geographic and natural spaces [...] Responsibility towards a "borderless" nature must inspire the urban agenda and the plan» (Granata and Pileri, 2012: 90-91; translated by the author).

The most affected territories by deprivation and landscape alterations (loss of differences) are the marginal places (due to the continuous transformations), where the space generally recognized as urban becomes (sometimes gradually, sometimes suddenly) rural space. Within the latter, the real urban conformation is not entirely perceptible; «[...] from a physical and conceptual point of view, in a border zone between city and countryside, between artificial and natural areas [...]» (Ricci, 2005: 57; translated by the author). This is the controversial and problematic situation of the peripheral areas. They are characterized by an accentuated sense of abandonment and territorial dispersion, where natural and semi-natural environments blend with an indefinite system of built environments. In these areas, it is necessary to encourage the recovery, improvement and renovation of preexisting or contingent situations and conditions whose prospect of refunctionalization would prevent the abandonment of "refuge locations for diversity" (Clément, 2005). This territorial condition occurs when industrial and infrastructural projects, continuous expansions and urban dispersion, cause a rift between anthropic and natural environments: «large metropolitan areas produce visible lug and friction phenomena in the interface areas, that translate into disintegrating transformations of the city itself and the external environment, and in the loss of mutual territorial identity. The result is a set of areas that resemble landscapes [...] through the loss of differences [...] between urban and non-urban areas» (Ricci, 2005: 56-57; translated by the author).

The effort to focus on the "natural reaction" of some human transformation processes requires a sustainable conversion of "creation activities" (programs, plans and projects in support of natural landscapes). This is the approach that emerges from the analysis of a document on the conceptual and

¹ Landscapes evolve in form and content - they change and / or involve the organization of spaces and connections, functioning and localization of productive activities, scientific and technological service distribution, etc. - as the needs and lifestyles increase and diversify (Indovina, 2013).

² «The Republic promotes the development of culture and of scientific and technical research. It protects the landscape and the historical and artistic heritage of the Nation» (Article 9, Constitution of the Italian Republic; translated by the author).



design reconversion strategy of the "green" of Milan and its metropolitan area¹, which states that «the system of external parks allows a projection towards the urban region, linking the metropolitan city parks to the outdoor parks, and integrating them into a unitary design of the "territorial parks" around Milan. [...] This approach aims at promoting the ecological value of the metropolitan park, in addition to the urban and agricultural redevelopment, and at recognizing Milan as the center of an environmental network and not as an isolated area»². Besides, this project allows us to focus not on the dispersive set of empty and open urban and periurban spaces, but on the system of networks and places they are able to compose, despite the complexity of the fragments and the discontinuity of the connections (ecological-environmental). In a perspective of developing a continuous territorial system from the city to the countryside, it is necessary to create a project of sustainable integration of paths, places and people starting from the analysis of the components of two "territorial parks" of the province of Milan³, Parco Nord Milano and Parco Agricolo Sud Milano. This is important not only for the different territorial and administrative extension⁴, but also for the characteristics that mark them and that determine "landscape uniqueness". Parco Nord Milano comes in the form of large discontinuous green areas within a strongly urbanized territory, because of the presence of peripheral districts, dismantled industrial areas, landfills, places that escaped further territorial urbanization but that are completely abandoned and / or degraded. However, the park, through renaturalisation and ecological-environmental redevelopment, tries to absorb (with difficulty) cementing operations that characterize territory, meeting the needs of the city and its inhabitants. On the contrary, Parco Agricolo Sud Milano has a completely different vocation, due to its geomorphological and functional conformation. It houses farmland, natural and semi-natural areas, goods of historical, architectural and natural interest. It blends with several urban areas, assuming the appearance of an ecologicalenvironmental passage, extending from East to West. Above all, this park allows us to discover a territory nestled between periurban spaces and rural areas of a "complex landscape system" (Parco Agricolo Sud Milano – Metropolitan city of Milan).

The two case studies have different perspectives and requirements, but a common goal: to decide to what extent a "challenging attitude" towards territorial contexts that are difficult to manipulate by man, can improve their conditions. The ability to select, shape, and interact with natural resources must be a prerogative of all human beings and their methods of intervention.⁵

3 CONTRIBUTION OF ENERGETIC COMPONENT

The concept of sustainable development is transversely recognised as a new paradigm for the spatial planning process and strategies (Camagni, 2000). The goal is to boost a co-evolution of different territorial systems: the economic system, the environmental/physical system and the social system, in terms of increasing the territorial quality in a long-term vision.

The lack of a common translation of this rhetorical concept in operative actions, is related to the difficult to understand the geographical scale of sustainability. In line with many authors (Magnaghi, 2005) and with the Local Territorial Systems approach (Governa and Salone, 2004) the territory is considered as the fulcrum of discussions on local sustainable development, following an approach which can be defined as "territorialist", in which the territory is considered the base of tangible and intangible relationships (Bagliania et al., 2010). In the debate of sustainable territorial development, the energy factors (production, managing, delivering and consumption) are crucial. But, if is recognised the strong relationship between urban form and energy consumption and use (Owen, 1986), is underestimated the relationship between energy and territorial system. By recomposing and requalifying the huge territorial fragmentation – the core

¹ Annex A - to the proposal for Resolution No. 1219/2016 on "Approval of the Document named – Future Landscapes - Milan: open spaces in a metropolitan view", useful for the definition of the Green Plan of the City of Milan (translated by the author).

 $^{^{2}}$ ld, p. 9 (translated by the author).

³ Id, p. 9 (translated by the author).

⁴ Parco Nord Milano has a territorial extension of about 600 hectares and is run by a Consortium of 6 municipalities (www.parconord.milano.it/storia-del-parco), unlike Parco Agricolo Sud Milano that has a territorial extension of about 47,000 hectares, and it is run by the Metropolitan City of Milan and includes about 61 municipalities (www.cittametropolitana.mi.it/parco_agricolo_sud_milano/index1.html).

⁵ «As for the present settlement, it is obvious that a different production of urban spaces will have to emerge, starting from the periurban areas, the urbanized countryside, in a word from the widespread city. What is at stake, [...] is the ability of these territories to be reconnected to landscapes that activate a new urban quality. [...] The central instrument becomes the organization of the vegetation system as well as the landscape project» (Belfiore, 2007: 199; translated by the author).



of the paper – we might reconsider the role played by the energy model, in achieving sustainable objectives. We are in an energetic and technology revolution, which imposes a change in the relation between energy production/consume and territories (Verbong and Loorbach, 2012).

The energy system affects and influences physical and spatial components (such as size, density, distribution of destinations of use, integrated technological systems, transport and mobility, characteristics of public spaces and common equipment, urban naturalness, comfort and microclimate both in-door and out-door) on one side, and social inclusiveness and economic growth, with a general improvement of territorial quality as common values, on the other side. Since the beginning of the nineties, several events had determined a shift in the way we deal with energy, including: EU directives, the liberalization process of the energy markets, the increasing of environmental restrictions, the scarcity of fossil fuels, the use of intermitted renewable energies, and the increasing share of small distribution generations systems (Bagliani et al., 2010). But, might these changings be assumed as a territorial potential? According to Dematteis (2007), the territory can be considered as: (1) a mere support; (2) a container of fixed (tangible and intangible) potential resources; (3) a place of possible exercise of active territoriality with the aim to activate and valorising local vocations by transforming the resources from potential into exploitable under the actions of development; (4) a network of material and immaterial relationships characterised by their ability to generate local synergies that lead to local self-organisation and local attributions of meaning.

In this way, the "energy matrix" (which influences the three meaning of sustainability: environmental, social and economic) should be assumed as a territorial potential in terms of reducing environmental impacts of urban growth; increasing the energy efficiency use; valorising the territorial peculiarity (types of renewable energy resources available); increasing the economic income from the decentralisation of energy production and consumption process; influencing citizen behaviours, as well as the social inclusion process; understanding and controlling the territorial metabolic process.

Behind these considerations and the evidence of consequences of our un-sustainable urban development and sprawl, the territorial scale of energy seems to be the appropriate one, especially because production and consumption have temporal and spatial discontinuity (Verbong and Loorbach, 2012). But, in order to re-organize the territorial structure, in spatial cohesion and identity dimensions. It's necessary an integrated approach able to recognise and manage the links between local values and potentials and a shift on the territorial vision: from a patchwork of discontinuous elements, to a network of material and immaterial flows, sources and capabilities.

A territorial energy approach should combine demand and consume, resource and opportunity, environmental system and urban system, agriculture and landscape, economic growth and social inclusion. It doesn't concern only the energy production or supplying, but it is related also to a correct mix of functions, mobility, land use, resources (both social, then environmental). Energy should be considered as a cross-sector issue in plans and policies regarding building efficiency, water management, air quality, emissions into the atmosphere, land use regulation, agricultural policies, norms on transports and traffic, and so on (Bagliani et al., 2010). Although the connection between territories and the "eco-energetic matrix" is internationally recognised. European and national energy policies are still sectorial. Territories are now in an unstable balance between resource exploitation, economic value and environment and landscape preservation. Fiscal incentives, developing strategies or policies related to energy system (especially in the RES¹ production or in building/industrial/agricultural sectors) follow economic and speculative objectives², without take in account environmental and landscape protecting instruments, plans³ and directives (both at national and European level). To translate the energy issue into a territorial developing key it is necessary to re-connect all the different layers, which make up the territory.

A shared vision is still ignored, leaving each sector managed by a specific policy, or by a limited administration task-force, with a negative impact on the dichotomies: energy/territory and energy/landscape.

¹ Renewable Energy System.

² A special focus is here dedicated to: energy crops production, wind farm installations, photovoltaic panels, which have a directly relapse into landscape and environment systems.

³ It is referring to Italian planning instruments system. The Italian Landscape plans aim to preserve, manage and valorize the landscape regional patrimony.



They might be seen as opportunities and no more as conflicts. In Italy, the recent National Law 221/2015¹, about the promotion of the Green Economy, aims to spread a new vision of environment² as the core of territorial development. A part of this mind change, is the creation of Green Community, where crucial is the valorisation process of territorial peculiarities in different fields: urban environment (form, organization, transportation); energy; industry; water resources; agriculture; tourism. About energy, it has been highlighted the role of RES local energy production and supplying, with an approach defined: bottom-up decarbonizing process³. It represents a step up in the sustainable vision of the interaction between energy and territories. But, is still necessary build common objectives and intersectoral actions, reduce the fragmentation not only in physical aspect, but also in the administration procedure. To draw an active energy territory is necessary an attempt to integrate planning activities and policies throughout different sectors and ambits. Therefore, energy policies should be accompanied by norms and standards that regulate all the different impacts of energy sources on various territorial systems.

A good practise in resolving the conflict between energy and landscape, is the Puglia Landscape Plan (Piano Paesaggistico della Puglia). This regional plan assumed the energy issue as a significant component for the valorisation of the regional landscape, mapping all RES productions in the territory. This map gives a general framework of local RES generation, and it relation with urban energy needs, understanding the quality; the localisation and the amount of energy production. In conclusion, a reformation of planning action, oriented by an eco-energetic prospective might: reduce territorial energy supply, guide the physical develop of urban areas, increase social inclusion, share environmental responsibilities, valorise territorial particularities, reduce greenhouse emissions, preserve the environment and incentivize the network between different sectors involved in the sustainable development objectives.

4 THE "RELATIONAL DIMENSION" IN TERRITORIES

Starting from the acceptance of renewed relation with the "exteriority" of high complexity environments and the "alterity" of the various actors which interact in territorial scene⁴ (Raffestin, 2012), from the beginning of 80's, some theories, in a straight contrast with the functionalist principle of urbanism, raised and suggested a "place oriented" approach, in order to recognize «into the territorial peculiarities a field of knowledge to be approached with planning and urban project instruments» (Palazzo, 2010: 5; translated by the author).

In this way, a relevant contribution come from the theories and practices of the italian "Scuola territorialista", created by a group of researchers at the end of eighties - and later converged into the "Società dei Territorialisti" - with the objective of «rediscovering in urban practice the use of "territory elements" and of long lasting memories and signs which in territory are represented (Poli, 2010: 15).

At the end of nineties the Scuola Territorialista, with Alberto Magnaghi's guidance, for the Florence part, and Giuseppe Dematteis's, for the Turin part, reached an operative dimension and elaborated numerous plans both local and regional, such as: Piano Territoriale di Coordinamento della Provincia di Prato (2003), Masterplan of the Parco Fluviale della Media Valle dell'Arno (2008), Piano Paesaggistico Territoriale della Regione Puglia (2010), Progetto della Bioregione Urbana della Toscana Centrale (2010), and finally, Piano Territoriale Regionale della Regione Piemonte (2011).

In the territorialist approach it is possible to appreciate some recurrent profiles: «a critical distance from sovra-determinated and global dynamics which impact on the territory» (Fanfani, 2010: 92; translated by the author); a "bottom-up" paths for the building of future scenery; an organized involvement of territorial

¹ Law 221/2015 "Disposizioni in materia ambientale per promuovere misure di green economy e per il contenimento dell'uso eccessivo di risorse naturali" (Environmental provisions to promote green economy measures and to contain excessive use of natural resource: translated by the author). ² Here environment represents a complexity of elements: resources, beauties, histories, identities, social interactions,

anthropic influences and material or immaterial infrastructures.

Law 221/2015

⁴ "Exteriority", referring to the physical and natural environment, and "alterity" related to the social and relational environment are the characteristics that the geographer Raffestin attributes to the condition of "territoriality", that is «the whole set of relationships that a society, and therefore people who belong to it, have with exteriority and alterity to satisfy their needs with the help of mediators in the perspective of obtaining the greatest possible autonomy, taking into account the resources of the system» (Raffestin, 1999; translated by the author), in one of the most appreciated definitions of the concept.



actors, often supported by empowerment practices; a deeply integrated vision, multi-scalar and multi-sectoral (Fanfani, 2010).

Some planning instruments were put in practice, such as the "Territorial Integration Areas" (AIT) of Piemonte Region. The AIT, are 33 sub-provincial areas, "cut out" in the Region, within the PTR, so that «in each of them it is possible to capture inherent connections that shouldn't emerge through sectorial vision and which must therefore be the subject of integrated planning, as it is by its nature the territorial one» (Regione Piemonte, 2011: 66; translated by the author). AIT are constructed from the identification of «local inter-subjective spaces, defined on the basis of a relative self-containment of flows that are the cause and/or effect of such relationships» (PTR Piemonte, 2011: 67; translated by the author) and are the nodes of the superhighway networks.

The AIT derive from the application of a theoretical model of analysis and evalutation model, called SLoT (Sistema Locale Territoriale), developed by the territorialist school of Torino, which is based on the analysis of the interaction between local and regional systems.

From an analytical point of view, the model seeks the presence of a series of "clues" and "starting conditions" that favour, appropriately supported by government intervention, the building of a local development system (Dematteis, 2003; translated by the author): «relational, cognitive and organizational resources, "dynamics" that reflect the active role of the territorial subjects», territorial aggregations of public and private entitites that have produced projects and actions of transformation and territorial development in the various sectors (productive, environmental, tourist, etc.).

All the local actors involved in the project are analysed through special analysis grids that take into account the types of project activities, actors involved, and territorial resources. These dynamics are then compared with order elements of the territorial organization in order to rebuild a territorial framework as fully as possible of the current dynamics and to guide the developmental paths.

Directly derived from the SLoT model, AIT are a device to support the diagnostic, evaluative and strategic phases of the Plan, with regard to the implications of local choices. They also play an important role in the analysis and in the actions of the large scale (regional, national, and European) networks, because they are complex nodes of these networks¹.

5 CONCLUSION

The above examples show different "territorial implications. The territory become a source and an opportunity for those areas: "intermediate", "post-metropolitan", "peri-urban", "fringe", in which the "deterritorialization" process (Choay, 2010) has triggered evident environmental (resources degradation and depletion) and social (marginal) impacts.

The territory assumes an active role, reacting to the anthropic effects with resistance actions, advantages and opportunities. It is a "subject which earns a new semantic relevance", in which «all effects own a meaning» (Corboz, 2014: 190; translated by the author). It assumes the role of an unexpected "framework", which combines infrastructural and natural components that have different relationship with the territory. It represents a "silent" place and, at the same time, the place of "outburst", suggesting multipaths of intervention and most of them are still unexplored.

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¹ This model (Local Territorial Systems, SLoT) refers to the Programming Document "For a New Regional Territorial Plan" (Piedmont Region, Department of Territorial Policies, December, 2005: 47; translated by the author).



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ID 1650 | LOCAL IDENTITIES ON CHANGE- URBAN WATERFRONT REGENERATION WITHIN THE GLOBAL CITY ISTANBUL SERIN GEAMBAZU

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1 CASE STUDY I: INNER URBAN COMMUNITY UNDER A CASE OF WATER FRONT REGENERATION IN HALIC

1.1 TRANSFORMATIONS IN HALIC

Over the last decades, many cities worldwide have promoted urban waterfront regeneration for a variety of reasons building on the particular scenery of these sites. The success of the first well known urban waterfront regeneration project, Baltimore Inner Harbor regeneration (1960), has served as a prototype for cities around the world with the desire to position themselves in the race to become Global Cities (Harvey 1989) by providing strategically located high-quality investment opportunities to attract global capital, or by constructing attractive spaces to promote tourism and leisure. Nowadays, almost every city at water's edge is engaged in regeneration projects with strong political impetuses and interest from various parties: authorities, developers and neighboring communities (Hoyle 2001).

These developments have been critically examined by many scholars, many of which share the belief that urban waterfront regeneration is often not addressing the underlying, deep-rooted problems of the cities and furthermore, ignoring the socially and economically unstable landscapes in which they often occur, veritably contributing to the escalation of inequality, polarization and deprivation in the city (Harvey 1989; 2005; Brownill 1990; Gordon 1997b; Hoyle 2000; Saarinen and Kumpulainen 2005; Butler 2007; Healey 1997; Gordon 1997a, 1997b; Feldman 1999; Fainstein 2001; Granath 2005; Butler 2007).

















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