



PA05

Institutional change and
regional transition

The Role And The Future Of Small Towns In The Central Italy Earthquake Crater 2016 And "The Reconstruction Of The Possible", Participatory Workshop For A Post-Earthquake Development Plan In Bologna

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Abstract: The earthquake that involved Central Italy in 2016, in addition to its disruptive effects on people, heritage and social capital, cracking the fragile balance of economic and demographic systems, has greatly amplified the attention paid small municipalities, on the Apennines Mountains. Summing the Small Municipalities Law and the National Strategy for Internal Areas, a sole large-scale project affecting the so-called "earthquake crater" of Central Italy can be outlined and presented as a widespread reconstruction work, in the name of safety and technical, technological, administrative and planning innovation. Despite the magnitude of the objectives, the dislocation of damages, the distribution and over-provision of historical, public and private assets, the particularity of the places involved, characterized by extreme specificity and inhabited by local micro-communities with a strong local identity, are likely to enhance little programmatic tools. Assuming the necessity of a context-based and collaborative approach to producing effective change at the local and regional scale, the question is: how to make possible and support a local pro-active and cooperative environment? By focusing on the collaboration developed in 2017 between the Municipality of Bologna and the IUAV University, the paper explores the possibility of co-designing an action plan for post-earthquake development.

Keywords: Governance tools, Participatory process, Institutional innovation, Territorial regeneration, Risk planning

Central Italy Small Municipalities. A resourceful context, between criticalities and new strategies.

In 2016 the Central Italy Earthquake involved a large part of the small municipalities attested on the Apennines, between Marche, Umbria, Lazio and Abruzzo. In addition to its disruptive effects on people, heritage and social capital, the earthquake cracked the fragile balance of economic and demographic systems. Those territories showed, since the fifties, a process of disarticulation of the social and economic fabric and abandonment of the land, with the population moving toward less marginal areas of the country, *i.e.* big or medium cities and largely industrialized valleys. Within this already critical situation, the earthquake emerged as an opportunity not only

to describe and discuss the intrinsic values and potentialities of those territories but also to fund a reconstruction process that would have worked as a complex and transversal system of improvements and reforms to flip the marginalization process of the Apennines. Two major national programmes would have allowed the regeneration process of these territories: the so-called Small Municipalities law and the SNAI (National Strategy for Internal Areas). Interestingly the surface areas of the two programmes largely overlap (ANCI 2017).

The driving idea to reimagine the Apennines is a form of *intrinsic sustainability* that these territories show (Fondazione Symbola 2018). They emerge as laboratories where industrial production is organized within local districts based on local communities (Becattini 2002; Sforzi 2008), and the agricultural production is investing in the creation of local supply chains and organic products (Fondazione Symbola 2018); also they were able to save high levels of biodiversity and memories of an ancient past (Calvaresi 2015b). At some degree, those tendencies are an implicit and innate form of sustainability that the inner part of the country displays. They were only possible because of the marginality of those territories from the industrialization and modernization processes that caused, on one side, the previously mentioned abandonment processes but also, on the other side, produced high levels of pollution and bureaucratization in big cities and intensively exploited lands in the rest of the country. In this sense, these territories constitute a resource to be taken into account for public policies.

The relevance and the strategic role that Italian inner areas and small towns play were already shaping the mentioned national programmes. The so-called Small Municipalities Law -officially "*Misure per il sostegno e la valorizzazione dei piccoli comuni nonché disposizioni per la riqualificazione e il recupero dei centri storici dei medesimi comuni*", law 158/2017- is the output of a long and careful observation of local systems, and its approval was only speeded up by the earthquake. The law included a series of measures to support and develop small Italian municipalities with less than five thousand inhabitants and also contained actions addressing the renewal of their historical centres. This law affected 5.567 towns, approximately covering the 54% of the whole national territory with a population of about eleven thousand inhabitants, and allocated about 100 mil., to be distributed between the 2017 and 2023 (ANCI 2017). The SNAI, on the other side, was already at work since 2013. According to this programme, marginalities, calculated through a series of indicators of the distance from 'centralities' and services, should be at the centre of national policies. The policy design process should use a place-based approach that, working through prototypes and fostering strong local governance by public administration, would have overcome the illusions of purely bottom-up local projects and pretence of state-driven projects (Calvaresi 2015a). In this sense, what should emerge is that both the instruments, the 158/2017 law and the SNAI, even though with lightly different interpretative models, and different implementation protocols, are aimed at making this portion of Italian Territory less marginal, more cohesive and, so, more competitive. The programmes allocated consistent funds in the selected areas to achieve this enormous goal.

Therefore the earthquake should be taken into account not only because of its sudden and tragic nature but also as the accelerator of already existing processes. On one side there where dynamics of progressive social-economic impoverishment and depopulation, despite any small signal of recovery showed before the earthquake (Renzi 2018); on the other side, the earthquake fuelled the approval of programmes and projects aimed at stabilizing qualitative strengths of Central Italy. The whole reconstruction project, then, seems to be the last opportunity to avoid an inevitable decline and a future in which Central Italy Internal Areas, the earthquake crater, could represent a model for sustainable development. Thus the physical (and selective) reconstruction project in the earthquake crater could be considered a part of a larger urban and territorial regeneration project that could benefit from national and European funds (Law 158/2017, SNAI, reconstruction funds plus European funds as, among others, FEASR, FSE). In this sense, this complex project, being the crater the first experimental step, would be the more significant public investment in territorial regeneration in the history of the Italian Republic (Renzi, 2018). It would represent an extensive work of reconstruction, the most extensive building site in Europe, in the name of risk resiliency and innovation in design, technological and bureaucratic protocols.

Despite that, the described instruments, being too programmatic and hardly able to catch, understand and engage the extreme local singularities and the many diverse local communities, were easily unable to reach their objectives. The over-provision of public and private goods, the social capital and the specificity of the context, where micro-communities have strong and conflicting identities would need an approach and a series of instruments able to catch and rearticulate the many different identities and actors. Demonstration of it lays in the long-lasting state of *emergency* and in the awkward start of the reconstruction in a context where local communities have traditionally shown a pro-active tendency. The relation between local, i.e. micro-communities and specific contexts, and territorial, i.e. the Apennines and any institution aimed at addressing their governance, becomes critical.

Summing up, what emerges within the post-earthquake reconstruction – pertinent but also too much pre-determined and constraining- is not the lack of norms or innovative aspects in the administrative orders, yet their substantial inability to radically transform design and planning protocols. The approach to a post-earthquake rebuilding seems unable to include all of the mentioned singularities and adversarial (business) interests that emerge if we look at small municipalities. Here again to look at local governance processes gains a critical perspective, because of the genuine possibility to implement any national policy or programme. The participatory workshop in one small municipality –Bolognola- then emerges as an experiment to develop a place-based approach, that assumes one case study, in between the exceptional and the norm (Thomas 2005), from which we could move back to a general theory and then get back to practice, proposing new territorial settings and collective and collaborative strategies.

The workshop “La ricostruzione del possibile” in Bolognola, between collaboration and co-design.

Bolognola is the smallest municipality of the Marche Region, both in terms of area (25,88 km²) and in terms of inhabitants (137, of which only 108 permanently living in Bolognola); it is also the highest ones (1070 m. a.s.l.). Its territory is included in the National Park of the Monti Sibillini, and its economy is mainly connected with resources typical of mountain areas. Particularly relevant, in local economies, are woods-connected activities and pastoralism, with sheep and bovines, and tourism-related activities. The first group also survive thanks to the enduring of quite extended common lands in the area. The last group has experienced fluctuating success, but, recently, gained relevance thanks to the growing attention toward the naturalistic, historical and cultural value of the mentioned National Park and the revamp of outdoor sports and free-time activities such as trekking, mountain biking, and many others. The 2016 earthquake adds on an already fragile milieu with the disruption of productive infrastructures such as barns and sheds –putting the livestock in danger during the freezing winters- and hotels, housing and lodges for tourists, made not fit to use. The earthquake also meant a reduction in tourism flows, since people were scared by the risk of other tremors.

For what regards the housing stock, in Bolognola only the 30% of it was permanently inhabited by residents, mainly in the main village constituted by the three original medieval villages from which the municipality was born; 70% of the residential buildings were empty for most of the time. The earthquake did not provoke the collapse of any building, but it made non-habitable, more than the 50% of the all housing stock, and, among those, the 80% of the houses inhabited by all-year residents. Right after the earthquake, then, most of the residents moved to the coastal area of the Region, and only about 79 persons stayed in Bolognola. The risk is that those who left during the emergency will never come back: this was the leitmotiv of many public meetings, not only in Bolognola but in all the earthquake-crater. In the case of Bolognola, due to the already low number of inhabitants, it would have meant the disappearance of the local community and the possibility that the municipality would be incorporated to the close ones (already discussed as a possible option before the earthquake and also already happened in other close municipalities).

Because of the critical situation, the resources described in the previous paragraph represent a significant opportunity to let the local community stay, not only as small and utopian pockets of resistance. The earthquake became the opportunity to invest in a regeneration project that could transform hopes and vague ideas into

tangible improvements. To pro-actively use endogenous resources to sustain a *minimum vital flow*, and to foster any small improvement able to attract new users and (economic) activities becomes imperative.

From this urgency, the collaboration between the local administration and the IUAV University started. The driving question was: *how to proactively use endogenous resources to sustain a minimum vital flow, and to foster any small improvement able to attract new users and (economic) activities?* Moreover, the focus was not only about how to practically produce those new economies and futures, but *how to stimulate –and sustain in the long term- local pro-active subjectivities and a learning process between institutions, citizens and new economic stakeholders*, interested in investing their energies in projects in –and for- Bolognola?

The hypothesis that the mentioned workshop wanted to test is that a co-design event, open to the public, in other words with a high degree of *participation*, could represent not only a participatory design tool but a moment of empowerment of the local community, setting the scene for a collaborative approach for future development.

In this sense, collaboration is here not only used to depict a participatory environment that includes, in the planning process, the public institutions/decision makers and also everyday people. Neither collaboration only means conflict resolution through alternative dispute resolutions (ADR) techniques. Collaboration is here intended as an approach, a state of mind that, acknowledging the existence of conflict, tries to overcome the mere confrontation of two different positions fostering understanding, empathy and mutual respect. Collaboration implies a great effort in explaining technical and personal reasons and in carefully listening to other participants to the process. To foster such an approach within participatory events ideally sets the mood to participate in other meetings collaboratively.

On this premises, the workshop “The reconstruction of the possible”, whose title recalls the aim to build on the ruins produced by the earthquake in order to envision possible alternative futures for the territories hit by the catastrophic event, was held. During the design studio -“Laboratorio di Sintesi”- of the Master in City and Environment Planning and policies at IUAV University, thirty students, together with the authors of this paper, were invited for one week in Bolognola to listen to the inhabitants and to facilitate the workshop.

Clearly to be on site for one week is neither enough to set a collaborative environment successfully, or to prepare a charrette –a participatory method aimed at designing a project/plan/programme, and reflecting with the participants about how to practically configure physical spaces to achieve an objective. Also, the programme was so dense that there were only a few moments dedicated to co-design, and also there were not all the expected participants. Despite that, the students were able to pinpoint key-people and fruitfully engaged with them, also through walks and informal chats. The result was the production, by the students, of six reports. A part of them focused on the legal and technical framework in which the reconstruction process was starting (at the time of the workshop and the design studio, the emergency phase had just ended). Others concentrated their attention on local material and non-material resources; other groups carefully identified, through the conversation they had with the inhabitants of Bolognola, visions and hints for local social entrepreneurship.

Bolognola can be considered as an extreme example of criticalities experienced by many surrounding towns in Central Italy Internal Areas. At the same time, the small municipality also exemplifies all the opportunities and the strengths that a careful reconstruction project could put at stake and that were mentioned in the first paragraph of this paper. Within those premises, the guideline for further reflections could be: which kind of *material or virtual infrastructure*, or platform, could enhance collaborative forms of *interaction among the diverse stakeholders* to let local strengths and visions emerge in order to build a local agenda for development? In other words, how to let local social entrepreneurship emerge and survive in the long term? Which tools planners have? The presented workshop suggests that, despite the difficulty to set actually collaborative processes, only moving to a generative form of listening -as the most in-depth way of listening to the others that requires the listener to be out of his system and open to what surrounds him-, we can generate solution as

collective creations (Scharmer 2009, 2018). In other words, only through active forms of listening (Selavi 2009), we will be able to detect molecules of bottom-up *projectual sensitivities* and connect them with (i) institutional frameworks and founts and (ii) necessary skills and expertise. By doing so, and starting from detailed enquires of local *micro-cosmos*, an articulated and trans-scalar set of plans, programmes, projects and actions, either public or private, could be outlined toward the definition of a coherent group of policies for the regeneration of the territory.

Toward a post-earthquake development agenda.

A preliminary listing phase, formalized in a document called "the collection of ideas and projects" was necessary to reconstruct in detail needs, ideas and project emerged within the design-charrette. For Bolognola, its public administration, the private stakeholders and the citizens, the catalogue represents a shared document and is an attempt to return all the interests at stake, in the most exhaustive manner possible. The collection might both be the base on which pacts between the public administration and the citizens could be build and function as a support on which the institution sustain those pro-active groups that are already developing projects in the area. The reasoned list can also constitute support for those who, thanks to existing funding, decide to start new activities.

The next step in the design of a development agenda would imply to transform the collection into a *constellation*, meaning, with that, the identification of supply chains in which an existing projectuality can be accounted (for its economic feasibility) and for its nexus with other projects (in and out each constellation).

The concept of the supply chain is here used to describe multiple connections and different actors involved in the transformation process of a resource into a good. It implies organizations, public and private deals, regulations and norms. Constellations of projects should be described and grouped in different supply chains, assessing their impacts on *the micro-cosmos project*, which identifies the ensemble of actions and inputs that would guarantee a minimum vital flow –services and micro-economies- in the small municipalities. The micro-cosmos project is only made possible by forms of collaboration and partnerships between the public, the private and the people.

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Planning for Transition

Contemporary cities and territories face significant challenges – natural disasters due to climate change impacts, ecological crises, growing socio-economic unrest, global migration, political rifts including a rise of right wing factions, ambitious public works and mega-projects – all of which require new capacities in dealing with such individual and multiple groupings of such challenging and profound changes.

It is a matter of fact that at international level a discourse if not a condition of transition is pervading sectors and societies. This discourse points to alternative patterns and solutions to many of the challenges faced. A quickly changing scenario requires forms of planning, both locally and globally, which bear the capacity to support and manage mutable urban and environmental conditions. In fact, although cities do incessantly change, policy-makers and institutions are never fully prepared to respond to complex and risky situations, as well as relying on planning and policy tools which are often outdated; in addition, also existing theoretical frameworks, concepts, cognitive abilities and approaches become ineffective or outmoded.

Each unintended or unanticipated change comes as a break to existing social, political, and administrative routines and yet it may be anticipated that mechanisms of collective reflection and action will be generated. The congress invites scholars and practitioners to present and discuss case-studies of cities and projects that have engaged in meeting challenging situations – supporting transitions in urban contexts.

Specifically, it is aimed at offering an understanding of the forms of knowledge, concepts, tools, and skills needed to plan and address transition. Furthermore, it seeks to explore whether (and how) managing such changes has brought any overall reconsideration of the city design model and towards more general institutional reconfigurations.

The book collects all the papers presented at the Aesop Venice 2019 conference. It is articulated in chapters that correspond to the tracks (16) and special sessions proposed (23).

Tracks

1. Transforming built heritage and landscapes
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3. Teaching planning for the transition
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5. Methods and technologies for transformative planning
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7. Theorizing urban change: complexity and ethics
8. Transition paths and urban futures
9. Climate proof cities and resilient societies
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11. Housing, gentrification and socio-spatial dynamics
12. Food, planning and healthy cities
13. Planning for accessibility and sustainable mobility
14. Planning, Law and Property Right: facing urban transitions
15. Tourism, spaces and urban cultures
16. Urban and Regional economics for transition

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10. The Role of The Local in Improving Cohesion and Spatial Justice
11. Friendly Spaces and Mobility for Ageing
12. Emerging Spatialities and Eu Policy Instruments: Cases and Perspectives
13. Facing Migrants Exclusionary Urban Policies
14. Learning Loops in The Public Realm. Enabling Social Learning in Communities to Tackle the Challenges of Cities in Transition
15. Planning and Biodiversity
16. Acsp-Aesop Special Session: Morsels of Hope: Migration and Urban Planning
17. Spatial Tensions: Urban Microgeographies for Changing Cities
18. Affordable Housing in Developing Countries: a Comparative Perspective
19. Acsp-Aesop Special Session: Learning from Arnstein's Ladder: from Citizen Participation to Public Engagement
20. Smart Cities and Regions Informing the Energy Transition
21. Maritime Spatial Planning (MSP) In Europe: Challenges in Transition
22. Shrinking Cities and Sustainability
23. Regional Design: Impacts on Territorial Governance and Planning Practice



PA 02 Transforming built heritage and landscapes

INFLUENCE OF CREATIVE ACTIVITIES ON THE RESIDENTS AND CONSERVATION OF CULTURE, HISTORY, AND LANDSCAPE IN SETOUCHI ISLANDS, JAPAN Asai Yuka, Miyake Saki, Abe Hirokazu, Otsuka Noriko	2
INVISIBLE PROJECTS: IMAGINED NEARNESS AS A TOOL TO EXPLORE LONG-TERM TRANSITIONS OF LANDSCAPE/HERITAGE. THE CASE OF THE RIVER TIBER IN ROME Avellini Elisa	12
ASSESSING THE TRANSITION FROM TRADITIONAL TO PARTICIPATORY HERITAGE MANAGEMENT IN TURKEY Aydin Gizem, Bleil de Souza Clarice, Cerutti Federico	21
TRANSITIONS TOWARDS LANDSCAPE-AND HERITAGE-CENTRED LOCAL DEVELOPMENT: A MULTI-LEVEL PERSPECTIVE Barbanente Angela, Grassini Laura	35
THE SLOW LINE AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO REGENERATE HERITAGE IN THE FRAGILE AREAS: THE CASE OF THE VENTO PROJECT Dezio Catherine, Giambruno Maria Cristina, Oppio Alessandra, Pileri Paolo	49
RESEARCH ON THE RENEWAL STRATEGY OF NEW AND OLD INTERSECTION COMMUNITIES IN METROPOLIS BASED ON THE CONCEPT OF LANDSCAPE URBANISM - TAKING A PRACTICE IN SHANGHAI TIANLIN COMMUNITY AS AN EXAMPLE Hu Shufen	62
TOWARDS A HISTORICAL URBAN LANDSCAPE: PRINCIPLES AND APPROACHES IN RECENT BUILT HERITAGE AND LANDSCAPE REGENERATION PROJECTS IN THE YORKSHIRE REGION OF ENGLAND Huang Yong, Ren Xiang	75
UMBRELLAS, INCUBATORS, MOTHERS AND KILLERS: FOUR TYPOLOGIES OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CULTURAL MEGA-EVENTS AND SMALL AND MICRO EVENTS IN HERITAGE-RICH EUROPEAN CITIES Jones Zachary, Ponzini Davide	85
REFLECTIONS ON INDIVIDUAL MEMORY IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE COGNITIVE CONTEXT Li Cong, Li Jiaying	95
EMERGING NEW MODEL OF URBAN RESIDENTIAL HISTORICAL BUILT-UP AREA RENEWAL IN CHINA: FIVE PRACTICE OF URBAN RENEWAL IN SHENZHEN, GUANGZHOU AND SHANGHAI Long Jiayu, Gang Liu	119
PARADOXES OF THE ITALIAN HISTORIC CENTRES BETWEEN UNDERUTILISATION AND PLANNING POLICIES FOR SUSTAINABILITY Pellegrini Paola, Micelli Ezio	132
ALPINE INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPES IN TRANSITION. TOWARDS A TRANSFERABLE STRATEGY FOR BROWNFIELD TRANSFORMATION IN MOUNTAIN REGIONS. Modica Marcello, Weilacher Udo	147
BUILT HERITAGE AND LANDSCAPE ROLE IN THE ROME METROPOLITAN PLAN Nucci Lucia	166
THE PRODUCTION OF HERITAGE Pace Michela, Chandler Alan	172
DEVELOPING TRANSFORMATION STRATEGIES FOR ALPINE INDUSTRIAL LANDSCAPES SHOWN BY THE STYRIAN IRON ROUTE IN AUSTRIA Pechhacker Julia, Forster Julia	182
LET'S TALK ABOUT CHANGE - EXPERIENCES FROM A VIDEO EXHIBITION CONFRONTING THE PUBLIC WITH URBAN AND LANDSCAPE TRANSITION BY REVISITING THE ORIGINAL SITES OF RELOCATED HISTORICAL MUSEUMS BUILDINGS TO VIEW THESE SITES IN THEIR CURRENT STATE Schretzenmayr Martina, Casaulta-Meyer Simona	196



Table of Contents

THE INFLUENCES AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE EUROPEAN CAPITAL OF CULTURE ON INTANGIBLE HERITAGE: NOVI SAD 2021 Stupar Aleksandra, Camprag Nebojša, Polić Darko	209
URBAN DESIGN METHODS OF SHANGHAI TILANQIAO HISTORIC DISTRICT UNDER THE BACKGROUND OF URBAN RENEWAL Sun Xinyu	223
IN SUPPORT OF GLOBAL INTEGRATED LANDSCAPE INITIATIVES: EXPERIENCES FROM THE GREEN HEART IN THE NETHERLANDS Tisma Alexandra, Meijer Johan	236
BUILT HERITAGE AND AGENDA 2030. EMBEDDING HERITAGE VALUES IN THE SPATIAL PLANNING LOCAL AGENDA Trillo Claudia	248
WHO IS AFRAID OF TRANSITION? MONITORING THE IMPACT OF TRANSFORMATION ON HISTORICAL RURAL LANDSCAPES AS INDICATOR OF COMMUNITIES' CHANGING NEEDS Vigotti Francesca	261
RECONSTRUCTING PUBLIC HISTORY THROUGH EUROPEAN SETTLER AND INDIGENOUS HERITAGE AND LANDSCAPE Walker Ryan	272
SUSTAINABLE PROTECTION OF CHINESE HUMAN-HABITAT HISTORICAL ENVIRONMENT FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF TRANSITION:CASES STUDY OF TRADITIONAL VILLAGES AND ANCIENT CITY OF PINGYAO IN SHANXI PROVINCE Xu Xiwei, Yin Xi, Li Yang	290
TRANSFORMATION OF ROADS' FEATURE PROTECTION: STATUS AND FUTURE THINKINGS OF SHANGHAI'S FEATURE-PROTECTED ROADS:BASED ON THE CASE OF YUYUAN ROAD IN SHANGHAI Zhou Yeyuan, Xueyan Wang	301
 PA 03 Urban design for multilevel planning	
WHAT ROLE DO URBAN POLICIES PLAY IN ENHANCING THE SATISFACTION FROM NEIGHBOURHOOD OPEN SPACES IN MIXED-USE CITY CENTRES: LESSON FROM AUCKLAND Amirshekari Razno Salma, Beattie Lee, Silva Cristian Alejandro	315
OPPORTUNITIES, INNOVATION, AND LEGITIMACY IN PUBLIC-PRIVATE COLLABORATION. LESSONS FROM FRENCH PRACTICES Ariani Camilla, Donvito Giacinto	327
ROME CAPITAL REGION: REASONS AND SCOPE OF A DIFFERENT PROSPECTIVE Caudo Giovanni , Baioni Mauro, de Strobel de Haustadt E Schwanenfeld Lorenzo	352
EXPLORING IBA BASEL – ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF TRINATIONAL COOPERATION AND THE RESULTING PERSPECTIVES FOR THE POST IBA PERIOD Förster Agnes , Frieling Katharina, Thissen Fee Natalie	360
THE ROLE OF PARTICIPATORY PLANNING METHODS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC SPACES: A SYSTEMATIC CASE STUDIES REVIEW ON SUSTAINABLE URBAN GOVERNANCE Geddes Ilaria, Charalambous Nadia, Papallas Andreas	375
LIVING APARTMENT BUILDINGS IN ANKARA AND THEIR RELATION WITH THE CITY Gedikli Bahar	389
RESEARCH ON RENEWAL OF LEFTOVER SPACES BASED ON MULTI-ACTOR PLANNING Guo YUCHEN, Baykurt Burçin, Dai Shuyuan	410
CITY AS A TRANSFORMATIONAL TOOL. THE INFINITY CITIES OF IVAN LEONIDOV Lanini Luca	433
PARTICIPATION AND COMMUNICATION: CHANGSHA CHILDREN FRIENDLY CITY PLANNING, DESIGN AND ACTIONS ON MULTIPLE LEVELS Li Ziyue, Ze Zhang	444



Table of Contents

A MULTILEVEL URBAN LANDSCAPE MEASUREMENT FOR ZONING CONTROL – A CASE STUDY OF GUSHAN KAOHSIUNG IN TAIWAN Li Jouhui, Han-Liang Lin	460
THE ROLE OF CLIMATHON® IN THE CHALLENGE OF MULTILEVEL ECOLOGICAL PLANNING Lorenzo Viviana, Massari Martina	479
INTERDISCIPLINARY METHODOLOGY FOR RETHINKING THE URBAN LAYOUT VIA MULTI CRITERIA ANALYSIS AND INDICATOR APPLICATION Luciani Francesca Romana, Caccamo Alessio, Herzog Lavinia, Nigro Silvia, Tommasoli Lavinia	488
COLLABORATIVE PROCESSES AND SPATIAL PLANNING: THE NATIONAL SPATIAL PLANNING POLICY IN PORTUGAL Maia Catarina, Sá Marques Teresa	499
FROM TRADITIONAL NEIGHBORHOODS TO URBAN ENCLAVES: AN INVESTIGATION ON THE RESIDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR RESIDENTIAL TERRITORIES Memlük Çobanoğlu Nihan Oya, Akkar Ercan Müge	514
THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WORKING PLACE OF THE CREATIVE CLASS: THE CASE OF FASHION DESIGNERS IN ISTANBUL NISANTASI Olçay Gülsen Pelin, Mengin Hande	528
AN INCLUSIVE, MULTILEVEL PLANNING EXPERIENCE TO REGENERATE MILAN METROPOLITAN PERIPHERIES Pezzoni Nausicaa	545
CHARACTERISTIC OF FLEXIBLE SPACE OF TRADITIONAL URBAN STREET UNDER THE CONCEPT OF HEALTHY CITY: CASE STUDY OF MUSLIM SETTLEMENTS IN XI'AN Ren Yunying, Bai Shuaishuai, Wang Ruoyu	555
ASSESSING TERRITORIAL VULNERABILITIES AND SPATIAL INEQUALITIES: THE CASE OF PORTUGAL Marques Teresa, Saraiva Miguel, Matos Fátima, Maia Catarina, Ribeiro Diogo, Ferreira Márcio, Amante Ana	566
GRENOBLE-ALPES AND THE ECOLOGICAL TRANSITION: TERRITORIAL PLANNING IN MOTION Seigneuret Natacha	577
THE SPATIAL DIMENSION OF THE FLEMISH COVENANT OF MAYORS: A COMPARATIVE SPATIAL ANALYSIS ON THE TRANSITION TOWARDS ENERGY NEUTRAL MUNICIPALITIES Van Noordt Anneloes	591
SENSING OLDER PEOPLE'S LIVED EXPERIENCES THROUGH VISUAL IMAGES IN SINGAPORE Yuen Belinda	602
PRIVATIZATION, MARGINALIZATION AND REUSE OF WATERFRONT SPACE IN NEW TOWN - TAKING ZHANGJIANG SCIENCE CITY ZHONGSHI UNIT AS AN EXAMPLE Zhang Shuhan, Zhang Hanghua	613
STUDY ON THE CONSTRUCTION STRATEGY OF GREEN SPACE IN URBAN SHALLOW MOUNTAIN AREA—TAKING XISHAN MILITARY INDUSTRY COMMUNITY IN WULITUN AREA OF BEIJING AS AN EXAMPLE Zhao Xiyao, Zhuang Hang, Lin Qing	633

PA04 Teaching planning for the transition

THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY IN THE PROMOTION OF SOCIO-SPATIAL JUSTICE Álvarez de Andrés Eva, Falleiros Frare Ulises	645
RESEARCHING SCHOOLS VS RESEARCHING WITH SCHOOLS. AN URBAN RESEARCH LABORATORY EXPERIENCE IN AN ITALIAN HIGH SCHOOL Aliberti Francesco, Avellini Elisa	654
RECONFIGURING TEACHING/LEARNING/ACTION/RESEARCH: APPARATUS FOR SOCIO-SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION WITH/IN DISADVANTAGED RURAL REGIONS Baxter Jamie	661



Table of Contents

INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLANNING - POLISH PRATICE AND DIDACTIC CHALLENGES Churski Pawel	679
TEACHING URBAN PLANNING THROUGH INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION PROJECT WITH AFRICAN CITIES IN VERY FAST TRANSITION TIMES De Leo Daniela, Coralli Monica	694
A COLLABORATIVE LEARNING APPROACH TO PROMOTE POSITIVE INTERDEPENDENCE IN A “PLANNING SUSTAINABLE CITIES” COURSE Martinez Javier	699
TRAINING YOUNG PLANNERS AS EXPERTS IN PARTICIPATORY PROCESSES: THOUGHTS AND EXPERIENCES FROM PALERMO, ITALY Picone Marco, Schilleci Filippo	714
CREATING SHARED CONSCIOUSNESS THROUGH COLLABORATIVE EDUCATION: THE CASE OF MUNICIPAL AMALGAMATION IN UKRAINE Vlasenko Iegor, Thomann Urs	721
INCLUSIVE EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING AT GRADUATE LEVEL PLANNING STUDIO: A COLLABORATIVE GOVERNANCE CASE Waite Imge Akcakaya, Alkay Elif, Becerik Sinem	739
“COLLABORATIVE INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOPS – A JOINT BRAZILIAN-GERMAN TEACHING EXPERIENCE FOR PLANNING IN VULNERABLE AREAS COLLECTIVE LEARNING ON PLANNING FOR INTEGRATION AND TRANSITION” Wolff Almut, Leitão Gerônimo	762
PA05 Institutional change and regional transition	
THE ROLE AND THE FUTURE OF SMALL TOWNS IN THE CENTRAL ITALY EARTHQUAKE CRATER 2016 AND “THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE POSSIBLE”, PARTICIPATORY WORKSHOP FOR A POST-EARTHQUAKE DEVELOPMENT PLAN IN BOLOGNOLA Baiocco Ruben, Catalanotti Cristina, Ernesti Giulio, Barbiero Massimiliano	773
BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. EU AND CHINA'S COMPETING SPATIAL INTEGRATION LOGICS FOR THE WESTERN BALKAN REGION Berisha Erblin, Cotella Giancarlo	779
BUILDING RESILIENCE THROUGH COLLECTIVE LEARNING IN PROJECT-ORIENTED ORGANIZATIONS IN INFRASTRUCTURE PLANNING De Groot Bert, Leendertse Wim, Arts Jos	795
IN-BETWEEN DYNAMICS. TOWARDS A RECONCEPTUALIZATION OF SOFT SPACES IN REGIONAL PLANNING De Jong Martine, Hajer Maarten, Hoffman Jesse	810
METROPOLITAN GOVERNANCE IN MEXICO: THE INSTITUTIONS Demerutis-Arenas Juan Ángel	832
“THERE IS NO WAY OF SPEAKING LOGICALLY ABOUT THIS MESS”: THE IMPACT OF ACTOR-RELATIONAL DYNAMICS ON INTEGRATED PLANNING PRACTICE Eräranta Susa, Mladenovic Miloš N.	846
REGIONAL INNOVATION AND THE NEW TERRITORIAL GOVERNANCE. FRENCH AND SPANISH CASES García-Nicolás Cristina	858
REGIONAL TRANSITION, TERRITORIAL DIFFERENTIATION, COMPOSITION FOR SUSTAINABLE TRAJECTORY Verpraet Gilles	872
SETTING UP THE NEW PLANNING SYSTEM IN KOSOVO - EVOLUTION AND INFLUENCES IN THE DEVELOPMENT Gjinolli Ilir	891
RESPONSIBILISATION IN FISH HABITAT REHABILITATION AND STEWARDSHIP Gregory Kieran, Grant-Smith Deanna	912



Table of Contents

SPATIAL EVOLUTION CHARACTERISTICS AND THE PLANNING COORDINATION MECHANISM OF CROSS-BORDER REGIONS IN RESCALING Huang Yinbo	925
RESEARCH ON REGION GOVERNANCE CHARACTER AND MECHANISM OF SUBURBAN COUNTIES SURROUNDING METROPOLITANS IN CENTRAL CHINA Huang Yong, Sun Xuyang	937
SPATIAL GOVERNANCE AND PLANNING SYSTEMS AND THE CAPACITY FOR PUBLIC CONTROL OF SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT: A EUROPEAN TYPOLOGY Berisha Erblin, Cotella Giancarlo, Janin Rivolin Umberto, Solly Alys	951
ASPERN EXPLAINED: HOW THE DISCURSIVE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF INFRASTRUCTURE PLANNING SHAPED NORTH-EASTERN VIENNA'S URBAN TRANSFORMATION Krisch Astrid, Suitner Johannes	965
"OBSERVING GOVERNANCE FROM THE 'STREET LEVEL' AN INVESTIGATION ON FIRST ACCESS SERVICES IN BOLOGNA, EMILIA ROMAGNA, ITALY" Marani Benedetta	985
INSTITUTIONAL PATTERNS FOR METROPOLITAN GOVERNANCE IN LAC COUNTRIES. THE DIFFERENTIATED EVIDENCE FROM BOLIVIA AND BRAZIL Pioletti Maurizio, Royer Luciana de Oliveira, Urquieta Crespo Patricia	1005
TERRITORIAL PLANNING AND URBAN TRANSFORMATIVE CAPACITIES. PRELIMINARY REFLECTIONS ON THE CASE OF VALENCIA IN SPAIN Segura-Calero Sergio, Peris Jordi	1026
URBAN RENEWAL MECHANISM IN MINORITY NATIONALITY AREAS OF CHINA IN THE NEW ERA Shen Cheng, Zhang Xinyi	1040
GRAND PARIS OR ÎLE-DE-FRANCE? COMPARING TWO INSTITUTIONAL MODELS FOR TRANSITIONING TO SUSTAINABLE TRANSPORT IN THE ÎLE-DE-FRANCE REGION Singerman Ray Rosalie, Maaoui Magda	1051
GOVERNANCE AND POWER IN THE METROPOLITAN REGIONS OF THE RANDSTAD Spaans Marjolein, Zonneveld Wil, Stead Dominic	1058
ADVISABILITY OF REINTRODUCING THE BUILDING CODE DOCUMENT TO CANTON SARAJEVO SPATIAL AND URBAN PLANNING LEGISLATION Tabori Nataša	1081
THE NEW DYNAMICS BETWEEN REGIONAL AND URBAN GOVERNANCE: RURAL AREAS AS CONNECTION ELEMENT Torrìsi Luca	1100

PA06 Methods and technologies for transformative planning

TERRITORY AS MEDIA AND SOCIAL MEDIA AS TERRITORY Aliberti Francesco	1116
TECHNOLOGY READINESS FOR CITIES: THE NEAR-FUTURE CASE OF AUTONOMOUS PASSENGER DRONES Donnet Timothy	1126
THE SYSTEM OF SOCIO-SPATIAL DIVERSITY MONITORING IN THE CITY OF GDANSK, POLAND Gralewska Anna	1133
URBAN PLANNING AND NATURE: PARAMETRIC MODELLING AS A TOOL FOR RESPONSIVE GREENING OF CITIES Lemes de Oliveira Fabiano , Hamdan Dana	1143
MAPPING THE LANDSCAPE OF BEHAVIOURAL THEORIES: SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW (SHORT REVIEW OF) Kwon Heeseo Rain, Silva Elisabete A.	1156



Table of Contents

A TRANSDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVE ON CITY TECHNOLOGIES: TOUCHPOINTS BETWEEN INFORMATICS AND URBAN DISCIPLINES Lupi Lucia	1161
TOWARDS A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF UPCOMING CHALLENGES RELATED TO TECHNOLOGY AND DATA USABILITY WITHIN DESIGN PRACTICE. KEY REFLECTIONS FROM A COLLABORATIVE PROCESS IN AMSTERDAM CITY Luque-Martín Irene	1178
LANDSUPPORT, A DECISION SUPPORT SYSTEM FOR TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT Coppola Emanuele, Moccia Francesco Domenico	1192
A KNOWLEDGE-DRIVEN APPROACH TO URBAN TRANSFORMATIONS: DENSIFICATION STRATEGY OF THE CENTRAL PARTS OF BERGEN, NORWAY Roald Hans Jacob, Elric de Koning Remco	1203
SÃO PAULO CITY GIS PLATFORM: GEOSAMPA Seo He Nem Kim, Aguilar Carolina Bracco Delgado de	1217
EXPLORING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN URBAN VITALITY AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF AMENITY TYPOLOGIES Sulis Patrizia, Manley Ed	1226
THE MAPPING OF HISTORICAL STREETS ON SOCIAL MEDIA: A CASE STUDY BASED ON IMAGE RECOGNITION AND SEMANTIC RECOGNITION Tang Haoming, Wang Weiqiang	1235
COMMUNITY-BASED DATA FOR A NEW TAXONOMY OF ABANDONED PLACES Garda Emanuele, Saloriani Stefano, Villa Daniele	1247
 PA07 Community-based planning and social innovation	
THE SELF-BUILD HOUSING IN MADRID (SPAIN): 40 YEARS OF STRUGGLE Álvarez de Andrés Eva	1257
NEW ROLES FOR ADMINISTRATIONS, PLANNERS AND CITIZENS IN THE SELF-ORGANIZATION VIEW Belingardi Chiara	1263
TERRITORIAL CONFLICTS IN METROPOLITAN AREAS. A REGENERATION PROJECT FOR THE RESURGENCE OF A COMMUNITY Caruso Elisa, Lingua Valeria	1272
CITIES AND SELF-ORGANIZATION. A DISCUSSION STARTING FROM ROME Cellamare Carlo	1280
THE SERIOUS GAME: A LEARNING TOOL TO ENHANCE THE COMMUNITIES IN THE CONTEXT OF SUSTAINABLE CITIES Cravero Sara, Lami Isabella, Abastante Francesca	1290
RESEARCH ON URBAN COMMUNITY MICRO-REGENERATION FROM PERSPECTIVE OF MULTI-ACTOR PARTICIPATION: THE CASE OF YANGPU DISTRICT IN SHANGHAI Fang Jialin, Yang Guiqing	1302
SENSE OF OWNERSHIP: APPLICATION OF PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH APPROACH IN CULTURAL ECOSYSTEM VALUATION PROCESSES IN CONTROVERSIAL URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS Fatourehchi Shabestari Akram, Ruth van Roon Marjorie	1323
LIVING SPACE RESEARCH IN TYPICAL RESIDENTIAL AREAS OF SHANGHAI Fu Yingzi, Wang De	1337
TRANSITION REQUIRES COLLABORATIVE WORK. DISCOVERING AND DEFINING ACTIONS THAT SUPPORT SUPERMIXED CITIES Huybrechts Liesbeth, Penninx Inge, Zaman Jan, De Mulder Sophie, Giaretta Federico, Tack Bram	1349
PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN THE COMMUNITY PLANNING IN CHINA Jia Shuqian, Cao Kang	1363



Table of Contents

ENTREPRENEURIAL NEIGHBORHOOD PLANNING BASED ON MULTI-STAKEHOLDERS CO-CREATION Jiang Chenhan, Li Chen	1365
EXPLORATIONS ON THE ACTIVATION ROUTE OF GATED COMMUNITY BOUNDARY SPACE BASED ON COMMUNITY MICRO-RENOVATION—A CASE STUDY OF SHANGHAI Kai Xin, Yang Guiqing	1377
“STOP THE CHILD MURDER”: HOW A GRASSROOTS MOVEMENT FOR CHILDREN’S SAFETY FORMED A NEW PARADIGM IN URBAN DESIGN Katsavounidou Garyfallia	1397
URBAN MICRO-RENOVATION BASED ON ACTION RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: A CASE STUDY OF YIFENGLI, HONGKOU DISTRICT, SHANGHAI Li Qing, Lin Ni	1407
“THE ROLE OF ACTIVIST RESEARCHERS IN URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING. ANALYSING AND COMPARING INTERNATIONAL CASE STUDIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE” Scaffidi Federica, Franco Monica Lopez, Mottee Lara, Sharkey Megan	1416
NETWORKING COLLECTIVE KNOWLEDGE TO FOSTER CHANGE. THE CASE OF SANSHEROES NETWORK (SAN SIRO, MILAN) Maranghi Elena	1434
LET’S MEET AT THE URBAN COURTYARD! THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN MICRO-SCALE URBAN REGENERATION IN KRAKOW Miskowiec Magdalena	1443
LOST OR FOUND IN TRANSLATION? TRANSLATING INNOVATIVE FORMS OF PARTICIPATION INTO FORMAL DECISION MAKING Ringholm Toril	1456
TRANSFORMATION OF GROWN CITY CENTRES Schaumann Elisabeth, Simon-Philipp Christina	1474
CO-CREATING COLLECTIVE IMAGINATION. HOW TO PRODUCE THOUGHT-IMAGES FOR URBAN REFRAMING? Schreurs Jan E.a.	1485
STREET-LEVEL DEMOCRACY? URBAN PROFESSIONALS AS PARTICIPATORY INNOVATORS IN NEIGHBOURHOOD PLANNING PROCESSES Van Aanholt Jelle, Spanjar Gideon, De Nijs Karin, Suurenbroek Frank, Majoor Stan	1497
PLANNING FOR TRANSITION AND THE MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES ON DEMOCRATIC LEGITIMACY Wolff Almut	1514
CULTURAL STAKING: TRANSITION OF THE CORE PUBLIC SPACE OF RURAL SETTLEMENTS Yang Guiqing, Xiao Yinghe	1524

PA08 Theorizing urban change: complexity and ethics

REBUILDING THE PLANNING SYSTEM: THE TRANSITION TOWARDS PROFESSIONAL ANTAGONISM IN THE UPHILL BATTLE OF MADRID NUEVO NORTE Aparicio Angel, Arias Félix	1537
SEX (ROLES) AND THE CITY Belingardi Chiara	1548
MANAGING RELIGIOUS MEGA-EVENT IN A MUNDANE URBAN COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF MUSLIM EID AL-FITR IN HUXI MOSQUE, SHANGHAI Cai Tong, Zhang Ze	1554
THE RIGHT TO HOUSING: FROM OCCUPATION TO TRANSITORY COLLECTIVE HOUSING IN TURIN. THE CASE OF VIA LA SALETTE Cottino Valeria, Gai Veronica, Masetto Annalisa, Sacco Paola	1559
URBAN AGRICULTURE AND THE SOCIAL ROLE OF URBANISM: PLANNING AND ETHICS FOR COMMUNITIES AND TERRITORIES Marat-Mendes Teresa, Cunha Borges João	1569



Table of Contents

TOWARDS POST-HUMAN URBANISM Lapintie Kimmo	1584
COMMUNICATION THROUGH VISUALIZATION: THE PURPOSE, ROLE AND STYLE OF VISUALIZATIONS IN URBAN PLANNING Mikulcik Burcu	1595
DESIGN IN THE ANTHROPOCENE: AN OPENING TO THE OTHER Rispoli Micol	1603

PA09 Transition paths and urban futures

LANDING. THE NEED FOR A RENEWED URBAN VOCABULARY FOR HOSPITALITY (AND THE CITY) Bovo Martina	1615
UNDERSTANDING THE URBANITE-ORIENTED PERFORMANCE OF ECOSYSTEM SERVICE I N PERI-URBAN AREAS: AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK Liu Shuang , Li Zhipeng, Yan Kai, Chen Chen	1625
SUSPENDED TERRITORIES AND WINDOWS OF OPPORTUNITY AFTER THE 2016 EARTHQUAKE IN CENTRAL ITALY Francucci Marco Emanuel	1637
LITHUANIA AT THE CROSSROADS: EXPERIENCE FROM THE ‘MAKING’ OF A NATIONAL SPATIAL PLAN Gauce Kristina, Ratkute-Skackauskiene Giedre, Jakutyte-Walangitang Daiva, Neubert Nikolas	1645
BREX CITY: CURRENT AND FUTURE URBANITIES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM/REPUBLIC OF IRELAND BORDER Jefferies Tom	1660
BUILDING URBAN FUTURES THROUGH AN EXPLORATORY PROJECT: HOW CAN INNOVATIVE DESIGN APPROACHES BE USED TO REGENERATE URBAN PLANNING ROUTINES? Lavoie Nicolas, Abrassart Christophe, Scherrer Franck	1670
ADAPTATION. A METAPHOR FOR THE AGE OF CLIMATE CHANGE Magnabosco Giacomo, Bertin Mattia, Fabian Lorenzo	1686
QUESTIONS OF JUSTICE IN HYDROLOGICAL EXTREMES: ADVANCED REVIEW Savelli Elisa, Rusca Maria, Di Baldassarre Giuliano	1698
THE STRATEGIC DILEMMA OF AN OPEN AND CLOSED APPROACH OF TRANSITIONAL CHANGE. COMPARING THREE TRANSITION PATHS TO SUSTAINABILITY IN THE NETHERLANDS. Van der Wouden Ries	1710

PA10 Climate proof cities and resilient societies

URBAN RESILIENCE TO DISASTERS: A POLICY CASE FROM TURKEY Adikutlu Selin, Şenol Balaban Meltem	1726
CLIMATE CHANGE IMPACTS IN THREE REGIONS OF GREECE: INTERCONNECTIONS WITH REGIONAL PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS AND PLANNING POLICIES Angra Dimitra, Sapountzaki Kalliopi	1734
URBAN GREEN SPACES IN TRANSITION: URBAN SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL RESILIENCE IN THE REGION FRANKFURT RHINE-MAIN—A REVIEW Bilgic Pinar	1754
A STUDY ON ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FLOOD PROTECTION STANDARD - A CASE STUDY OF DALI RIVER BASIN IN TAIWAN Chang Hsueh-Sheng, Katayama Takahiro	1770
CLIMATE JUSTICE AND INTEGRATED FLOODING RISK ASSESSMENT AND MANAGEMENT: A FRAMEWORK AND CASE STUDIES IN USA AND TAIWAN Cheng Chingwen, Chiang Li-Chun, Yao George C., Chou Wen-Jyun	1780



Table of Contents

LAND POLICY TOOLS IN FLOOD RISK GOVERNANCE: THE DIFFERENTIATED EXPERIENCES ARISING FROM THE BASINS OF THE RIVERS EVROS (GREECE) AND SCHELDT (BELGIUM)	1788
Delladetsimas Pavlos Marinos, Katsigianni Xenia, Van den Broeck Pieter , Hiergens Ide	
STUDY ON COUNTERMEASURES AND SPATIAL POTENTIAL OF CHINA'S COASTAL CITIES IN RESPONSE TO HEATWAVE AND FLOOD HAZARDS	1800
Feng Ning, Li Yang	
ERRATIC CLIMATE CHANGE PLANNING: THE GOLD COAST'S ALTERNATING TRANSITION	1821
Howes Michael, Dedekorkut-Howes Aysin	
ENHANCING CITIES' RESILIENCE IN THE FACE OF MULTIPLE CHALLENGES: ON-GOING EXPERIENCES IN ITALIAN AND GREEK CITIES	1833
Limongi Giada, Salata Konstantina-Dimitra, Galderisi Adriana	
FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF ECOSYSTEM SERVICE : A STUDY OF FUNCTIONAL REGIONALIZATION IN CHIAYI CITY, TAIWAN	1854
Lin Chia-Ming, Chang Hsueh-Sheng	
RESEARCH ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF "SPONGE CAMPUS" FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF LOW IMPACT DEVELOPMENT - A CASE STUDY OF JIANGPU CAMPUS OF NANJING TECH UNIVERSITY	1863
Ling Lin, Dai Shenzhi	
CONVENING REGIONAL CLIMATE COLLABORATIVES: A CROSS-COMPARISON OF US CASES	1879
Margerum Richard D, Adams Steve, Bruce Josh	
SENSING THE CITY: CLIMATE CHANGES AND ADVANCED TECHNOLOGIES	1889
Fusero Paolo, Massimiano Lorenzo	
COOPERATIVE BRIDGES: THE ROLE OF RISK PERCEPTION IN CONSTRUCTION OF RESILIENT COMMUNITIES	1895
Monno Valeria, Frisullo Daniela	
BEYOND BARRIERS: EXPLORING THE FUTURES OF CLIMATE INFRASTRUCTURE ON THE VENETIAN LAGOON	1907
Toro Barragan Vanessa, Chan Collyn, Haney Elizabeth, Mohyuddin Azka, Ocampo Mary Anne, Ofsevit Ari, Purdy Bella, Smith Mary Hannah, Wong Angela	
PLANNING AND ARCHITECTURE FOR CLIMATE ADAPTATION: THE EXPERIENCES OF THE "STRUCTURE-TERRITORIES" IN LOW AND HIGH DENSITY CITY	1924
Serrelì Silvia, Sanna Gianfranco, Biddau Giovanni Maria, Spanedda Pier Paolo, Chemli Nesrine	
FLOOD: CAN MIAMI LEARN FROM VENEZIA (OR THE OPPOSITE)	1941
WASHER CHRISTOPHE	
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF LOCAL CLIMATE CHANGE ADAPTATION PLANS FOR NATURAL DISASTER RISK REDUCTION IN SOUTH KOREA	1952
Yoon Dong Keun, Cho Seong Yun, Choi Yeon Woo, Jang Jung Woo	
RESILIENT PLANNING OF CHINESE DELTA CITIES UNDER CLIMATE CHANGE	1968
Zhang Xinyi, Shen Cheng	

PA11 Urban metabolism and circular economy

CIRCULAR ECONOMY IN URBAN PROJECTS: A CASE STUDIES ANALYSIS OF CURRENT PRACTICES AND TOOLS	1981
Appendino Federica, Roux Charlotte, Saadé Myriam, Peupartier Bruno	
URBAN METABOLISM AND THE CIRCULAR ECONOMY , THE CAPITAL APPROACH	1996
Hunt Peter	
LOCAL MANUFACTURING SYSTEMS IN THE PIEDMONT AREA. NEW SCENARIOS FOR AN INLAND METABOLISM	2009
Leonardi Maria	
RESEARCH ON THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF INTEGRATED URBAN WATER SYSTEM PLANNING BASED ON WATER CYCLE THEORY	2025
Liu Feiping, Dai Shenzhi	



Table of Contents

THE GOVERNANCE OF THE CIRCULAR ECONOMY: INSIGHTS FROM THE VENETO REGION Church Jon Marco , Lucertini Giulia, Bellinato Giacomo, Guolo Erika, Pizzo Giovanna, Bonomin Giulia	2043
BRINGING WASTE TO THE FOREGROUND OF CITIES. TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE TRANSITION MANAGEMENT IN THE URBAN REGION OF NAPLES (ITALY) Berruti Gilda, Palestino Maria Federica	2064
DATA CENTER AND THE CITY: A POTENTIAL FOR URBAN SYNERGIES Ramos Cáceres Cristina, Sandberg Marcus, Sotoca Adolfo	2072
RETHINKING ORGANIC WASTE STREAMS AS METABOLIC DRIVERS FOR IMPROVING URBAN SUSTAINABILITY AND AGROECOLOGICAL PRACTICES Stempfle Sarah, Tornaghi Chiara, Reho Matelda	2081
PA12 Housing, gentrification and socio-spatial dynamics	
HOUSING POLICIES BEYOND NUMBERS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY IN PORTUGAL AND ITALY Di Giovanni Caterina Francesca, Antunes Gonçalo	2088
HIGH-DENSITY LIVING IN HONG KONG FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF TEENAGERS Hao Pu	2107
REACH HOMES - A CRITICAL EXTENSION OF DWELLING Holden Samuel	2117
IDENTIFYING THE IMPACTS OF UNION STATIONS ON HOUSING PRICE IN KAOHSIUNG CITY, TAIWAN HSU Cheng-Kai, Chen Yen-Jong	2128
THE POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STATE AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES' ACTIVITIES IN RESISTING FINANCIALISATION OF THE HOUSING SECTORS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES Lis Piotr	2136
SUBURBS AND SUBSIDIZED HOUSING IN THE UNITED STATES: WHAT MAKES SOME SUBURBS MORE RECEPTIVE TO LOW-INCOME HOUSING TAX CREDIT HOUSING THAN OTHERS? McClure Kirk, Schwartz Alex	2144
GENTRIFICATION AND COMMUNITY-LED DESIGN: RENEGOTIATION AND LIMITATION OF THE RENT GAP IN THE UK Morton Tom	2168
ICD-AN ALTERNATIVE AFFORDABLE HOUSING INITIATIVE Nautiyal Nidhi	2180
HOUSES BEYOND-THE-THRESHOLD. A NEW PARADIGM OF HOUSING FOR THE THIRD MILLENNIUM Pezzoni Nausicaa	2196
HOUSING DEFICIT AND HOUSING OPPORTUNITIES: IMPLEMENTING COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP IN THE CENTRE OF SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL. THE CASE OF FICA FUND Pioletti Maurizio, Cymbalista Renato	2209
CHICANA NEIGHBORHOOD ACTIVISM: GENDER, RACE, AND URBAN PLANNING Sandoval Gerardo, Sosa-Riddell Citlali, Sosa-Riddell Ada	2219
MASS HOUSING, RELOCATION, AND MOTHERS' AND CHILDREN'S RESIDENTIAL SATISFACTION: EVIDENCE FROM ANKARA Severcan Yucel Can	2236
"RETHINKING PARTNERSHIPS FOR AFFORDABLE HOUSING: PLANNING POLICY DESIGN NEXUS" Tsenkova Sasha	2253
DISPOSSESSION OF THE POOR THROUGH AN URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT IN NARLIDERE IZMIR, TURKEY Uysal Ayça, Arslan Avar Adile	2264



Table of Contents

THE POTENTIAL OF ALTERNATIVE HOUSING INITIATIVES TO ‘TRANSFORM’ THE HOUSING SECTOR: EXAMPLES FROM NEW YORK CITY AND BERLIN Yonder Ayse Nilufer, Brunzema Meta	2280
THE SPATIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND SUPPLY OF URBAN AFFORDABLE HOUSING - AN INTERNATIONAL COMPARATIVE STUDY Zhang Xiuning, Yang Fan	2288
PA13 Healthy City Planning: Food, Physical Activity and Social Justice	
EMERGING PLACES OF SOCIAL INNOVATION (POSI). THE CO-PRODUCTION OF SPACE BETWEEN MULTILEVEL STAKEHOLDERS: THE CASE OF PRODUCTIVE URBAN GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE Ardill Nicholas, Lemes de Oliveira Fabiano	2303
HEALTHY NEIGHBORHOODS ALONG AN URBAN TO RURAL GRADIENT Carver Rial	2320
THE IMPORTANCE OF BUILT ENVIRONMENT: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND SPATIAL PATTERNING OF TYPE 2 DIABETES IN PUDONG DISTRICT, SHANGHAI Chen Sijia, Yu Yifan	2334
DOES THE CONNECTIVITY OF URBAN PUBLIC GREEN SPACE PROMOTE USE? AN EMPIRICAL STUDY OF WUHAN INNER CITY Dong Yuping, Liu Helin, Zheng Tianming	2346
STUDY OF THE INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN URBAN MICRO PUBLIC SPACE MORPHOLOGY AND MICROCLIMATE Han Shanshan, Song Dexuan	2361
A RESEARCH FRAMEWORK OF URBAN SPATIAL PLANNING REGULATION BASED ON CARDIOVASCULAR HEALTH IN THE CONTEXT OF SEVERE COLD CLIMATE Li Shuyuan, Leng Hong	2373
THE CONSTRUCTION OF PEDESTRIAN NETWORK IN URBAN BLOCKS: A CASE STUDY Li Wenzhu, Sun Tongyu	2383
“THE REPOSITIONING AND URBANISATION OF HEALTH: NEW HEALTHY PLACES ALONG HOSPITAL-CITY-CONTINUUM AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR HEALTHY CITY PLANNING” Maierhofer Magdalena	2395
PHYSICAL ACTIVITY IN FAMILIES DAILY-LIFE OF SUBURBAN AREAS – THE CASE OF RIO DE MOURO, LISBON METROPOLITAN AREA Marques da Costa Eduarda, Franco Pedro, Marques da Costa Nuno	2406
HEALTHY CITY OF TOMORROW Nucci Lucia	2416
SHAPING CITIES FOR HEALTH TO CONTRAST THE EFFECTS OF CLIMATE CHANGE: THE CCHURE PROPOSAL D’Onofrio Rosalba , Odoguardi Ilaria, Trusiani Elio	2423
SUPPLY-DEMAND ANALYSIS OF PARK SERVICES FOR DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS IN COMMUNITY LIFE CIRCLE: A CENTRAL DISTRICT IN SHANGHAI AS A CASE Qiu Ming, Wang Min	2434
WELL-BEING, SOCIAL INTERACTION AND PHYSICAL ACTIVITY: ENCOURAGING HEALTHY BEHAVIOURS THROUGH QUALITY URBAN DESIGN Sepe Marichela	2443
URBAN FARMING IN A RAPID URBAN TRANSFORMATION: COMMUNITY INITIATIVES AND POLICY CHALLENGES IN BANDUNG AND YOGYAKARTA Setiawan Bakti, Tuntung Pandangwati Sri	2451
USING SPATIAL AGGREGATION METHOD OUTCOME TO EXPLAIN THE INFLUENCES OF BUILT ENVIRONMENT ON HEALTH PROFILE Shen Yuanyi, Zhong Mengqi, Zhang Qinglai, Bu Jiatian, Yu Yifan	2466



Table of Contents

THE SPACE-TIME RELATIONS BETWEEN PEDESTRIANS AND STREET VENDORS: A CASE STUDY IN SUIHUA, CHINA Sun Ziwen	2473
WALKABILITY IN FLANDERS (BELGIUM): DEVELOPING A TOOL TO SUPPORT HEALTHY SPATIAL PLANNING. Vervoort Peter, D'Haese Sara, Verdeyen An, Van Acker Ragnar	2486
RESEARCH OF AN INDICATORS SYSTEM FOR THE COMPACT URBAN FORM BASED ON THE HEALTHY CITY CRITERIA Wang Yimin, Fu Bin, Zhang Haoyan, Yang Shaoliang, Hu Ying, Lin Zhongjie	2497
WALKING IN SHANGHAI: STREET PLANNING AND DESIGN BASED ON WALKABILITY Xu Xinxin, Zhao Xiyao	2505
THE INFLUENCE OF COGNIZED NEIGHBORHOOD ENVIRONMENT ON CHILDREN'S HEALTH AND OUTDOOR ACTIVITIES: A CASE STUDY OF SHANGHAI Zhai Baoxin, Zhu Wei	2513
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF URBAN HISTORICAL PARKS TO PHYSICAL ACTIVITY AND PUBLIC HEALTH: A CASE STUDY IN BEIJING, CHINA Zhang Sihan, Liu Xiaoming	2522
EXPLORING ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN STREET NETWORKS AND CYCLING FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF SPACE SYNTAX: AN EMPIRICAL RESEARCH OF YANGPU DISTRICT OF SHANGHAI Wang Lan, Zhou Kaichen	2535
URBAN RIVER REGENERATION AS A TOOL FOR HEALTHY CITY PLANNING: THE CASE OF SHENZHEN FUTIAN RIVER Zordan Mirna, Villani Caterina, Zou Junyu, Talamini Gianni	2546
TEMPORARILY PEDESTRIANISED STREET IN HONG KONG: GOVERNMENTAL STRATEGY OF IMPLEMENTATION AND TACTICS OF APPROPRIATION Villani Caterina, Cheng Yu Hin, Zordan Mirna, Talamini Gianni	2559
 PA14 Planning for accessibility and sustainable mobilities	
COMPARING IMPLEMENTATION APPROACHES IN MOBILITY INNOVATIONS: THE ECCENTRIC PROJECT IN MADRID Aparicio Angel	2573
SUSTAINABLE AND CONNECTED INFRASTRUCTURE NETWORKS AND URBAN REGIONS – TRANSITION TOWARDS INTEGRATED PLANNING OF URBAN NODES ON TEN-T CORRIDORS Arts Jos, Van der Linden Kevin, Van der Werf Sjaak	2584
CARGO HITCHING AS A TOOL TO TRASFORM THE URBAN MOBILITY SYSTEM. INTEGRATING PASSENGERS AND GOODS TRANSPORTATION TOWARDS A MORE SUSTAINABLE, DESIDERABLE AND EFFICIENT MOBILITY Bruzzzone Francesco	2599
AN ON DEMAND TRANSPORT IN A LOW DENSITY AREA OF PORTUGAL - ALENTEJO Carvalheira Carmen	2613
CYCLING TO SCHOOL: EXPLORING KEY FACTORS INFLUENCING SCHOOL-GOING CHILDREN'S MOBILITY CHOICE TO CYCLE IN TALLINN, ESTONIA Kask Õnne, Tan Wendy	2621
HOME PARKING AND COMMUTING: EXPLORING NEW WAYS OF ESTIMATING THE IMPACT OF PARKING ON MOBILITY CHOICES Khazaeian Omid, De Roiste Mairead, Daghlish Toby, Saglam Yigit	2636
ALTERNATIVE DISCOURSE AND NARRATIVES FOR INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IN TRANSPORT PLANNING Muhammad Imran	2647
CLASSIFYING GOVERNANCE INITIATIVES FOR AN EFFECTIVE INTEGRATION OF CAR SHARING WITH URBAN PLANNING AND TRANSPORT SYSTEMS Paganelli Luisiana	2661



Table of Contents

THE RELOCATION OF A CIRCUS SCHOOL FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF MOBILITY OF ITS PARTICIPANTS Penninx Inge, De Mulder Sophie	2671
USING SNAMUTS TO PLAN FOR CHANGE: THE PLACE FOR ACCESSIBILITY MODELLING IN STRATEGIC PLANNING FOR URBAN TRANSITIONS Perkovic Jana, Stone John	2687
NEIGHBOURHOOD WALKING AS TRANSPORT, OUTDOOR RECREATION AND PUBLIC HEALTH Skjeggedal Terje, Vistad Odd Inge, Thorén Kine Halvorsen	2707
STEERING DISRUPTION: A BACKCASTING APPROACH TO GOVERN THE SPATIAL IMPACTS OF THE DIFFUSION OF AUTOMATED VEHICLES IN TURIN Staricco Luca, Rappazzo Valentina, Scudellari Jacopo, Vitale Brovarone Elisabetta	2722
BEYOND THE PLAN: METHODS OF TRIGGERING LONG-TERM CHANGE IN URBAN AND REGIONAL MOBILITY Förster Agnes , Strobel Eva	2732
ANALYSING THE RELATION BETWEEN TERRITORIAL FRAGILITIES AND ACCESSIBILITY: A FOCUS ON INDIVIDUAL DIMENSION AND NEEDS Vendemmia Bruna	2748
ENHANCING URBAN-RURAL CONNECTIVITY IN NON-METROPOLITAN REGIONS: A METHODOLOGY IN SUPPORT TO DECISION-MAKING Vitale Brovarone Elisabetta, Cotella Giancarlo, Staricco Luca	2756
‘STICKY FLOWS’ AND ‘PRODUCTIVE FRICTIONS’: UNTANGLING THE MECHANISMS OF STREET URBANISM Webb Jamme Hue-Tam	2769
PARKING PATTERN AND INFLUENCING FACTORS OF DOCKLESS PUBLIC BICYCLE: CASE STUDY FROM NANSHAN SHENZHEN Xie Zhaoyang, Liu Kun, Zhou Qingfeng	2796
“IMAGINING THE FUTURE OF MY NEIGHBORHOOD”: RESIDENTS’ PERCEPTIONS OF SUSTAINABLE MOBILITY AND REGENERATION AROUND METRO STATIONS IN THE CITY OF THESSALONIKI Papagiannakis Apostolos, Yiannakou Athena, Zachariadou Panagiota	2811
HOW COULD THE INTEGRATION OF LAND USE AND TRANSPORT IN PLANNING PRACTICE CONTRIBUTE ACHIEVING SUSTAINABLE URBAN FORM? – BY A CASE STUDY ANALYSIS OF KINGS’ CROSS AND OLYMPIC LEGACY IN LONDON Yue Yufeng, Shi Haochen	2822
BICYCLE–METRO INTEGRATION FOR THE ‘LAST MILE’ IN SHANGHAI Zhang Ze, Cai Tong	2846

PA15 Planning, Law and Property Right: in the face of transitions

RIGHT TO THE CITY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND CANADIAN CITIES Agrawal Sandeep	2853
“TRANSPPOSITION OF ADVOCACY EXPERIENCE AS TRIPLE-LOOP SOCIAL LEARNING IN ALBANIA: FIGHTING HPPTS IN PROTECTED AREAS FROM THE VJOSA RIVER BASIN TO THE CANYONS OF OSUMI” Bekteshi Arba, Misho Erinda	2857
MONITORING AND ENFORCEMENT OF SHORT-TERM RENTALS RULES. MISSION IMPOSSIBLE? Calor Inês, Magarotto Mateus	2868
COMMON VALUE: TRANSFERRING DEVELOPMENT RIGHTS IN THE FACE OF CLIMATE CHANGE CHALLENGES Dyca Besmira	2878
URBAN-LEGAL PARADIGMS SUPPORTING POST-MILLENNIAL EVICTION: THE ROLE OF THE COURTS IN DISPLACEMENT PRACTICES Jahn Verri Fernanda	2895



Table of Contents

RESEARCH ON THE IMPLEMENTATION MECHANISM OF PRIVATELY OWNED PUBLIC SPACE - PLANNING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PUBLICLY TRANSFERRED LAND IN FUZHOU CITY 2008-2017 Jiang Hong	2909
LEGITIMACY CRISIS OF THE VILLAGE PLANNING IN CHINA AND ITS RESOLUTION Li Yanqun, Geng Hong	2916
LAND USE PLANNING, TOURISM INTENSIFICATION AND REGULATION OF SHORT TERM COMMERCIAL VISITOR ACCOMMODATION: THE CASE OF EDINBURGH McCarthy John	2932
EVALUATION OF THE LAND VALUE CAPTURE (LVC) EXPERIENCE IN THE CITY OF SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL Nobre Eduardo	2940
UNINTENDED OUTCOMES OF THE MARKETIZED HOUSING AGENDA IN SWEDEN: THE TROLLS THAT NEVER WERE INVITED WHO WE NOW HAVE TO DEAL WITH Norén Bretzer Ylva	2948
NEOLIBERAL GOVERNANCE AND ACCUMULATION BY DISPOSSESSION IN KARABURUN PENINSULA, IZMIR, TURKEY Özcan Cive Yagmur, Arslan Avar Adile	2964
MASTERS IN TRANSITION? Rezac VIT	2977
IMPLEMENTATION PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL AND TECHNICAL INFRASTRUCTURE IN TURKISH SETTLEMENTS Subasi Gulden, Sence Turk Sevkiye	2985
 PA16 Tourism, public spaces and urban cultures	
INTERRELATION BETWEEN INCLUSIVITY OF PUBLIC SPACES AND SOCIAL COHESION: METAMORPHOSIS OF A HISTORICAL PARK IN ANKARA, TURKEY Akkar Ercan Müge, Oya Memlük Nihan	2998
WHERE THE STREETS HAVE NAMES Barbieri Lorenzo	3005
TRANSITIONAL APPROACH FOR ENHANCING PLACE-BASED AND COLLABORATIVE POLICIES, TOWARDS AN EVOLUTIONARY DIMENSION OF COHESION POLICY Bevilacqua Carmelina, Cappellano Francesco, Ou Yapeng	3016
SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION CHARACTERISTICS OF CULTURAL TOURISM IN HISTORICAL REGIONS: A CASE OF SHAOXING ANCIENT CITY BASED ON POI DATA Cai Tong	3029
“WHAT ELSE?”: COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES ON TOURISM-LED URBANIZATION IN SPITI, INDIA Chakravarty Surajit	3038
HOW WELL CAN PRIVATELY OWNED PUBLIC SPACES (POPS) FACILITATE SOCIAL INTERACTIONS IN TAIPEI CITY? A CASE STUDY OF THE COMMUNITY RESIDENTS’ DAILY LIFE Cheng Wen-Chi, Chao Tzu-Yuan	3061
ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH OF URBAN STREET FUNCTIONS BASED ON GIS: A CASE STUDY OF XUHUI DISTRICT, SHANGHAI, CHINA Dai Luning	3075
BY NO PLACE TO PUBLIC SPACE: A NEW RESOURCE FOR CAPUA De Biase Claudia, D’Agostino Irene	3084
THE IMPACTS OF SHARING PLATFORMS FOR TOURISM ON SPACES AND COMMUNITIES: THE POSSIBLE ROLE OF PLACEBASED REGENERATION PROCESSES Daldanise Gaia, Esposito De Vita Gabriella	3103
READING THE CITY THROUGH THE LENS OF URBAN STANDARDS. THE CASE OF PONTICELLI, EAST NAPLES Franzese Alessia	3120



Table of Contents

ANTIFRAGILE PRACTICES TO DESIGN SOCIAL DIALOGUE IN CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN PUBLIC SPACES Galimberti Beatrice	3131
RESEARCH ON MULTI-LEVEL PUBLIC SPACE SYSTEM PLANNING STRATEGY IN HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BLOCK BASED ON THE CONCEPT OF “COLLAGE CITY” - TAKING BEIJING MOSHIKOU HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL BLOCK AS AN EXAMPLE Gao Yu, Wang Ziyao, Zhang Yunlu	3146
URBAN PUBLIC SPACE DESIGN FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF ENVIRONMENTAL BEHAVIOR - A CASE STUDY OF THE ROUND-CITY-PARK IN XI'AN Gu Taiwei	3157
THE ROLE OF THE LOCAL IN IMPROVING COHESION AND SPATIAL JUSTICE Su Yuqian, Guo Yuchen, Wan Lu	3164
MUSEUM OF LONDON - A CITY MUSEUM IN TRANSITION Hebbert Michael	3174
SUITABLE RENEWAL AND SPACE ORGANIZATION METHODS OF HISTORIC TOWN IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD: A CASE STUDY IN CHINA Hou Wenjun, Ge Tianyang, Yang Jianqiang	3192
THE STUDY ON SPATIAL INTERVENTIONS FOR AGING COMMUNITIES IN TOURISM-ORIENTED HISTORIC DISTRICTS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF SPATIAL TERRITORIALITY Hu Ying, Lin Zhongjie	3201
SUSTAINABLE TOURISM AND PUBLIC SPACE - A CASE STUDY OF SKEPPSHOLMSVIKEN 6 IN STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN Jonsson Anna-Paula, Haas Tigran	3211
SUPPRESSING URBAN CREATIVITY: DISPLACEMENT OF THE ART SPACES OUT OF THE MAINSTREAM CULTURAL SCENE OF ISTANBUL Kahya Guzin Yeliz	3226
ALTERNATIVE URBANISM IN THE HISTORIC CITY CENTRE: A TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON THEORY AND PRACTICE Akl Ameera, Kamvasinou Krystallia	3237
RESEARCH ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF URBAN PUBLIC SPACE VITALITY BASED ON THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL RESOURCE SHARING--TAKING TIANLIN COMMUNITY IN SHANGHAI AS AN EXAMPLE Li Qianwen	3249
RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CULTURAL PLANNING AS AN APPROACH TO BUILD CREATIVE CITIES Kattimani Raghavendra	3261
RECORDING, EVALUATING AND MANAGEMENT OF TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE, THROUGH A DECISIONMAKING MULTI-CRITERIA ANALYSIS Linaki Eleni	3268
THE RESEARCH ON FORMATION MECHANISM OF THE RURAL RED CULTURE TOURISM INDUSTRY CLUSTER AND APPLICATION --- REFLECTIONS FROM THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE “REVOLUTIONARY RESORT” XIBAIPO TOWN AND “GREEN DOT” DASHI TOWN Liu Shiqi	3274
“A STUDY ON THE DEVELOPMENT TREND AND TRANSFORMATION OF SHANGHAI AS A CREATIVE CITY IN THE 21ST CENTURY” Ma Xiaojiao , Wang Weiqiang	3287
UN HABITAT'S PARTICIPATORY INITIATIVE TO PUBLIC SPACE DESIGN INVOLVING RESIDENTS, REFUGEES AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES: THE CASE OF NABAA', BOURJ HAMMOUD, LEBANON Mady Christine	3299
ALONG THE RIVER CORMOR, RE-LINKING LANDSCAPES AND PUBLIC FACILITIES IN THE REGION FRIULI VENEZIA GIULIA Cigalotto Paola, Marchigiani Elena	3312
WHO LIVES HERITAGE: INVESTIGATION ON THE IMPACT OF TOURISM FLOWS AND HERITAGE PROTECTION IN THE USE OF PUBLIC SPACE Amato Chiara, Mondelli Francesca Paola	3335



Table of Contents

PUBLIC SPACE AS PROTEST SPACE: BETWEEN VISIBILITY AND INSECURITY Neumann Ute	3346
URBAN REGENERATION AND (OVER) TOURISM IN CHINA: EXPLORING ALTERNATIVE TRACKS IN SUZHOU'S HISTORIC CENTRE Nolf Christian, Wang Yiwen, Liu Mengchuan	3362
UNBALANCED DEVELOPMENT AND PERIPHERALISATION PROCESSES: A TESTING PHASE TO MAP STUDIES Oppido Stefania, Ragozino Stefania	3381
THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND ACTIVE LIFE-STYLES IN OLDER ADULTS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE LOCATION OF CARE SERVICES IN PORTUGAL Santinha Gonçalo, Wolf Jan, Costa Catarina	3394
NEGOTIATED PUBLIC: INVESTIGATING THE STREETScape OF BEIJING'S OLD CITY Sun Wenwen	3400
STUDY ON THE CHARACTERISTICS AND CHANGES OF STREET CULTURAL ATTRIBUTES IN MINGCHENG DISTRICT OF XI'AN Tian Bowen, Lei Yumen	3408
EXPLORING PORT-CITY RELATIONSHIPS THROUGH EVENT-LED URBAN REGENERATION Tommaschi Enrico	3423
SPACES FOR TOURISM, VENICE PLANNING TOPOGRAPHIES Velo Luca	3435
THE IMPACT OF CULTURAL CREATIVE INDUSTRIES AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENT ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF HISTORIC DISTRICT FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF SPATIAL PRODUCTION: A CASE STUDY OF TIANZIFANG, SHANGHAI Xu Hui	3444
CHARACTERISTICS IN THE SPACE RESHAPING OF CREATIVE CLUSTER DURING GENTRIFICATION: THE CASE OF TIANZIFANG IN SHANGHAI Yang Yi	3452
PRIVATIZATION, MARGINALIZATION AND REUSE OF WATERFRONT SPACE IN NEW TOWN - TAKING ZHANGJIANG SCIENCE CITY ZHONGSHI UNIT AS AN EXAMPLE Zhang Shuhan, Zhang Hanghua	3461
"PRELIMINARY STUDY ON THE RENEWAL STRATEGY OF THE NEW ESTATE FOR WORKERS:FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF PLACE-MAKING" Zhang Yuwei	3481

PA 17 Urban and Regional economics of transition

WOMAN LABOR IN TRANSITION PROCESS FROM AGRICULTURE TO INDUSTRY SECTOR Çetin Reyçan	3496
IS THERE A HOUSING SHORTAGE? A POST-KEYNESIAN ECONOMICS APPROACH TO THE FINANCIALISATION OF HOUSING IN ENGLAND Grace Richard	3507
THE ROLE OF TAIWAN'S INDUSTRIAL DIVERSITY IN REGIONAL EMPLOYMENT GROWTH - A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON DIGITAL ECONOMY INDUSTRY AND CULTURAL INNOVATION INDUSTRY Huang Chung-Chun, Lin Cheng-Yi	3523
FINANCIAL OR SOCIETAL RETURNS? EXPLORING THE AMBIGUOUS ROLE OF INTERMUNICIPAL ENERGY COMPANY FLUVIUS IN THE ENERGY TRANSITION IN FLANDERS Juwet Griet, Deruytter Laura	3536
EXAMINING THE REGIONAL SPATIAL SPILLOVER EFFECT OF HOUSING PRICE IN TAIWAN - AN APPLICATION OF HOUSING PANEL DATA Chen Yen-Jong, Tuan Pi-Wen, Liang Yung-Han	3553
USING VALUE-ADDED HIERARCHY METHOD TO ANALYZE INDUSTRIAL SPATIAL PATTERN IN THE BACKGROUND OF ECONOMIC TRANSITION -- A CASE OF GUANZHONG PLAIN URBAN CLUSTER IN CHINA Wang Xueyan, Zhou Yeyuan	3565



Table of Contents

SP 18 Transition histories

PROGRESS IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY: PLANNING, BUILDING AND MANAGING THE MODERN URBAN INFRASTRUCTURES IN COIMBRA Calmeiro Margarida	3580
BACK TO THE PAST? TRAM CITY, MOTOPIA AND LIGHT RAIL COMMERCIALISM IN CANBERRA Fischer Karl Friedhelm, Weirick James	3590
ALBERTO SARTORIS: TRANSITIONS TO A POSSIBLE URBAN UTOPIA (1922-1989) Gavello Cinzia	3602
TWENTIETH CENTURY TECHNOCRACY - A TRANSITION ABORTED Hebbert Michael	3613
RE-POSITIONING AFTER THE FALL OF THE GERMAN WALL: WORLD TRADE CENTERS DEVELOPMENT IN CITIES OF THE FORMER GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC: ROSTOCK, DRESDEN AND FRANKFURT (ODER) Leconte Uta	3627
THE TRANSITION URBAN PLANNING HISTORY OF LISBON METROPOLITAN AREA Marat-Mendes Teresa, Cunha Borges João	3635
NAPLES IN TRANSITION: A MULTIDIMENSIONAL DECISIONMAKING PROCESS FOR THE NAPLES PORT AREA SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT Cerreta Maria, Regalbutto Stefania	3656
WHITE REVOLUTION: PLANNING SOFT TRANSITION TO STATE SOCIALISM Zaferani Azadeh	3669

SP 19 Urban tourism, neighbourhood change and social conflicts

PLACING SLUMS IN THE GLOBALIZED TOURIST CITY: A PERFORMATIVITY AND ACTOR-NETWORK APPROACH Altamirano Eugenia	3683
WHOSE HERITAGE? CHALLENGES COMING FROM TURNING CITIES AS TOURIST PLACES Calmeiro Margarida, Gonçalves Adelino	3698

SP 22 Planning and designing green infrastructures

GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE: FROM BENEFITS TO PLANNING Alberico Simonetta, Vayr Paola	3707
THE ANIENE RIVER: A GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE TO SET UP A METROPOLITAN STRATEGY D'Ascanio Romina, Palazzo Anna Laura	3720
MILTON KEYNES: THE "FOREST CITY" Forget Malaury	3728
WHEN CONSTRAINTS BECOME ASSETS IN THE DESIGN OF BLUEGREEN INFRASTRUCTURES: AN INSIGHT FROM TWO CASES IN THE WESTERN PART OF FRANCE (LOIRE RIVER BASIN) Fournier Marie, Bonnefond Mathieu	3741
FARMING IN A CITY WITHOUT FARMLANDS. CADASTRAL MAPPING OF AGRICULTURE IN TURIN AND EARLY ASSESSMENT OF MULTIFUNCTIONALITY VIABILITY Greco Mirko	3749
LANDSCAPE AND ECOLOGICAL NETWORKS IN URBAN PLANNING: TECHNICAL STANDARDS FOR IMPLEMENTATION La Riccia Luigi	3771



Table of Contents

NATURE-BASED SOLUTIONS: NEW CHALLENGES FOR URBAN PLANNING Longato Davide, Geneletti Davide	3785
--	-------------

ECOSYSTEM SERVICE EVALUATION FOR LANDSCAPE DESIGN: THE PROJECT OF A RURAL PERI-URBAN PARK AS A NODE OF THE LOCAL GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE Allocco Marco, Murgese Davide, Quaglio Giorgio, Salizzoni Emma	3793
--	-------------

SP 23 Land development and management in post-socialist countries

ÚZEMNÍ PLÁNOVÁNÍ VS. GENERALBEBAUUNGSPLANUNG: A COMPARISON OF PLANNING CONCEPTS AND PRACTICES BETWEEN THE FORMER CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC Arzmi Azmah	3802
--	-------------

TOWARDS COMPREHENSIVE AND INTEGRATED LAND MANAGEMENT PRACTICES IN ALBANIA. HOW CAN THE NEW PARADIGMATIC SHIFT IN LAND USE PLANNING AND GROWTH MANAGEMENT FOSTER A POSITIVE IMPACT ON LOCAL FINANCES AND THE TAX BASE? THE CASE OF MUNICIPALITY OF TIRANA. Dhrami Kejt, Imami Fiona	3818
--	-------------

APPLICATION AND VERIFICATION OF MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS SPATIAL ZONING MODEL IN NEW TOWN LOCATION SELECTION Zhao Yujing, Leng Hong, Yuan Qing, Sun Pingjun	3839
---	-------------

SP 24 Home sharing. short-term rentals affecting local housing markets

BUILT COMMONS: RECLAIMING THE SHARING ECONOMY Petkova Ioana	3854
---	-------------

SP 25 Dynamic change, uncertainty and planning for adaptivity

SPONTANEOUS LIVING SPACES – DWELLINGS AND SETTLEMENTS IN PEMBA (MOZAMBIQUE) A TYPO-MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS IN CHANGING URBAN ENVIRONMENTS Del Bianco Corinna	3865
---	-------------

SP 26 Space, citizenship and identity: the eu-mena region

THE JERICHO GATE PROJECT: PLANNING CHALLENGES AND POLITICAL STRUGGLES AROUND A MEGAPROJECT IN THE OLDEST CITY IN THE WORLD Isayed Mohammed	3883
--	-------------

SP 27 The role of the local in improving cohesion and spatial justice

THE PLA DE BARRIS: A REMARKABLE CASE OF PLACE-SENSITIVE TERRITORIAL POLICY Peverini Marco	3898
---	-------------

THEMATIC VILLAGES AS THE EXAMPLE OF NEO-ENDOGENOUS LOCAL DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL AREAS Tobiasz-Lis Paulina	3908
---	-------------

SP 28 Friendly spaces and mobility for ageing

ELDERLY PEDESTRIANS, AGED >65 YEARS, DURING WINTERTIME - ATTITUDES TOWARDS WALKING OUTDOORS, SAFETY EQUIPMENT AND EXPERIENCES OF FALLS. A COMPARISON WITH HEALTHY ADULTS. Berggård Glenn	3921
---	-------------



Table of Contents

OLD AGE-RELATED STEREOTYPES, INCLUSION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ‘AGE APPROPRIATE’ NEIGHBOURHOODS	3925
Fabian Carlo	
FRIENDLY AND ACCESSIBLE PUBLIC SPACES: THE VENETIAN CASE	3934
Revellini Rosaria, Tatano Valeria, Condotta Massimiliano	
MOBI-AGE: PROMOTING URBAN MOBILITY IN AGEING POPULATIONS	3946
Ribeiro Anabela, Bastos Ana, Brandão Alves Fernando, Cruz Sara, Cunha Inês, Martins João Pedro	
IS ACTIVE AGEING A REALITY FOR LOCAL POLICIES? A DISCUSSION BASED ON THE PORTUGUESE CONTEXT	3955
Fernandes Alexandre, Santinha Gonçalo, Diogo Sara, Forte Teresa	

SP 29 Emerging spatialities and eu policy instruments: cases and perspectives

EU URBAN STRATEGIES 2014-2020: EXPLORING THE FUNCTIONAL AREA APPROACH	3966
Fioretti Carlotta, Pertoldi Martina	
HOW TO CONNECT FREIGHT LOGISTICS, PERSONS MOBILITY, AND SPATIAL PLANNING IN AND BETWEEN URBAN REGIONS? PERSPECTIVES FROM DIFFERENT EUROPEAN URBAN NODES ON TEN-T CORRIDORS	3980
Linssen Raymond, De Bruijn Martijn, Poppeliers Ricardo, Arts Jos	
THE PLA DE BARRIS: A REMARKABLE CASE OF PLACE-SENSITIVE TERRITORIAL POLICY	3992
Peverini Marco	

SP 30 Facing migrants exclusionary urban policies

LANDING: HOW PRACTICES OF TEMPORARY HOSPITALITY CHALLENGE URBAN SPACES AND POLICIES	4003
Bovo Martina	
URBAN INCLUSION OF REFUGEES AND VULNERABLE MIGRANTS IN PORTUGAL	4014
Leiria Viegas Sílvia	

SP 31 Learning loops in the public realm. Enabling social learning in communities to tackle the challenges of cities in transition

TRANSPPOSITION OF ADVOCACY EXPERIENCE AS TRIPLE-LOOP SOCIAL LEARNING IN ALBANIA: FIGHTING HPPS IN PROTECTED AREAS FROM THE VJOSA RIVER BASIN TO THE CANYONS OF OSUMI	4024
Bekteshi Arba, Miso Erinda	
A PARTICIPATORY APPROACH TO SOCIETAL COST BENEFIT ANALYSIS (SCBA) AS A WAY TO START THE DEBATE ON TRANSFORMING RESIDENTIAL SUBDIVISIONS	4035
Custers Lieve, Devisch Oswald, Huybrechts Liesbeth	
EVIDENCE-BASED URBAN DEVELOPMENTAL: BEYOND THE URBAN ANECDOTES. THE NEED OF GOING BEYOND ANECDOTAL KNOWLEDGE IN URBAN PLANNING	4044
Forsemalm Joakim, Johansson Magnus	
CO-CREATION A WAY OF SUPPORTING DEVELOPMENT OF NEIGHBOURHOODLEVEL TRANSPORT INNOVATIONS	4058
Haufe Nadine, Großmann Astrid	
LEARNING THROUGH CO-CREATION: HOW TO SOLVE URBAN PROBLEMS WITH CITIZENS	4068
Keseru Imre, Pappers Jesse, Evans James, Astbury Janice, Condotta Massimiliano, Ravetz Joe, Scanagatta Chiara, Macharis Cathy	
PARTICIPATORY SENSING WITHIN CO-CREATION: IMPROVING THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT. THE VERONA CASE INSIDE THE LOOPER PROJECT	4083
Condotta Massimiliano, Scanagatta Chiara, Borga Giovanni, Ruggieri Paolo, De Maria Michela, Peron Fabio	



Table of Contents

SP 32 Planning and biodiversity

SOIL ECOSYSTEM SERVICES ASSESSMENT TO SUPPORT LAND USE PLANNING - APPLICATIONS IN ITALY AND A REFLECTION FOR THE FUTURE	4102
Assennato Francesca, Strollo Andrea, D'Antona Marco, De Fioravante Paolo, Cavalli Alice, Munafò Michele	
SPATIAL PLANNING IN VIEW OF NEW CHALLENGES: LAND TAKE AND SOME EVIDENCE FROM GREECE	4115
Thoidou Elisavet, Foutakis Dimitris	

SP 34 Spatial tensions: urban microgeographies for changing cities

MOTIONLESS MOVEMENT - THE BRAZILIAN URBAN CRISIS FROM THE CREATION OF THE MINISTRY OF CITIES TO THE GREAT PROTESTS OF 2013	4127
Andrés Roberto	
FEAR AND SEGREGATION: ANXIETY BEYOND THE GATED COMMUNITIES. THE COSTA RICAN CASE.	4139
Barrantes Chaves Karla	
LOFTS DISTRICTS IN MILAN. OVERLAPPING TENSIONS BETWEEN USES AND REGULATIONS. INSTRUMENTS FOR URBAN AND ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN	4147
D'Armento Stefano	
DESIGN EXPERIMENTATION IN A CONTEXT OF CULTURAL DIVISION: THE CASE OF AHMEDABAD	4159
Gualdrini Giovanni	
RESISTING GENTRIFICATION. SOCIO-SPATIAL DYNAMICS OF THREE WORK PLACES IN BRUSSELS	4172
Lenna Verena, Martin Sanchez Luis Antonio	
URBAN CRISIS STORYTELLING: IDIOMS AND FORMS OF CITY'S EQUILIBRIUM INTEGRATING THE UNCERTAINTY	4185
Pietropaoli Martina	

SP 36 Acsp-aesop special session: learning from Arnstein's ladder: from citizen participation to public engagement

ENGAGING NON-CITIZENS IN AN AGE OF UNCERTAINTY: LESSONS FROM IMMIGRANT-SERVING NONPROFITS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY	4196
Lee C. Aujean	
CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN TRANSITIONAL SOCIETY: AN EVOLUTION OF PARTICIPATORY PLANNING IN SERBIA	4218
Peric Ana	

SP 37 Smart cities and regions informing the energy transition

THE NOTION OF SOCIOTECHNICAL SYSTEM IN THE PLANNING PROCESS OF A SMART REGION	4234
Balest Jessica, Garegnani Giulia, Pisani Elena, Secco Laura, Vettorato Daniele	
SPATIAL-BASED SCENARIO ANALYSIS FOR THE SMART ENERGY TRANSITION	4242
D'Alonzo Valentina, Vettorato Daniele, Zambelli Pietro	
THE ENERGY JUSTICE TOOL SUITE: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY AND COMPREHENSIVE METHOD FOR ENERGY TRANSITION TERRITORIALIZATION	4250
Henriot Carine, Artis Amélie, Molines Nathalie, Seigneuret Natacha, Antaluca Eduard, Lamarque Fabien, Martin Ewa	



Table of Contents

SMART ENERGY TRANSITION: EVALUATION OF CITIES IN SOUTH KOREA	4261
Lim Yirang, Edelenbos Jurian, Gianoli Alberto	
REVIEW OF DISTRICT HEATING SYSTEMS IN ITALY FOR FUTURE ENHANCEMENT	4278
Teso Lorenzo, Dalla Mora Tiziano, Romagnoni Piercarlo, Gasparella Andrea	

SP 38 Maritime spatial planning (msp) in europe: challenges in transition

CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES OF MARITIME SPATIAL PLANNING. PRINCIPLES AND PLANNING PARAMETERS	4295
Rampavila Mary, Avgerinou – Kolonias Sophia	
MANAGEMENT PLANS OF NATURA 2000 SITES AND COASTAL LAND USE PLANS: A STUDY CONCERNING AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO MANAGEMENT OF COASTAL ZONES IN THE SULCIS AREA (SARDINIA, ITALY)	4305
Leone Federica, Zoppi Corrado	

SP 39 Shrinking cities and sustainability

DIALECTICAL UNDERSTANDING ON URBAN SHRINKAGE AND GROWTH IN CHINA: TAKING THE OLD INDUSTRIAL BASE CITIES IN NORTHEASTERN CHINA AS AN EXAMPLE	4316
Hu Qimin, Yang Fan	
A STUDY ON CHINA'S COUNTY SPORTS CENTER PLANNING STRATEGY FROM SMART SHRINKAGE PERSPECTIVE	4329
liang Bin, Wang Yang	
DEINDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBAN SHRINKAGE. ACHIEVING URBAN SUSTAINABILITY IN FORMER INDUSTRIAL CITIES IN FRANCE: THE CASE STUDIES OF NANTES AND SAINT-OUEN	4338
Toura Varvara	
DISCUSSION ON THE FACTORS OF SUSTAINABLE URBAN GROWTH IN SHRINKING REGION: CASE STUDY OF EUCALYPTUS HILLS IN THE CITY OF SAKURA DEVELOPED BY THE PRIVATE DEVELOPER YAMAMAN	4357
Uemura Tetsuji	
TIME SERIES OF URBAN SHRINKAGE ELEMENTS IN COALEXHAUSTED CITIES: A CASE STUDY OF TWO TYPICAL CITIES IN NORTHEAST CHINA	4380
Zhang Jie, Zhao Zhiqing, Li Peilun	

SP 40 Regional design: impacts on territorial governance and planning practice

FUELLING ENERGY-TRANSITION WITH REGIONAL DESIGN-ATELIERS	4393
Kempenaar Annet, Pleijte Marcel, Van Buuren Michael	
LAND TAKE AND REGIONAL PLANNING: PROMOTING SUSTAINABLE SETTLEMENT DEVELOPMENT IN URBAN REGIONS	4400
Wahrhusen Nina	
REGIONAL STRATEGY DESIGN – ADDRESSING TRANSFORMATIONS IN MULTIPLE WAYS	4410
Wirth Timo Matti	

SP 41 The darker sides of smart city development

DIGITAL PARTICIPATORY PLANNING TOOLS HELPFUL SIDE AND SIDE EFFECTS	4430
Shahin Anas	