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The third sector in the planning, production, and regeneration of inclusive public space. Notes from an ongoing experience in a distressed Sicilian neighborhood

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Due to the decrease of public and private funds invested in the production and regeneration of public spaces in Southern Italy, collaborative efforts among public/private actors seems to be a compelling alternative strategy for supporting urban transformations. While both planning and policy approaches have been unable to completely adapt to meet these growing demands, many actors, such as the third sector, within distressed neighborhoods and communities, act as place-makers and seem to be the last stronghold of resistance for exercising the right to the city. What can be done to overcome the classical rhetoric on the informal/formal dichotomy in the urban transformations and to reinforce the efforts of creating inclusive and enabling public spaces in new experimental ways? This paper proposes a reflection on this current dilemma through the presentation of ongoing re-appropriation and self-recovery practices over the last four years in San Berillo, a neglected and historical Sicilian red-light district in Catania, Italy. This article seeks to re-signify the concept of "inclusive space" by exploring the dialectical elements and conflicts and the collaborative paths between institutions, community and third sector and aimed to spawn relational processes of co-working, co-design, and mutual learning.

Keywords: collaborative practices; community-led regeneration; third sector; public space; right to the city; enabling spaces; urban marginalities

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Introduction

On the 29th of October 2019, approximately 100 police, arriving in motorbikes, cars and even a helicopter, broke into Old San Berillo (OSB), a historical district of Catania (Sicily, Italy). Conducted by Catania's prosecutor's office, the blitz was part of a wider drug control operation. Thirteen drug sellers of African origin were detained for alleged drug dealing. During the press conference, the Catania police commissioner proudly states: '*Today's operation wanted to demonstrate more than ever, strongly and clearly, the presence of the State. In the entire metropolitan area, there are no free zones outside the control of the State!*'¹. However, behind this facade, other truths are hidden.

Most of the thirteen alleged drug dealers are unhoused, who live and sleep "temporarily" - that is, for several years already - in the public spaces of the neighborhood. They are part of the larger OSB community, which, despite recent national laws and cuts for the reception of migrants², remains welcoming of the marginalized populations within the city. In its public spaces - i.e. narrow streets and a square - they had recreated the similar comforts of "home"; they congregated their tents and beds for resting, stoves for cooking, armchairs for gathering, braziers for warmth in winter, and a sewing machine for repairs to punctured clothes and other collected equipment, e.g. tools to repair bikes. Their informal (and illegal) settlement was furiously wiped out during the blitz as all their comforts and tools were seized. In lieu of generating inclusive and dynamic urban practices, the presence of the State, asserted their power over public space through a violent, top-down action. Nevertheless, a few days later on November 4, 2019, the same group of migrants with the support of local politically engaged third sector associations responded to the raid by dedicating a day to collectively cleaning the neighborhood, symbolizing how it is possible to combat urban degradation by giving space to self-organization³.

The previously mentioned anecdote begs the questions of what is an inclusive public space in the context of historically diverse and self-organized neighborhoods, particularly in Southern Italy? And, above all, through identifying who nowadays produces public spaces, which position should individual and collective actors have in achieving this?

This paper aims to disentangle these dilemmas by investigating who has the right to the city and common spaces in current planning practice, to unveil if public space remains a *res publica* or if it is the mere splinters of an increasingly unequal public-private collision. More specifically, this article seeks to look into the dialectical and conflictual and power tensions existing between the individual and collective public, private, and social actors who are the protagonists of public space transformations, giving particular attention to the key-role of the third sector.

As an umbrella concept, the third sector includes an array of social organizations with varied structures and purposes, such as non-governmental associations, non-profits, values-driven, and voluntary sectors. Over time, the third sector has drastically changed, overcoming the mere notion of charity and now entailing both the capability approach and social economy as it is earning a growing and strategic position in the revitalization of public spaces. While the debate on third sector-led regeneration processes is widely rooted in other milieus, as in

¹ <http://www.cataniatoday.it/video/spaccio-san-berillo-arresti-polizia-30-ottobre-2019.html>

² Decree-Law 113/ 2018 concerns urgent provisions on international protection, immigration, public security and reduces the rights and services for migrants.

³ <https://catania.meridionews.it/articolo/82847/san-berillo-cosi-il-quartiere-reagisce-dopo-il-blitz-loperazione-uno-spot-qui-non-solo-spaccio/>

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Northern America, in the European and Italian context it is still a relatively recent novelty, often treated together with the multi-faceted concept of social innovation (Ostanel, 2017; Venturi & Zandonai, 2016; Manzini, 2015). The paper will shed light on the critiques, challenges, and potential of the third sector producing public space in Italy by going through the re-appropriation and self-recovery practices in the OSB neighborhood in Catania.

It is worth noting that the aim of this paper is not to carry out a generic study on the regeneration processes of public space per se in Italy. Instead, it seeks to focus on how and why relational and collaborative paths, involving the third sector, are important in the planning of public spaces that are inclusive of people's diverse practices and needs and give space to marginal citizens in distressed contexts. The structure of the article is as follows: the second section regards the theoretical framework to better understand how this work attempts to contribute to the current academic debate; the third section outlines the methodology; the fourth section introduces the empirical works, including the contextualization and the multi-nuanced array of inclusive and exclusionary practices in OSB; the fifth section discusses innovative collaborative projects concerning the public space led by actors belonging to the third sector; and the final two sections provide a discussion and closing remarks.

The current debate on how the third sector produces the (public) space in times of crisis

The globalization of neo-liberalism has deeply affected urban governance. According to Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore (2002), there have been three prominent neoliberal phases of marketing strategy driving the growth and transformation of major cities: within the proto-neoliberalism phase, cities acted as the catalyst for economic disparities and social struggles; following proto-neoliberalism, the roll-back neoliberalism phase, during the '80s, cut public spending, facilities, and services leading to the annihilation of social amenities; lastly, within the roll-out neoliberalism phase, new mechanisms of multi-stakeholder governance has arisen, delegating resource management and responsibilities from the state to no-public actors, such as private investors and speculators, as well as private foundations, citizen groups, NGO, etc. This trend was further intensified following the 2008 global crisis as the city of the rich and the city of the poor became more polarized (Secchi, 2013) and both public and private funds in production, conservation, and regeneration dropped.

Collaborative efforts among public/private actors have emerged to find alternative strategies to support urban transformations, and, thus, the third sector has gained an even more key-position but not without critique. Several scholars highlight the unwanted effects of grassroots' and social movements' involvement in the neoliberal marketing of cities. According to Margit Mayer (2007), among the unwanted risks, there is the manipulation of the third sector and bottom-up groups in the consensus-building machine and the legitimation of low retributions since these groups offer "mere social works". The second welfare - i.e. the mix of social programs providing a series of public services by the third sector- is a likewise a complex topic of discussion and debate that lacks an easy solution.

Despite these critiques, other scholars assert the strategic role played by 'horizontal alliances of poor groups and civic organizations as a way to face the new urban poverty and global governmentality' (Appadurai, 2001, p. 24). These coalitions could become crucial in spreading a 'deep democracy' (Appadurai, 2001, p. 42), viz. a new model of global governance and local democracy that integrates the community's deciders. Bob Jessop (2002) also recognizes how nongovernmental actors can be part of new models of global and local democracy, especially within a neo-communitarianism approach. Neo-communitarianism was envisioned

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to adjust to global neoliberalism and relies on social cohesion, civic empowerment and collaborative economy. In it, social resources and capital (Putnam, 2004), which are the characteristics of a social organization that facilitate cooperation to reach a common benefit (Della Porta, 2002), can be the driving force of an innovative and “generative policy”⁴ (Minervini, 2016). These ‘collaborative organizations’ - where ‘collaboration is intentional and by choice’ (Manzini, 2015, p. 100) - breed “innovative communities” (Ciampolini, 2019) that spark value-based radical innovation within society. Radical innovation means ‘looking at difficult problems with a different perspective instead of using a mainstream one’ (Manzini, 2015, p. 13). Deep innovations may arise in the “third place” (Oldenburg, 1989), which is a public space beyond the home or workplace where people can meet and informally interact, exchange ideas, have a good time, and build relationships to ultimately cultivate a thriving community. The third place forms vibrant, place-based spaces within neighborhoods and cities: already functioning as an effective space for strengthening participation, citizenship, civic engagement, and establishing a sense of place. Alternative urban approaches can be strategically utilized in third space since they are ‘central to the political processes of a democracy’ (Oldenburg, 1999, p. 67). In order to conceive the third place as a multilayer lived space, likely it is needed to embrace the “thirdspace theory” envisioned by the American geographer Edward Soja (1996). Soja divides space into first, second, and third space defined as:

- Firstspace is the real space – the urban built form of physical buildings that can be mapped and seen.
- Secondspace is the imagined representational space – i.e. how space is perceived, seen and argued over.
- Thirdspace takes this thinking further – it combines First and Second space to create what Soja describes as, ‘a fully lived space, a simultaneously real-and-imagined, actual-and-virtual locus of structured individuality and collective experience and agency’ (Soja, 1996, p.11). Thirdspace, then, conceives the experience of life in the Firstspace mediated through Secondspace expectations.

Deep innovation, entailing collective acts and an increase of democracy, occurs when the third place becomes an “enabling space”, allowing individuals to participate actively in a democratic urban life. Enabling spaces develop “enabling” characters, as it requires each to break from their own cultural frames and routines to find collective solutions to common problems and to satisfy their collective needs, interests, and expectations. Therefore, it addresses the redistribution of power and the creation of a new culture of urban government, constructing inclusive processes, which are able to valorise, to reinforce, and to create new social and institutional capabilities (Goni Mazzitelli, 2008). As Francesca Cognetti (2018) stated, building an enabling space could be possible if, in the design and planning processes, the public recognizes the social skills and leading role that different groups have in their territories, accepts innovative forms of involvement, and creates permanent changes in the ordinary structures of public policy management. Following this process, new procedures and techniques should be developed. On the other hand, local actors should be able to pursue traditional conflictual but also subsidiary logic, learning to be the protagonists of a shared process of defining the public/collective interest. Space is then enabling if experimental collaborative processes happen within it, i.e. processes that potentially work both on social and institutional activation.

⁴ According to Guglielmo Minervini (2016), the Generative Policy promotes the dissemination of participatory processes in government activity as the main method for generating change, starting from the widespread knowledge of real needs to arrive at the shared identification of the most appropriate responses. Transparency is an essential principle in the activity of making a generative policy.

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From a neo-institutional point of view, such urban experimentations can be considered as politics of niches, i.e. 'institutional episodes in which social practices generate opportunities for disruption in their regulatory and physical context by influencing both the social norms and physical spaces of selection and retention of social practices' (Savini & Bertolini, 2019, p. 836). As such, niches exist in a 'permanent tension within a particular socio-economic order and may instigate a change of the institutional order, although in a non-linear, largely unpredictable, and uncontrollable fashion' (Savini & Bertolini, 2019, p. 836). While the trajectory of such experiments is conditioned by policy and planning, urban experiments can also influence planners, designers, and deciders to produce new cognitive and action oriented environments, which are closer to practice than to theory and to the bureaucratic praxis. Giovan Francesco Lanzara (1993) has named negative capability, the ability of "being" in uncertainty, of acting in complex and messy situations while remaining oriented towards the activation of contexts and possible worlds. Negative capability consists of the ability to manage moments of indefiniteness and of the absence of direction, eventually reorganizing their own action model and developing new routines while understanding actions can potentially be disclosed. Applied to urban issues, the negative capability may engender new creative solutions to answer complex urban problems and new experimental, partnership-based, pragmatic, and truly collaborative policies. According to Flaviano Zandonai and Paolo Venturi (2019), despite these innovative social processes involving both civic society and institutions, they are context-dependent, rely on a hyper-local scale, and are apt to elaborate and practice systemic changes.

The ability of the third sector and innovative communities to affect both institutions and policies may be read as a process (Corry, 2010), demonstrating their transformative potential impacts on the balance of social forces in society (Katz, 2006). The debate on public space well embeds the above-mentioned framework and literature on the third sector. Departing from the normal model of direct state ownership and management, alternative forms of public space provision arose. This transfer of public space governance from the state to other social agents, especially to the private sector, has ignited the expansion of pseudo-public spaces (Wang & Chen, 2018; Langstraat & Van Melik, 2013), gentrification (Semi, 2015), social exclusion and segregation, and commodification of public realm (Kohn, 2004; Schaller & Modan, 2009).

Despite such exclusionary privatization dynamics, public space is still capable of accommodating a heterogeneous public made of socio-economic and ethnic diversity, especially in derelict and abandoned corners of a city. The revitalization of these latter places often stems from 'informal modes of urbanization' (Roy, 2005, p. 148), which are already recognized as a 'new way of life' (Alsayyad, 2004). Other hybrid communities, such as residents, grassroots groups, third sector volunteers, sub-consumers and associations of social innovation, also act as place-makers and seem to be the last strongholds of resistance for exercising the "right to the city" (Lefebvre, 1968) or, at least, 'the right not to be excluded from it' (Roy, 2005, p. 155).

To make a space public means to give it "publicness", i.e. the accessibility and the right of the presence of a wide number of subjects potentially excluded from the possibility of appropriation of a place (Saint-Blancat & Cancellieri, 2014). Iris Marion Young (1990) emphasized how socially just outcomes could only be achieved by embracing the diverse needs and desires of the citizenry. This aligns with the description given by UN-HABITAT (2000, p. 5) for inclusive cities, which is a 'space where all people, regardless of their economic condition, gender, age, ethnicity, or religion, can participate productively in all the opportunities that cities offer'. Since the public space is the original agora for all citizens, at least by definition, it should be inclusive,

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incubating the social capital in an open space of design (Ostanel, 2017, p. 63). A healthy public life is crucial for creating what Richard Sennett defines as an “open city” (Sennett, 2018), that is a city where citizens actively hash out their differences, and planners experiment with urban forms that bolster collective decision-making.

The Italian academic debate on social innovation and urban regeneration has engendered vivid literature on how public space (streets, squares, pedestrian paths, micro-clearing) turns into a theatre of varied community practices experimenting, often in an informal way, with spatial capitals (Cancellieri, 2011). For instance, several studies have concentrated upon some key-features of urban regeneration, such as the relationship between the processes of regeneration of underused buildings and the types of organizations active in these processes (Busacca & Zandonai, 2019), the permanent or transitory re-use of both brownfields and abandoned areas (Gambino, 2000; Inzaghi & Vanetti 2011; Inti et al., 2014), the innovative forms of institutional learning, e.g. collaboration agreements and manifestos for commons (Fidelbo, 2018; Micciarelli, 2017; Michiara, 2016).

Nevertheless, literature addressing how innovative and hybrid communities of place-makers manage to generate inclusive public space remains limited, especially in Southern Italy where, except for the case of Apulia and Naples⁵, the planning tends to confront these issues with top-down procedures trapped by bureaucracy.

An embedded and immersive research methodology

This empirical study concentrates on the collaborative efforts of the Old San Berillo community and the social cooperative Trame di Quartiere (TdQ), specifically examining two aspects: the ecology of the inclusivity and exclusivity of public space and the collaborative experiments of enabling spaces.

From September 2016 to May 2017, embedded research, inspired by ‘planning made with feet’⁶ was carried out to inspect the ability of space to accommodate unpredictable social contradictions and to map and analyse the several actors shaping public space. With the goal to refine the concept of public space, the author has collected qualitative data through observations of daily practices in OSB that simply make a space public, i.e. place of the public sphere. The “world of daily life” was mapped after intensive “urban stalking”. As already explained in previous works (Privitera & Gravagno, 2020; Privitera, 2017), “urban stalking” implied to spend a time of immersive observation, around one hour during specific time slots of both morning, afternoon, and evening in the week and weekend. The observation has regarded who (which kind of people) use the public space, how they use it and change it over time. During these on-the-ground observations, the author began approaching and interacting with OSB residents and began establishing connections with both them and with some privileged informers, i.e. who have gained a lot of knowledge about the neighbours. Then, the author has done three walking interviews (Evans & Jones, 2010) and twenty in depth-interviews - grounded in “the seven rules of active listening” (Sclavi, 2003)- with current and past residents, property owners, members of grassroots organizations, etc., (Privitera & Gravagno, 2020; Gravagno & Privitera, 2019). The main questions were about their own stories with respect to OSB: when they started to live or work there, which kinds of memories they have on OSB, which kind of initiatives they carried out, how they are in rapports with each

⁵ The region of Apulia (Gelli, 2018; Barbanente, 2008) and the city of Naples (Masella, 2018; Capone, 2018) were led for several years by illuminated and progressive governments that experimented innovative partnership forms with third sector and social movements.

⁶ Expression used by the Italian urban planner Bernardo Secchi in some conferences around 2013-2014.

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other and with the public administration. Two focus groups, one with a neighborhood committee and one with a local social enterprise (Privitera, 2017), were carried out with the purpose to dig into the tension existing between public benefit and social entrepreneurship. This exploratory phase has allowed the author to retrace back the story of OSB from an alternative perspective, to scrutinize the ongoing re-appropriation and self-recovery experiences, both exclusionary, inclusive and collaborative that some residents, traders, and organizations are leading in the last years in public corners, often derelict, of OSB.

Beginning in 2018, the author positioned herself to cooperate with TdQ in a more committed way, serving the hybrid role of an activist, reflective practitioner (Schön, 1983) and researcher in action (Saija, 2016). Thanks to this new position, it was possible to be not only the observer of the ongoing socio-urban processes, rather to be part of them.

Section 4 is, for the most part, the result of the first ethnographical period, section 5 mainly comes from the still ongoing engagement of the author in the current transformative dynamics of the neighborhood.

The ecology of inclusivity and exclusivity in the public space of Old San Berillo

*Don't ask: "What's the problem?"
Ask: "What's the story?"
That way you'll find out what the problem really is.
John Forester (1999, p. 19)*

A melting pot of complex urban issues, OSB faces social marginalities, unused spaces, informality, speculation of capitalistic lobbies, and lack of generative public strategy. It is a historical district of Catania, born spontaneously after one of the strongest earthquakes in Sicily (1693). Its urban and social fabric were established within the peripheral area at the time, outside the medieval walls of Catania. As OSB was originally populated by various social classes, it developed quickly but disorderly. Expanding towards the seaside, where the central station was inaugurated in 1866, OSB gained a strategic position. After World War II, a speculative and top-down operation was undertaken by the private construction company Istituto Immobiliare di Catania (ISTICA) by common accord with the local authorities. The ISTICA Renovation Plan established the replacement of the historical existing urban fabric with new buildings, streets, and squares⁷. ISTICA's sister company Istberillo was in charge of the production of a new district called New San Berillo, a countryside area - nowadays in the suburbs of the city - in which the displaced OSB residents were asked to move. Beginning in 1954, the ISTICA Renovation Plan soon partly failed, leaving a portion of OSB destroyed; within the demolished space, a section was rebuilt while another considerable section was only levelled (Figure 1).

This destructive economic operation uprooted approximately 30,000 residents and dismembered the original social fabric of OSB: almost all of the original residents had to move to the new suburbs, except for most of the prostitutes. Until Merlin Law (1958),⁸ local prostitutes used to work within bawdy houses, but after it passed, they had to change their way of prostituting, turning to the street rather than within their houses as the building owners began to disregard their properties. Accordingly, during these last decades, the surviving remains of

⁷ More info on the urban development of OSB in Busacca & Gravagno (2004).

⁸ The Merlin law -from the name of the senator who promoted it, Lina Merlin - abolished the regulation of prostitution, closing the brothels and introducing the crimes of exploitation, induction, and aiding of prostitution.

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the OSB neighborhood have turned into the red-light district of the city wherein the public space stands in as a place of illegal works, distressful, but also of daily confrontation and solidarity. During this time, the public and planning were unable to set any plan or strategy for this area, except for some punctual actions of repression to foster order and security. An emblematic example is the big police blitz on December 13, 2000 that marked a social and physical turning point following the arrest of many prostitutes and pimps, the boarding up of many buildings, and the consequent reduction of the OSB population. Contextually, other dynamics pertaining to migration flows were happening at the local level, even if connected with global trends.

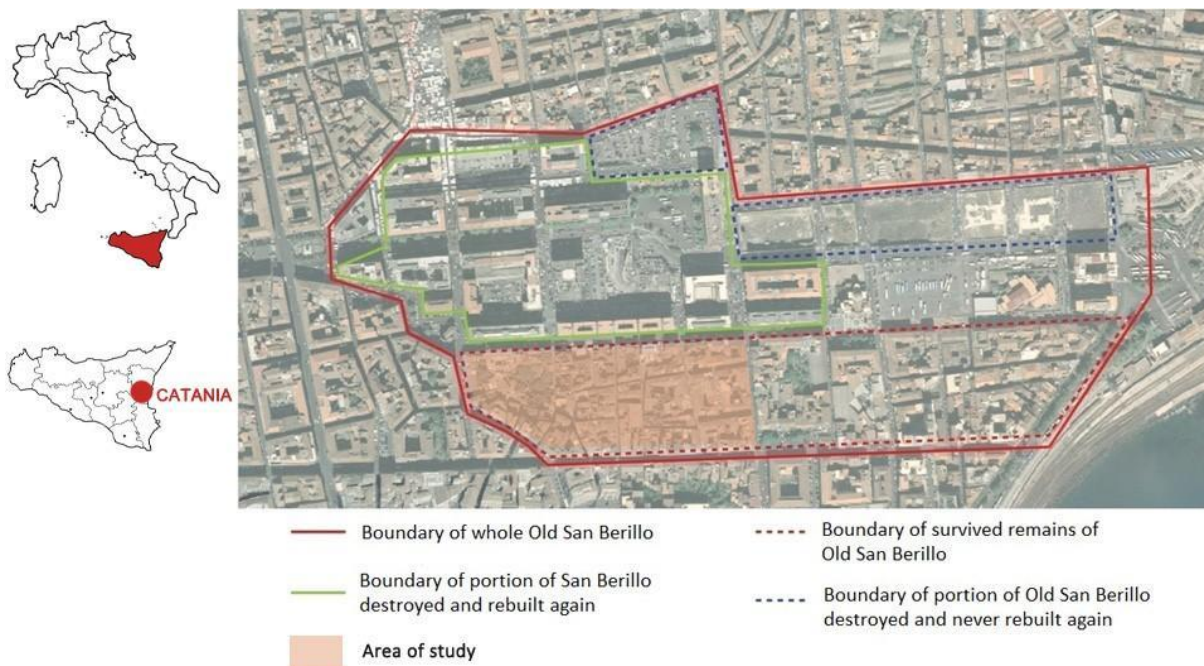


Figure 1. The borders of Old San Berillo in Catania (Sicily, Italy). Source: Author.

Over time, OSB has become a place in which all migrants, subalterns, and poor people could find refuge. OSB operates outside of the law, in which the socially vulnerable converge and exercise their own informal (sometimes-illegal) freedom. There are two main migrant groups: the first was part of the late 90s migratory waves, mostly coming from Senegal and the other comes from a more recent mass-exodus. The first is made of families already inserted in the socio-urban local fabric, whereas the second is mainly composed of young single men who still live within the repressive and worsening conditions of being new migrants, often without official documents, dwelling, and job. Nowadays, the surviving remains of OSB exist as a labyrinth of ancient streets and buildings, damaged facades, scarcely populated and often illegally occupied (Figure 2).

Most of the building owners remain persistent about not undertaking any interventions due to the uncertainties of the future of the neighborhood, while many buildings remain boarded up despite the widespread need for housing, as many sleep on the streets of the district. In such a context, public space has crucial functions: in it, the residents not only interact but also often satisfy their basic needs, such as to sleep, to eat, to live, or even to use the toilet. The massive use of public space and its hyper-diversity induce varied conflicts, for instance, related to the borders of use and occupation of public space. Despite all these socio-urban transformations,

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the local administration has not roughed out any long-term proposals and maintain that the problems in OSB are almost only a matter of public order and legality. Instead, many new urban actors, often linked to the third sector, have started to catch on and spread, leading micro-bottom-up initiatives of space revitalization in OSB.



Figure 2. Some corners, streets and buildings of Old San Berillo. Source: Author.

To unearth the invisible practices of regeneration of the public space and to reflect on the way these everyday practices of planning navigate the historically complex social relations in OSB, a social immersion was carried out within the district. This ethnographic phase was accomplished with attention to the district's third places, understanding that life between buildings is not merely pedestrian traffic or recreational or social activities but 'it comprises the entire spectrum of activities, which combine to make communal spaces in cities and residential areas meaningful and attractive' (Gehl, 2011, p. 29).

Following on-the-ground observations, Figure 3 maps the ongoing uses and practices in public spaces and the users of the public space. It is important to note that the taxonomy (residents, child residents, usual and casual users, tourists, etc.) is much more blurred in reality than pictured on the map. The second level of data processing moves from the mere registration of daily life to more articulated reflections on what was happening in the public space to convey the ecology of inclusivity and exclusivity. As shown in Figure 4, the outdoor social interactions within OSB's public space were divided into three general types:

1. Required: something people must do regardless they want to do it or not, e.g. daily tasks, work, going to school;
2. Voluntary: something people do because they want to do it, e.g. to walk, to relax on a bench;
3. Social: something people do depending on the presence of other people in the same public space, e.g. to chat, to play with other children, to observe what other people do.

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Figure 3. Example of a map stemming from the urban stalking. Source: Privitera (2017)

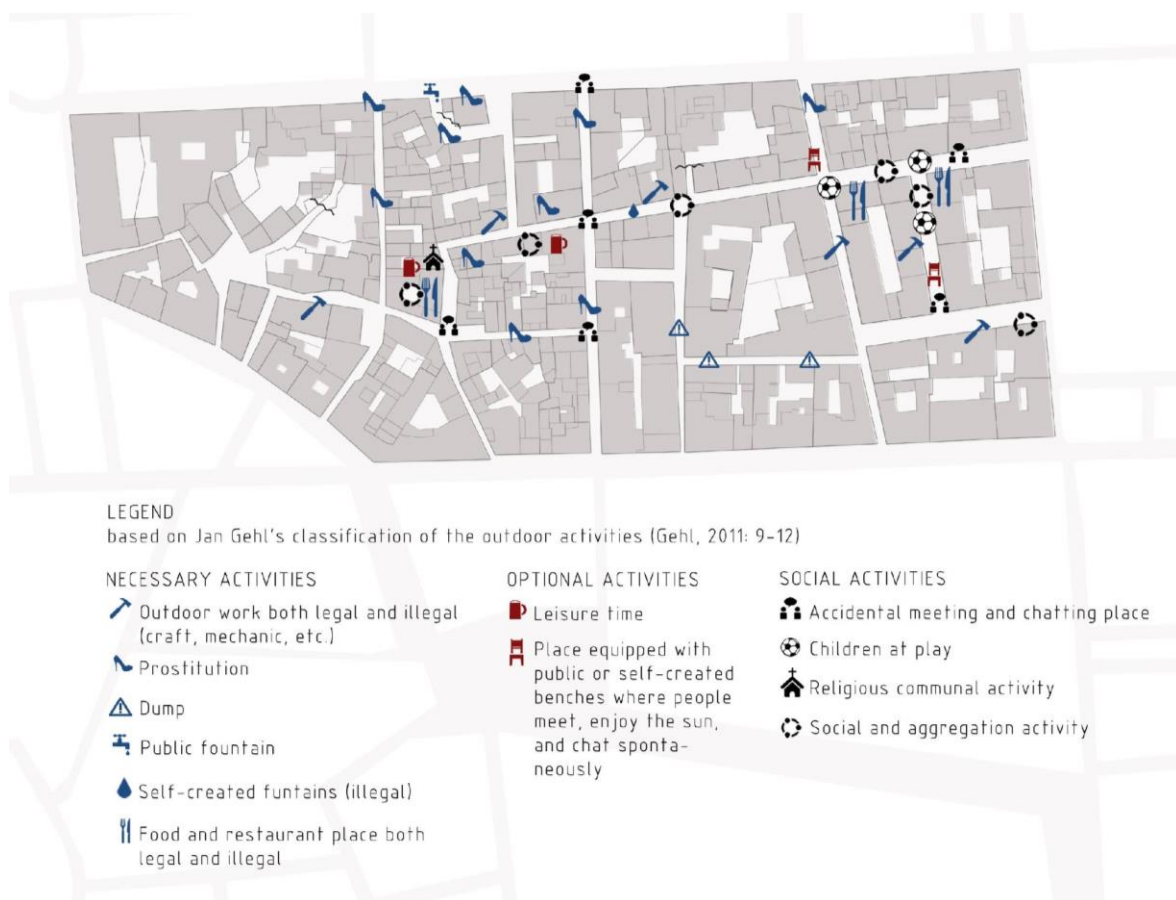


Figure 4. Uses, functions and practices in the public spaces of Old San Berillo.

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Source: Privitera (2017).

These three types of activities are tightly tied to each other and rely on the "intensity of contact" based on the function of so-called third places. By starting from basic interactions, it is possible to reach a more in-depth relation of neighborliness that facilitate the "low-level contact with intensity" (Gehl, 2011), fundamental for satisfying "desire of community" (Bauman, 2001), for implementing the "sense of neighborhood" in progress and for the formation of "local self-government" (Jacobs, 1965).

OSB's community⁹ practices, often informal, generate numerous and heterogeneous inclusive public spaces:

- Four young green mobility activists have bought two private garages within OSB because the selling price was lower than everywhere else was in the city center. To host the Ciclofficina ZeroNove, a bike workshop, they have slowly restored the two garages through mutualism and collaborative effort, and then installed -without authorization- some benches on the pedestrian path in between both garages. Thanks to these micro-interventions, and thanks to their aptitude, the street between the two garages is now used for fixing bikes, for children playing freely, for chatting among neighbors, and for organizing public events, as shown in Figure 5.
- For a long time, there were not many children in OSB until the 90s migrant wave appeared. These children, due to financial constraints, are unable to practice sports in gyms. What they wish, as all children do, is to play, and currently, the only space in which they can do it is among the streets of the district. Consequently, each afternoon, droves of children claim these derelict spaces for their games, improvising self-managed football matches, often right close to sex-workers. In addition to the didactic role of public space for the playing and education of children (Jacobs, 1965), the presence of the children awakens these usually neglected areas.
- Arriving in the last 3 to 7 years, the second group of migrants live in critical conditions. There are three critical conditions this group of migrants commonly find themselves in: some remain undocumented or continue to wait for their official documentation, others cannot leave Sicily in order to go back home or move to other European countries, and lastly, due in part to the first two conditions, some get involved in criminal business. In Catania, OSB is one of the only places in which they can stay, whether through occupying empty buildings or sleeping on the streets. In the last months, many repressive actions against such informal-illegal ways of life, being enforced by the local police. Despite this, an unusual and proactive answer was given by the people: the residents clean up the main streets of the district on the last Saturday of every month (Figure 6). Originating in Africa, this practice of care is called *set* (clean) and *setal* (to clean up), which regards this practice as a human investment in cleanliness, referring to both a sense of hygiene and morality. Expected to be done collectively, this practice involves improving the quality of life in neighborhoods, removing garbage and dirt but also involves embellishing public places, sometimes including naming them.

⁹ With the word community, the author considers residents, prostitutes, irregular immigrants that occupy buildings, grassroots movements, voluntary groups, district committees and all people living the public space, regardless legally or illegally.

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Figure 5. Collective public lunch self-organized in the street just in front of the bike shop garages. Source: Archive of Trame di Quartiere.



Figure 6. Moments of set setal. Source: Gambia Youths Association.

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A different type of practice has occurred in Piazza delle Belle, a small square in the oldest core of OSB. When the ISTICA plan was approved and implemented in 1954, Piazza delle Belle was not demolished, but rather, it remained the only surviving public square within the neighborhood, suffering the same process of degradation. In 2015, a young trader decided to open a "hipster" pub overlooking the square; meanwhile, the local government showed its interest in supporting a "facade" process of regeneration.

In July 2015, a beautification and decorum program was carried out by the Town Planning Office, together with students from the Art School, the Detention Camp of Catania, but without any engagement of its residents (Gravagno et al., 2018). Between October to December 2015, the owner of the pub made several streetscape improvements, often out of the law and the legal authorization. Among these improvements were painting some historical facades, planting many flowers, and creating various urban furniture and decorations. Though the local government has claimed it provides crucial aid, the owner actually financially supports and manages most of the interventions, including their maintenance. Unfortunately, this space can only be utilized at certain times of the day because only consumers are allowed to use elements of street furniture and enjoy the improvements. It is worth considering that the private video-camera system, set up in all the corners of the piazza to monitor its use, and the high prices of goods at the pub, have converted Piazza delle Belle into an exclusive space, straying from a public *agorà* for residents. These transformations are all telltale signs that simply beautification and "greenification" initiatives alone are not enough to improve and create public space. The border between informal practices of regeneration and its privatized and exclusionary misappropriation is often weak.

Toward collaborative experiments of enabling spaces

What has been presented until now follows the seemingly paradoxical cliché concerning urban informality in contrast with capitalistic exclusionary power, with the tacit consent, absence, or repressive presence of public institutions. Is it possible for an alternative planning approach to navigate the ecology of a place? Among the actors of the third sector operating in OSB, it is worth focusing on TdQ, an association of social promotion, recently converted into a social cooperative. TdQ is characterized by a heterogeneous human and social capital (Della Porta, 2004; Putnam, 2004), made up of urban planners, geographers, anthropologists, artists and residents. In their approach, there is a very strong connection between research and action: knowledge is produced in action, as well as action, through forms of research, mobilizes a kind of intellectual activism (Contu, 2018).

As the timeline in Figure 7 shows, though TdQ was not realized until 2015, it originates from a community mapping research approach in 2011 (D'Urso et al., 2013), during which some young researchers and the OSB community had the chance to collaboratively map the neighborhood's past, present, and future together. The mapping events spur community spirit and unity, so that in 2013, a neighborhood committee called Active Citizens of S.Berillo' was born as a reaction to suspicious acts of urban speculation linked to large real estate companies interest in buying some of OSB's abandoned properties. In 2015, thanks to a regional call named Boom Polmoni Urbani, this informal group decided to officially establish Trame di Quartiere (Neighborhood Relations) aimed at experimenting with urban and social regeneration practices through their direct actions in OSB. From 2016 to 2018, TdQ's work is inspired by its retraced memories of the district, experimenting with the narrative as an action tool. For instance, TdQ has not only produced two seasons of a web series¹⁰ regarding the

¹⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCXNZYy02WdT1K6hYpRjL6g/playlists>

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story of SB and its current problems, but also, it has organized an exposition, called NarrAzioni, displaying the official historical documents and lived memories of OSB. During these past few years, TdQ has also conducted a rehabilitation of its headquarter, Palazzo de Gaetani, by both using funds obtained through a regional call, benefiting from voluntary help, and receiving, finally, the involvement of public administration (Gravagno et al., 2018). TdQ is actively working to convert Palazzo De Gaetani from a previous private property into a social and enabling space (Cognetti, 2018).

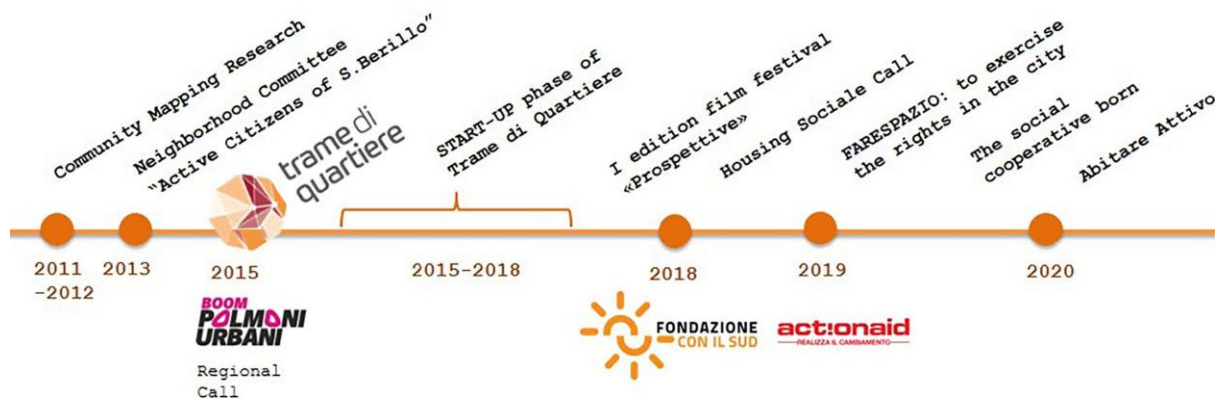


Figure 7. Timeline of the main steps of Trame di Quartiere. Source: Author.

At the end of 2017, reaching the end of the regional call, TdQ faced the issue of economic sustainability, which is actually a fairly common concern within the third sector. For this reason, the members of TdQ have continually looked for grants, funds, and calls supplied by banking foundations, international NGOs, etc. to continue to pave urban regeneration paths in OSB, without losing its genuine relationship between residents and the goal of inclusive urban regeneration. The several projects proposed by TdQ have always sought to put in practice new solutions to the current problems in OSB through using the production of culture as a tool for triggering social innovation and empowerment. Emblematic examples are:

- the two editions of film festivals Prospettive¹¹, the first financed by Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities, the second mostly self-financed through sponsors;
- the social theatre inspired by the theatre of the oppressed¹²;
- the migrant-led walking tours belonging to the international networks of New Roots Migrantour Intercultural Walks.

Notwithstanding all these laudable projects, two of the main issues of OSB, which are thickly intertwined with each other, are still unresolved: the degradation and abandonment of most of the public and private spaces, and the planning, policies, and state indifference towards the needs and ongoing practices in OSB. TdQ has questioned itself on its potential role in altering the current situation and in inclusively enabling the already ongoing practices.

¹¹ <https://prospettive.tramediquartiere.org/>

¹² The Theatre of the Oppressed describes theatrical forms that the Brazilian theatre practitioner Augusto Boal first elaborated in the 1970s, initially in Brazil and later in Europe. Boal's techniques use theatre as means of promoting social and political change. In the Theatre of the Oppressed, the audience becomes active, such that as "spect-actors" they explore, show, analyze and transform the reality in which they are living.

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In order to achieve such goals, TdQ has dedicated last projects to the public space:

1. SottoSopra: abitare collaborativo (Upside down: collaborative living"): it is a project funded by Fondazione Con il Sud¹³. It seeks to intersect the restoration of the headquarter with the creation of social housing for the homeless already leaving there (Barbanti & Privitera, 2019, 2020). Step n.4 of the project, named "abitare attivo" (living active) will be dedicated to the re-activation of a pedestrian street in front of the social housing and of the courtyard within the headquarter. While the street is already a public space, the courtyard is officially private, but the aim is to convert it into a "third place and space" through active listening and co-designing with residents where they can meet and socialize. The public administration is a partner of this project.
2. FareSpazio: sperimentare i diritti nella città (MakeSpace: to experiment the rights in the cities) funded by Action Aid, this project aims to build a network of organizations and residents to co-author a Manifesto of care for public space to the public administration so that it must assume responsibility for its residents, associations, and their needs. The public administration is not an original partner of the project, but the objective is to have a collective learning process. Therefore, the public administration will be engaged in a second stage so that the public already has a larger and more advantageous awareness.

Both projects are still in progress and were slowed down due to COVID-19 lockdown, but they exemplify how TdQ, as an actor of the third sector, wants to play a strategic role in the planning of public spaces by mediating between the ongoing informal practices and the local government through relational and collaborative paths. So far, while it has been relatively uncomplicated for TdQ to engage with OSB's residents and users of public space, interacting with local governments has resulted in colliding with the bureaucratic cage, typical of the public praxis.

Discussion: challenges and tricky points of collaborative and relational paths

This paper has introduced two main interrelated topics. First, it has presented the result of a methodology -made of immersive study, intense observations, walks, and interactions- to approach the analysis and study of OSB's public space. This method, strongly influenced by an ethnographic attitude, has made it possible to read and map the ongoing community practices in OSB's public space. Second, and as a consequence, a description and a comparison between such practices were provided.

The first type of practice, that of "inclusive space making," consists of low-budget self-recovery initiatives that some residents and civic groups have promoted mostly informally and spontaneously but without involving and thus entering into conflict with the public administration. A second type, on exclusionary spaces, uses the discourse of public space regeneration for private purpose, converting public space into a privatized one and having, at least officially, the support by the local government. Finally, third sector groups are experimenting with alternative collaborative approaches in which both residents and the local governments are already engaged as a partner in the design process. In short, in the first case, the public administration is generally absent, except for repressive actions; in the second, the

¹³ Fondazione CON IL SUD is the result of the alliance between bank foundations, Italian third sector, and volunteer organizations;

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local government tries to take advantage of private actions, pretending to sustain it; in the third case, the public is involved and engaged with bottom-up proposals to recognize some ongoing community practices in the district and also to take on its own responsibilities.

This paper, through the case of OBS, can perhaps provide some insights about the relations between the concept of "inclusive space" introduced at the beginning and about the part that third sector actors are playing in producing inclusive (third) public places. In particular, it is necessary to reimagine the idea of the inclusive city, so much scientifically embraced that has been inserted in the 11th of the Sustainable Development Goals of Agenda 2030. By tracking down the etymological origin of the word, "include" comes from the Latin *in + clusus* which means "closed inside". Inclusive planning -conceived as a way to allow only a few others to have the possibility to be taken in consideration by designers in "their closed inside"- still appears as an exclusionary approach relied on the strict border between "we" (intelligentsia, bourgeois, wealthy and reliable people) and "others" (citizens, local community, NGO, etc.). As an alternative, the word "collaborate", also coming from Latin *cum + laborare*, means "working together". The experience of TdQ carrying out regenerative actions rooted in place-making practices will likely spawn inclusive public space. Thus, in order to co-create spaces from ongoing community practices, collaborative and relational paths are needed: this is the planner's goal. Assuming that "no is not enough" (Klein, 2007), planners need to move toward an "enabling yes," establishing a relationship between grassroots groups, citizens and institutional bodies.

Nevertheless, the search for a common path requires some reflections:

1. New and/or existing resources: as private foundations or other fund sources are often substituting for the welfare state to support the community practices of urban regeneration, what are the long-term influences to society, specifically considering neoliberalism and extreme capitalistic enrichment? Which resource residents, local committees, and third sector may use to continue being the "applicator" of the right to the city?
2. The role of planners: the ethical choices of planners should aim to increase the capabilities of communities to perform more powerfully as instruments of deep democracy in the local context. The patience (Appadurai, 2001) or a context-based approach inspired by the action-research paradigm (Saija, 2016) could be the way to co-create this new awareness. Mutual learning among different expertise, both local and technical, can result in a democratization of knowledge, which is the base for democratizing democracy (De Sousa, 2009).
3. Given that the revitalization of derelict areas is mostly a matter of democracy rather than a mere physical matter, the co-evolution of the democratic dialogue between self-organized communities and institutions is necessary. Unfortunately, not only the communities but also the institutions are often not aware of the need to reframe their mechanisms of interaction and dialogue to face the current and future urban challenges. Collaborative and relational paths, like the ones promoted by TdQ, represent a shared experience through which both the third sector and the public can learn together and from each other.

Conclusion

This paper has tried to dig into the critiques, the challenges and the potentials of the third sector as mediator and creator of inclusive public places in the Italian context, specifically the Southern, by analyzing the re-appropriation and self-recovery practices in the neighborhood of

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San Berillo in Catania (Italy).

First, the article has framed the emerging position of the third sector in relation to the current roll-out neoliberalism system, the urban governance, and the production of a city. Due to both the decrease of public and private funds, there is a need for new alliances to emerge to support the generation of public space, besides guaranteeing the already existing spaces. In these innovative collaborations between citizens and the public, the third sector can be a facilitator and promoter of the right to the city, especially for the marginalized groups who often lack the opportunity to enjoy public urban spaces. Public space (including the third place) is the litmus test of the current dynamics of exclusion enforced by private investments, state power control and welfare state crisis. Public spaces represent the last stronghold for maintaining inclusive cities and for experimenting with deep and radical social innovation aimed at regenerating spaces. Such topics are even more relevant in Italy, especially Southern Italy, where the poverty percentage is high and public institutions are not prone to break out of the bureaucratic praxis and cage to learn through collaborative experiences.

For these reasons, the author has chosen to go through the community practices and the dialectical and conflictual tensions and power dynamics existing between institutions, citizens and the third sector to draw attention to the relations between them in the process of public space regeneration in the Southern context. A reflection was provided on possible collaborative approaches that involve citizens, the third sector, private donors, and the public administration in the re-activation of derelict public spaces in the district of Old San Berillo in Catania.

The case of Trame di Quartiere in OSB has confirmed the cruciality of the public space as a third place to intersect ideas, projects, needs, and collective actions, but, above all, it has shown how the revitalization of derelict areas is mostly a matter of resources, capabilities, and democracy, re-envisioning the concept of inclusivity. The creation of an inclusive city is not rooted in a generic inclusion of marginalized people and public institutions, but rather in the long collaborative process between the two. While it is worth noting that 'no one knows better about how to survive poverty than the poor themselves' (Appadurai, 2001, pp.29), and 'no one knows better how neighborhood works than citizens themselves' (Jacobs, 1965), this paper builds from these statements, explaining how expertise, human, cultural and economic resources must be involved to co-produce public space. Therefore, the third sector plays such crucial role in triggering the process of learning and planning involving both civic society and institutions.

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