

POLITECNICO DI TORINO

Master of Science in Territorial, Urban, Environment, and Landscape Planning Currculum: Planning for the Global Urban Agenda

Master Thesis:

Investigating Transformation, Green Gentrification, and Eco-Branding in Parco Dora Neighborhood of Torino

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I

Acknowledgments

"Yesterday I was clever, so I wanted to change the world. Today I am wise, so I am changing myself." –Rumi

This journey has been one of self-reflection and transformation, where I sought not only to question the seemingly normal but also to challenge my own perspectives. With this research, I have embraced my belief in the power of change not just for spaces and societies but for the self. I wish for peace in all its forms: peace for our communities, for the environment, and for the human spirit striving for a better world.

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Abstract

Urban green spaces are often seen as a solution for environmental renewal and social improvement, but their impacts can be more complex than expected. This thesis investigates Parco Dora in Turin, Italy, to explore the dual role of urban green spaces in fostering ecological and cultural regeneration while potentially exacerbating socio-economic and spatial inequalities. The study examines whether Parco Dora's development prioritized ecological imperatives or aligned more closely with economic and urban competitiveness agendas, questioning the balance between its environmental benefits and socio-economic impacts.

The research employs a mixed-methods approach, combining quantitative analyses of demographic changes, housing trends, and socio-economic data with qualitative insights drawn from interviews, correspondence between local organizations and the municipality, media narratives, thematic coding, and historical imagery from Google Earth to better uncover recurring socio-economic patterns within the area from different perspectives.

Based on the findings of the analyses, Parco Dora demonstrates the challenges of urban green spaces as a "double-edged sword." Initially, the park attracted new residents with its modern amenities and green infrastructure, reflecting early signs of gentrification, however, existing divisions within the area particularly between social housing zones and newer developments were exacerbated by insufficient public services and community infrastructure. Over time, both sides of the neighborhood have faced increasing deprivation. Crime and safety issues, inadequate maintenance, and the commodification of the park through frequent events have intensified social challenges, prompting some residents to leave the area. Instead of addressing inequalities, Parco Dora's development has, in some cases, intensified them, demonstrating how green spaces, without robust public services and inclusive planning, can deepen existing challenges.

This research concludes that, urban green spaces must be developed with equity and inclusivity at their core. Integrated governance, ongoing impact assessments, and alignment with public services are essential to prevent environmental projects from worsening socio-economic disparities. Parco Dora's trajectory highlights the critical need for urban planning that balances ecological objectives with social equity to create sustainable and inclusive urban environments.

Key Words: Urban Green Spaces, Green Gentrification, Eco-City Branding, Socio-Spatial Inequalities, Urban Transformation

Abstract

Gli spazi verdi urbani sono spesso considerati una soluzione per il rinnovamento ambientale e il miglioramento sociale, ma i loro impatti possono essere più complessi del previsto. Questa tesi indaga su Parco Dora a Torino, Italia, per esplorare il doppio ruolo degli spazi verdi urbani nel promuovere la rigenerazione ecologica e culturale, pur potenzialmente aggravando disuguaglianze socio-economiche e spaziali. Lo studio esamina se lo sviluppo di Parco Dora abbia dato priorità agli imperativi ecologici o si sia allineato maggiormente con le agende di competitività economica e urbana, mettendo in discussione l'equilibrio tra i suoi benefici ambientali e gli impatti socio-economici.

La ricerca adotta un approccio misto, combinando analisi quantitative sui cambiamenti demografici, tendenze abitative e dati socio-economici con approfondimenti qualitativi derivati da interviste, corrispondenza tra organizzazioni locali e il Comune, narrazioni mediatiche, codifica tematica e immagini storiche di Google Earth per individuare schemi socio-economici ricorrenti nell'area da diverse prospettive.

Sulla base dei risultati delle analisi, Parco Dora dimostra le sfide legate agli spazi verdi urbani come un "arma a doppio taglio." Inizialmente, il parco ha attratto nuovi residenti grazie alle sue infrastrutture moderne e al verde, evidenziando i primi segni di gentrificazione; tuttavia, le divisioni esistenti nell'area, in particolare tra le zone di edilizia popolare e i nuovi sviluppi, sono state esacerbate da servizi pubblici e infrastrutture comunitarie insufficienti. Nel tempo, entrambi i lati del quartiere hanno affrontato un crescente stato di deprivazione. Problemi legati alla criminalità e alla sicurezza, manutenzione inadeguata e la mercificazione del parco attraverso eventi frequenti hanno intensificato le sfide sociali, spingendo alcuni residenti a lasciare l'area. Invece di affrontare le disuguaglianze, lo sviluppo di Parco Dora le ha, in alcuni casi, aggravate, dimostrando come gli spazi verdi, senza servizi pubblici adeguati e una pianificazione inclusiva, possano approfondire le sfide esistenti.

Questa ricerca conclude che gli spazi verdi urbani devono essere sviluppati avendo come principi fondamentali l'equità e l'inclusività. Una governance integrata, valutazioni d'impatto continue e un allineamento con i servizi pubblici sono essenziali per evitare che i progetti ambientali peggiorino le disuguaglianze socio-economiche. Il percorso di Parco Dora evidenzia l'importanza cruciale di una pianificazione urbana che bilanci gli obiettivi ecologici con l'equità sociale per creare ambienti urbani sostenibili e inclusivi.

Parole chiave: Spazi verdi urbani, Gentrificazione verde, Eco-City Branding, Disuguaglianze socio-spaziali, Trasformazione urbana

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	
1.1. INTRODUCTION	
1.2. THE SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH	12
1.3. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH	12
1.4. THE GOAL OF THE THESIS	12
1.5. RESEARCH QUESTIONS	13
1.6. METHODOLOGY	
1.7. AN OVERVIEW OF FUTURE CHAPTERS	14
CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW	16
2.1. INTRODUCTION	17
2.2. GENTRIFICATION	17
2.3. DISPLACEMENT	21
2.4. BENEFITS AND DRAWBACKS OF URBAN GREEN SPACES	24
2.5. GREEN GENTRIFICATION	25
2.6. Types of Green Gentrification Based On the Degree of Relevence	26
2.7. THE GREEN GENTRIFICATION CYCLE	
2.8. CHALLENGING THE SIMPLISTIC VIEW OF GREEN GENTRIFICATION DYNAMICS	27
2.9. ROLE OF GOVERNMENTAL AND DEVELOPERS IN GREEN GENTRIFICATIONS	
2.10. ECO CITY BRANDING	30
2.11. Media Influence and Critical Discourse on Green Gentrification	33
2.12. PUBLIC INTEREST IN GENTRIFICATION THROUGH GOOGLE TRENDS	
2.13. CONCLUSION	36
CHAPTER 3. CASE STUDIES	
3.1. INTRODUCTION	39
3.2. GREEN GENTRIFICATION AND URBAN PARK DEVELOPMENT IN BARCELONA	39
3.3. GREEN GENTRIFICATION AND URBAN RENEWAL IN PORTO MARGHERA	42
3.4. CONCLUSION	45
CHAPTER 4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	
4.1. INTRODUCTION	
4.2. RECENT EXISTING METHODOLOGIES FOR IDENTIFYING GENTRIFICATION	
4.3. SUMMARY OF THE KEY FINDINGS AND METHODOLOGIE	
4.3. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK	
4.4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY OVERVIEW	62
CHAPTER 5. TURIN	
5.1. INTRODUCTION	
5.2. GEOGRAPHIC AND HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF TORINO	
5.3. DIVISION OF AREAS IN TURIN	
5.4. DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF TORINO	
5.5. POLICY AND PLANNING FRAMEWORK IN TURIN	
5.6. URBAN TRANSFORMATIONS AND THE EVOLUTION OF GENTRIFICATION IN TURIN	J 78

5.7. CONCLUSION	83
CHAPTER 6. PARCO DORA - QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS	
6.1. INTRODUCTION	
6.2. HISTORY OF SPINA 3 AND INTRODUCTION TO PARCO DORA	86
6.3. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF TRANSFORMATION DYNAMICS IN PARCO DOR	
6.4. INSIGHTS FROM EXISTING RESEARCH ON PARCO DORA'S INFLUENCE ON HO	DUSING PRICES 97
6.5. CHANGES OF THE RESIDENT POPULATION	
6.6. AGE DISTRIBUTION BY DISTRICTS	
6.7. CHANGES OF THE POPULATION EDUCATION LEVEL	
6.8. CONCLUSION	109
CHAPTER 7. PARCO DORA - QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS	
7.1. INTRODUCTION	112
7.2. ANALYZING PARCO DORA AND SPINA 3 THROUGH GOOGLE EARTH	
7.3. NEWS ARTICLES ANALYSIS	114
7.4. ANALYSIS OF COMITATO DORA SPINA 3 CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE MUN	ICIPALITY 124
7.5. INTERVIEW ANALYSIS	
7.6. CONCLUSION	142
CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION	144
8.1. SUMMARY OF RESEARCH	145
8.2. DISCUSSION OF THE MAIN RESEARCH QUESTIONS	145
8.3. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY	148
8.4. RECOMMENDATIONS	148
BIBLIOGRAPHY	

Chapter 1. Introduction



1.1. Introduction

As de-industrializing and post-industrial cities move towards redevelopment strategies focused on creating or improving green facilities, it is important to examine the impacts of these strategies from a broad perspective. It is clear that urban green spaces provide numerous health, social, and environmental benefits. In particular, green spaces help improve physical health by encouraging active lifestyles and creating local conditions that reduce the incidence of diseases associated with air and noise pollution (Anguelovski I., Connolly, Masip, & Pearsall, 2018). A whole array of approaches is used to address urban sustainability, which for example focus on ecosystem services, ecosystem-based adaptation and mitigation, green and blue infrastructure, as well as nature-based solutions (Bockarjova, Botzen, Schie, & Koetse, 2020), introducing nature to a city can make the city aesthetically more attractive and increase social cohesion. (Bockarjova, Botzen, Schie, & Koetse, 2020). Nevertheless, a growing number of studies are also finding that the benefits that urban green

space brings are often unevenly distributed. As a result, the creation or restoration of green facilities in cities may not bring health and social benefits to all residents and may actually lead to exclusion and displacement (Garcia-Lamarca, J. Connolly, & Anguelovski, 2020).Eco-branding and green gentrification are intricately linked phenomena. The process of green gentrification involves the appropriation of environmental resources by the green growth machine to attract the sustainability class through branding sustainable lifestyles (Gould & Lewis, 2018).

The choice to focus on Torino, specifically the Parco Dora neighborhood, was driven by its significant transformation from an industrial field to a green park. Parco Dora's transition from industrial to green spaceoffers a unique opportunity to study ecobranding transformations and green gentrification. The evolution of this neighborhood reflects broader trends in urban redevelopment and raises questions about the equitable distribution of benefits from green redevelopment projects. This chapter provides an overview of the study, starting with the scope of research, followed by its significance and the thesis goal. It outlines the primary research question and supplementary inquiries before delving into the methodology, including qualitative, quantitative, analyses.

1.2. The Scope of the Research

The research begins by exploring the broader context of urban redevelopment, focusing on green gentrification dynamics in the city of Torino, Italy. It then narrows its focus to the specific case study of Parco Dora, analyzing its transformation and the socio-economic and environmental implications for the surrounding neighborhood. Key aspects of the research scope include: Understanding the processes and dynamics of green gentrification in Torino, including its drivers and impacts.

Analyzing the broader urban redevelopment trends and socio-economic factors influencing these changes across the city.

Investigating the specific case of Parco Dora, tracing its evolution from an industrial site to a green public space.

Examining how green gentrification intersects with urban sustainability and ecobranding within the Parco Dora neighborhood, with a focus on the lived experiences of the community and the challenges of inclusivity.

1.3. The Significance of the Research

The greening of urban spaces is far from a straightforward process, as this research aims to uncover. While the creation and enhancement of green areas may appear beneficial at first glance, the reality is often much more complex. The transformation of industrial sites into green spaces, exemplified by Torino's Parco Dora neighborhood, involves multifaceted social, economic, and environmental considerations. Greening initiatives can attract investment, improve aesthetics, and promote environmental sustainability, yet they also have the potential to exacerbate social inequalities and contribute to gentrification processes. Moreover, the challenges associated with planning, funding, and maintaining green spaces cannot be overlooked. By examining the nuances and complexities of urban greening through a mixed-methods approach, this research endeavors to provide a more nuanced understanding of the implications of such initiatives. Ultimately, recognizing that greening is not a simple solution but rather a multifaceted process is essential for policymakers, planners, and communities alike as they navigate the complexities of urban development and strive for more inclusive and sustainable cities.

1.4. The Goal of the Thesis

This thesis examines the transformation of the Parco Dora neighborhood in Torino, a site transitioning from an industrial area to a green urban space. This transformation provides a valuable case to explore the dynamics of eco-branding, urban greening, and their potential socio-economic impacts, including aspects often associated with green gentrification. By focusing on Parco Dora's development, the research seeks to understand how green spaces are perceived, promoted, and utilized in urban redevelopment efforts and their broader implications.

The primary objective is to investigate the extent to which green spaces contribute to socio-economic changes in the surrounding area, emphasizing the perceived ecological dimensions and environmental challenges of such projects. This study aims to identify key indicators and mechanisms that may influence the outcomes of urban greening initiatives, without assuming predetermined effects.

By examining the interaction between environmental infrastructure, urban planning, and community experiences, this research aims to provide a detailed understanding of the transformative processes in Parco Dora. Furthermore, it seeks to propose strategies that balance the benefits of green redevelopment with the need for inclusivity and equity in urban development. Through this research, the thesis contributes to discussions on sustainable urban planning and provides insights to policymakers and stakeholders navigating the complexities of green transformations in evolving cities.

1.5. Research questions

This aim of this thesis is to address several research questions that have not been sufficiently answered in previous literature reviews. These questions include:

1.5.1. Primary Research Question

To what extent do green spaces contribute to the green gentrification of the area surrounding Parco Dora, and whether the development of the space, with its associated environmental issues and green infrastructure which has been then perceived and promoted, emphasis on the ecological dimension or not?

1.5.2. Supplementary Inquiries

- What socio-economic and demographic changes are associated with the development of Parco Dora ?
- How do physical and infrastructural changes in the area relate to broader patterns of neighborhood transformation ?
- What are the community perceptions and reactions to the redevelopment of Parco Dora?

1.6. Methodology

This research adopts a mixed approach to comprehensively examine the impact of green spaces on gentrification in the Parco Dora neighborhood in Turin which is designed to answer the research questions by combining quantitative and qualitative methods, focusing on the integration of diverse data sources and analytical techniques to uncover the multifaceted processes underlying neighborhood transformation.

1.6.1. Indicators Selection Based on Literature Review

The methodological framework is derived from a review of recent studies on gentrification and green gentrification, which informs the selection of relevant indicators for analysis. These indicators cover different socio-economic, spatial, and demographic dimensions of neighborhood transformation. By incorporating these indicators, this study creates a comprehensive framework for examining the dynamics of urban change in Parco Dora.

1.6.2. Quantitative Methods

Quantitative methods analyze secondary data to identify different patterns and trends in neighborhood tranformations. Housing price data, obtained from the Agenzia delle Entrate (Italian Revenue Agency), is subjected to time series analysis to track changes in property values in the area. Additional data on educational attainment, ethnic demographics, residential mobility, and age structure come from Statistics Service of the City of Turin. The dataset is visualized through GIS maps and graphs, showing spatial and temporal changes in socioeconomic indicators.

1.6.3. Qualitative Methods

Qualitative methods complement the quantitative analysis by capturing community narratives and different stakeholder perspectives. Content analysis of local newspapers and online media examines public discourse surrounding neighborhood redevelopment and green space initiatives. Semi-structured interviews with community leaders and various stakeholders provide insights into the social and cultural impacts of developments in Parco Dora.

Further more, Google Earth maps are used to analyze spatial transformations and physical changes in the neighborhood. By comparing historical and recent satellite imagery, this study identifies key shifts in land use, urban design, and green space development, adding a visual and spatial dimension to the qualitative analysis. These methods deepen the analysis by highlighting lived experiences, public perceptions, and visible physical changes in the area.

1.6.4. Integrated Mixed-Methods Framework

The integration of quantitative and qualitative methods creates a robust and comprehensive aproach to understanding the impacts of green spaces on neighborhood transformations. Quantitative data demostrates measurable changes, while qualitative analysis offers context through community narratives and public discourse. This mixed-methods framework provides a comprehensive lens for examining the intersection of green space development and gentrification in Parco Dora.

1.7. An overview of future chapters

This thesis is organized into eight chapters, each contributing to an understanding of the relationship between green spaces and neighborhood transformations in Torino's Parco Dora neighborhood.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter examines key concepts and theories related to gentrification, displacement, and urban green spaces, with a focus on green gentrification. It explores the benefits and drawbacks of urban green spaces, the green gentrification cycle, and the role of governmental policies, developers, and media in shaping urban transformations. It also introduces the concepts of eco-city branding and public interest in gentrification using tools like Google Trends.

Chapter 3: Case Studies

This chapter explores two case studies,Barcelona and Porto Marghera,to analyze the implementation of green projects and their social, economic, and environmental impacts. These examples serve as a comparative lens for understanding green gentrification processes and their varied outcomes. Chapter 4: Research Methodology

This chapter outlines the methodological framework used in this study. It includes a review of existing methodologies for identifying gentrification, the selection of indicators, and the integration of quantitative and qualitative methods in a mixed-methods framework.

Chapter 5: Turin

This chapter provides a detailed overview of Torino's geographic, historical, and socio-economic context. It discusses the city's administrative divisions, demographic trends, and urban planning frameworks. The chapter also highlights urban transformations and the evolution of gentrification in Turin.

Chapter 6: Parco Dora – Quantitative Analysis

This chapter delves into the history of Spina 3 and the development of Parco Dora. It presents a quantitative analysis of neighborhood transformation dynamics, focusing on housing prices, demographic changes, age distribution, and education levels.

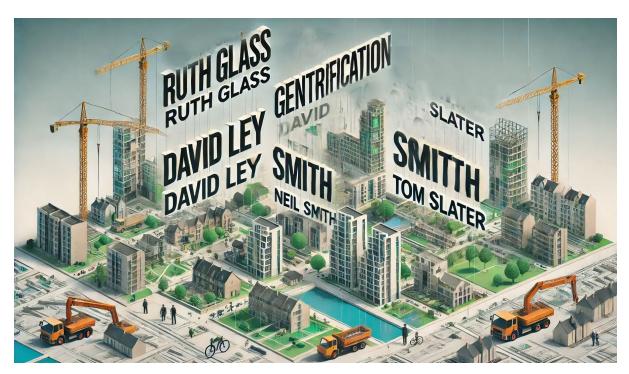
Chapter 7: Parco Dora – Qualitative Analysis

This chapter provides a qualitative analysis of Parco Dora and Spina 3. It includes insights from Google Earth visualizations, analyses of news articles, correspondence between the Comitato Dora Spina 3 and the municipality, and interviews with stakeholders. The thematic analysis highlights various perspectives on the neighborhood's transformation and associated challenges.

Chapter 8: Conclusion and Recommendations

The final chapter synthesizes the findings, addressing the research questions and providing insights into the relationship between green spaces and gentrification. It concludes with recommendations for policymakers and urban planners and outlines suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2. Literature Review



2.1. Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the background and literature surrounding green gentrification and eco city branding and its impact on urban transformation. It explores how the development of green spaces in cities, while aimed at enhancing environmental quality and public health, can inadvertently lead to socio-economic shifts and the displacement of existing residents. The discussion begins with a review of foundational concepts and historical perspectives on green gentrification. It examines how the introduction of green spaces often correlates with rising property values, which can result in the displacement of lower-income communities and contribute to changing neighborhood demographics. The chapter outlines key theories and models that explain these dynamics, highlighting both the intended benefits and unintended consequences of urban greening initiatives.

A survey of recent literature reveals the complex interplay between green space development and gentrification processes. Various studies illustrate how green gentrification manifests differently across contexts, influenced by factors such as policy decisions, market forces, and socio-demographic changes.

2.2. Gentrification

Gentrification is a fundamental concept of neighborhood transformation comprised of two necessary processes. The first is an inflow of affluent residents and investment (also referred to as capital) into a neighborhood. The second is the outflow of the lowincome population from the same neighborhood. Since sociologist Ruth Glass coined the term "gentrification" in 1964, numerous scholars and researchers have investigated gentrification as a process of neighborhood change, and have in various ways added nuance to the definition to fit their particular research interests and contexts. However. Glass' fundamental concepts of neighborhood transformation, inflow and outflow have not changed: of these different groups of people in and out of particular neighborhoods as it relates to changes in the surrounding built environment. Many studies have focused on the factors that

cause gentrification. Glass (1964) pointed to the affluent residents as the key factor driving gentrification.

On the otherside David Ley's seminal work in 1978 highlighted the emergence of a new middle class as a pivotal force in urban gentrification, particularly within the context of post-industrial economic and occupational transformations. He argued that the shift from industrial to service-oriented economies led to the rise of professionals in sectors such as finance, education, culture, and the arts. This demographic, characterized by higher education levels and cultural capital, exhibited a preference for urban living, thereby driving the revitalization of innercity neighborhoods (Ley, 1996)

Smith (1979) argued the physical change (or improvement) of neighborhoods by capital investment is the causal factor of gentrification. These three authors represent the pioneers of gentrification research (Yeom & Mikelbank, 2019).

In the late 1970s and the early 1980s, these ongoing empirical debates in the gentrification research began to form into the major theoretical debate that still characterizes discussion and research surrounding gentrification. The debate centers on the forces that bring about the low-income population displacement in the gentrification process. The consumption-based approach focuses on people, while the production-based approach focuses on investment (Yeom & Mikelbank, 2019).

The consumption-based approach of Ley (1981) argues that changes in the industrial and occupational structure are the keys to gentrification. In many neighborhoods experiencing gentrification, service industries replaced manufacturing industries. This industrial transition led to changes in occupational structure, where manual labor and working-class jobs gave way to white-

collar, professional work, including managerial, high-skill technical, and cultural occupations. Also, Ley asserted that occupational restructuring toward more highly skilled, professional activities is related to consumption patterns regarding culture and spatial preferences. Ley labels these replacement workers as a new middle class and argues that they prefer to live in cities rather than suburbs and notes they have different cultural tendencies than the workingclass workers they displaced. These are the fundamental assertions of consumptionbased explanations of displacement (Yeom & Mikelbank, 2019).

While Ley was arguing the effects of industrial and occupational changes in bringing about the emergence of a new middle class, Smith (1979) launched the productionbased approach, which strongly objected to the consumption-based explanation of displacement and gentrification. Smith argued that capital investment was a significant force driving gentrification (see Figure 2). To strengthen his argument, he advanced a rent gap thesis, representing the difference between the current property value and potential property value if areas became gentrified. Smith asserted that depreciated properties create the objective economic situations that make capital revaluation (gentrification) a rational market response (p.545). Smith argued that the rent gap starts from this circumstance. Both approaches have different focal points. The consumption-based approach focuses on the population attributes of gentrified neighborhoods while the production-based approach focuses on the economic conditions of the area that is gentrified (Yeom & Mikelbank, 2019).

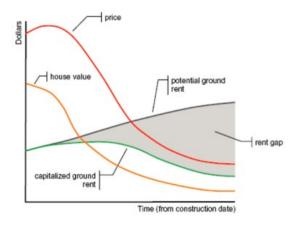


Figure 1. The rent-gap is the shaded area. Figure from Smith & Williams (1986).

The scholars at the core of the debate have different perspectives that shape how they understand the gentrification of inner-city neighborhoods. However, it seems that their arguments intersect (see Figure 3). Ley (1981) acknowledges that the built environment is one of the necessary conditions of gentrification. Similarly, even though Smith (1979) rejects the primacy of factors such as post-industrialization and the rise of a white-collar middle-class wanting to remain in the city, he does not necessarily deny that industrial and occupational restructuring plays a role. Separate from the academic and theoretical debates, we can simply observe gentrification where it occurs in the real world around us. The most critical aspect of gentrification, in reality, is not the debate of causal factors, but the conflict between these forces of neighborhood transformation (gentrifiers or capital investment) and the vulnerable low-income population that lives there. This battle plays out regularly in deteriorated inner urban, suburban, or rural neighborhoods.

Once gentrifiers or capital investments flow into deteriorated neighborhoods, the lowincome population faces the reality of being pushed out of their homes and communities. This means they have to initiate a search for a new living environment. However, it can be quite hard to find places where they are as satisfied as they were with their previous conditions these might include affordable rent, the characteristics of the property, job accessibility, good school district, accessible public services, safety, sense of community, etc. While it might be difficult to slow or alter the redevelopment process once it has begun, and while cities might be anxious to attract any reinvestment that they can, the topic of displacement cannot be ignored.

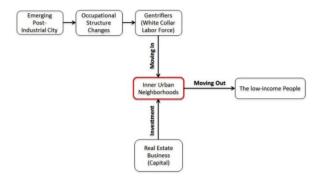


Figure 2. Flow of Consumption-Based Approach (Yeom & Mikelbank, 2019).

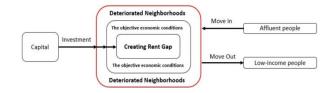


Figure 3. Flow of Production-Based Approach (Yeom & Mikelbank, 2019).

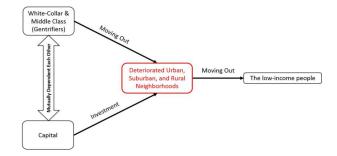


Figure 4 . Intersection of both Approaches (Yeom & Mikelbank, 2019).

2.2.1. Contemporary Perspectives on Gentrification

While early debates focused on the dichotomy between consumption-based and production-based approaches, the literature has evolved to explore more complex dimensions of the phenomenon, including temporalities, global diffusion, and sociocultural and economic implications (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008).

Since Ruth Glass (1964) first coined the term, gentrification has been examined through various lenses. Glass initially emphasized the inflow of affluent residents as a driving force, but later scholars added nuance. David Ley (1978, 1996) argued for the importance of the emerging new middle class in post-industrial economies. This population, characterized by cultural capital and higher education, preferred urban living and contributed to the revitalization of inner-city neighborhoods. On the other hand, Neil Smith's (1979) production-based approach, rooted in his rent-gap theory, emphasized the role of capital reinvestment in physically transforming neighborhoods. These foundational perspectives have shaped decades of academic debate on gentrification.

However, contemporary literature has moved beyond this binary framework. As Lees, Slater, and Wyly (2008) argue, gentrification today must be understood as a global urban strategy, shaped by uneven development, neoliberalism, and the complexities of globalization. Temporalities have also emerged as critical to understanding gentrification, with research identifying distinct waves of the phenomenon. Hackworth and Smith's (2001) three-wave model, later expanded to include fourth and fifth waves, captures the evolving interplay between state involvement, capital investment, and social transformation. For example, the first wave of sporadic, individualled gentrification in the mid-20th century contrasts with the second wave, characterized by increased local government involvement and small-scale real estate development in the late 1970s and 1980s. By the third wave, gentrification became a state-led neoliberal process in the 1990s, where federal policies such as HOPE VI and mechanisms like Tax Increment Financing (TIF) and Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) incentivized large-scale redevelopment and private investment in urban areas (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008).

The fourth wave, which emerged in the 2000s, was shaped by intensified housing financialization, with low-interest mortgages and real estate investment trusts (REITs) directing investments in low-income urban neighborhoods. This period saw a significant change as global capital began to dominate the dynamics of gentrification, leading to further commodification of housing and increased displacement pressures (Aalbers, 2018). Finally, the fifth wave, as identified by Aalbers (2019) and refined by Hyra et al. (2020), represents a qualitative transformation in the 2010s, where rental market speculation became the primary driver. This wave emerged from the fallout of the 2007-2009 Great Recession, as millions of foreclosures shifted housing demand to the rental market. Institutional investors seized the opportunity, acquiring single-family homes and multifamily properties, rehabilitating them, and significantly increasing rents, thereby exacerbating displacement pressures, particularly in low-income communities of color (Hyra, Fullilove, Moulden, & Silva, 2020). Moreover, the consequences of gentrification extend beyond the physical transformation of neighborhoods. As noted by Slater (2002), research has shifted from causal debates to examine the implications for displaced communities, including the loss of affordable housing, disrupted social networks, and heightened inequalities.

These outcomes underscore the need for a nuanced understanding of gentrification that considers its global, temporal, and so-cio-cultural dimensions.

2.3. Displacement

Displacement is often associated with gentrification but is recognized as a distinct phenomenon that can occur without it. Scholarly attention to displacement emerged in the mid-20th century when urban renewal projects, local redevelopment initiatives, and the construction of interstate highways displaced large numbers of lowincome and minority communities. These interventions brought attention to the role of government in enabling displacement and raised concerns among urban activists (Zuk, Bierbaum, Chapple, Gorska, & LoukaitouSideris, 2018).

In the 1970s, the focus shifted from displacement caused by government-led actions to processes driven by private sector trends, particularly the increasing appeal of urban living. This shift aligned with broader demographic patterns, such as the return of younger and older generations to urban centers. More recently, the revitalization of downtown areas and public investments in infrastructure and amenities have renewed attention to displacement as a complex phenomenon influenced by both private actions and public policies (Zuk, Gorska, Bierbaum, Chapple, & LoukaitouSideris, 2018).

Early efforts to conceptualize displacement provided frameworks for understanding its diverse causes. For example, a report commissioned by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development in 1978 identified multiple factors contributing to displacement, including rising rents, property conversions, enforcement of building codes, and lending discrimination. These drivers involve a range of stakeholders, from landlords and developers to local governments and financial institutions. The report defined displacement as situations where households are compelled to move due to conditions beyond their control, making their continued residence unsafe, unfeasible, or unaffordable. While the term "forced" was used, it acknowledged that displacement often results from implicit pressures, rather than explicit evictions, and emphasized the blurred lines between voluntary and involuntary relocation (Zuk, Bierbaum, Chapple, Gorska, & LoukaitouSideris, 2018).

Marcuse 1986 argues that when looking at the relationship between gentrification and displacement, one must first consider the disinvestment of urban neighborhoods and subsequent displacement, which creates "vacant" land ripe for investment through gentrification. From this perspective, gentrification can occur long after displacement has occured. Thus, most studies of gentrification-induced displacement significantly underestimate the magnitude of the problem by only looking at the "last resident displacement. "Instead, he argues that "chains" of displacement should be considered. He also distinguishes between displacement due to physical reasons versus those due to economic causes. In addition, Marcuse introduces the concept of "exclusionary displacement" to encompass situations when a household is not allowed to move into a neighborhood based on circumstances that are beyond their control.

Marcuse also suggests that displacement affects many more than those physically displaced at any moment: "When a family sees its neighborhood changing dramatically, when all their friends are leaving when stores are going out of business and new stores for other clientele are taking their places (or none are replacing them), when changes in public amenities, transportation patterns, support services, are all clearly making the area less livable, then the pressure for displacement is already severe" (Marcuse, 1986, p. 57, as cited in Zuk, Bierbaum, Chapple, Gorska, & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2018).

Building on the fundamental discussions around displacement, Tom Slater provides a critical lens on how displacement is percieved, measured, and represented in the context of gentrification. He challenges mainstream perspectives that minimize the extent of displacement, arguing that such views misrepresent the lived realities of people affected by gentrification.Slater emphasizes that displacement cannot be adequately understood through narrow definitions or simplistic measures, such as measuring the rate of household mobility in gentrifying neighborhoods. He argues that these approaches, , often fail to account for the full social complexity and structural mechanisms at play. For example, he criticizes studies that rely solely on mobility data, highlighting their inability to capture indirect forms of displacement, such as exclusionary displacement or the pressures faced by tenants who remain in their homes under increasingly precarious conditions. Slater emphasizes that such analyses risk perpetuating the myth that displacement is negligible or voluntary, ignoring the systemic inequities that drive these processes (Slater, 2009).

Drawing on Peter Marcuse's framework Slater draws attention to the various forms of displacement that go beyond visible evictions or direct dislocation. He highlights the concept of "displacement pressure," where rising costs, social isolation, and the changing neighborhood fabric force residents to leave even before formal eviction occurs.also Slater integrates Marcuse's notion of "exclusionary displacement," arguing that the inability of certain groups, to access housing in gentrified areas is as important as the displacement of current residents (Slater, 2009).

Slater critiques the portrayal of gentrification as a process that benefits all, calling out its framing as an urban success story or a tool for the revitalization. He asserts that such narratives strip gentrification of its historical and class-based context, portraying it as a natural market phenomenon rather than a manifestation of systemic inequalities. He contends that these perspectives, undermine the lived experiences of those displaced which mask the role of policy and market forces in exacerbating housing inequities (Slater, 2009).

In addressing the broader implications of these perspectives, Slater calls for a reorientation of the discourse about gentrification and displacement. He advocates for a focus on housing as a human right and also as a critical element of social justice, challenging the commodification of housing and the neoliberal policies that underpin urban transformations. By drawing on Marcuse's insights and extending them to critique contemporary scholarship, Slater provides a framework, for understanding displacement as a deeply political and moral issue that demands structural intervention (Slater, 2009).

Following the critiques of mainstream perspectives, Mark Davidson, in his article, explores the concept of displacement within the context of gentrification by critiquing existing spatial metaphors and emphasizing the need for a deeper understanding of space and place. He argues that current debates on gentrification-related displacement are overly reliant on Cartesian understandings of space and the notion of physical relocation (out-migration) as the primary measure of displacement. This approach, he suggests, abstracts displacement from the lived experiences of individuals and communities, thereby neglecting the social and spatial dimensions that make displacement significant (Davidson, 2009).

Davidson critiques the tendency in gentrification scholarship to reduce displacement to measurable spatial phenomena, such as the movement of people from one location to another. This abstraction, he claims, overlooks the socio-spatial relationships and lived experiences that are integral to place-making. He uses the philosophies of Heidegger and Lefebvre to argue for a phenomenological approach to displacement, which considers the interplay between space, place, and being. Heidegger's concept of "dwelling" and Lefebvre's spatial triad are central to Davidson's analysis, as they highlight the importance of lived space and the socio-spatial practices that constitute place (Davidson, 2009).

Davidson emphasizes that displacement should not only be understood as a physical relocation but also as a disruption or destruction of socio-spatial relations and the ability to dwell in and produce place. He critiques the commodification and abstraction of urban space under capitalism, which he sees as undermining the lived experiences of individuals and communities. By drawing on Lefebvre's critique of abstract space and Heidegger's ontology of beingin-the-world, Davidson argues for a re-spatialized understanding of displacement that goes beyond spatial metrics to capture the phenomenological dimensions of place and dwelling (Davidson, 2009).

Through the example of 1520 Sedgwick Avenue, the birthplace of hip-hop, Davidson illustrates how displacement encompasses more than just the threat of physical eviction. He shows that the loss of place, including the socio-spatial relations and cultural practices tied to it, is a central concern. Davidson concludes by calling for a reconceptualization of displacement that incorporates the right to make and dwell in place, asserting that this is essential for addressing the socio-spatial injustices of gentrification (Davidson, 2009).

Finally, focusing on evictions, Desmond and Shollenberger (2015) clarify the overly simplified dichotomy of involuntary or voluntary moves by reclassifying some seemingly voluntary reasons as responsive to outside forces. They define these responsive moves as "motivated by housing or neighborhood conditions. These include rising rents, deterioration in housing quality, escalating violence in the neighborhood,domestic violence" (Desmond & Shollenberger, 2015, p. 1758, as cited in Zuk, Bierbaum, Chapple, Gorska, & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2018).

In their literature review, Zuk et al. identified different catalysts for displacement from housing units and neighborhoods. They categorized these catalysts into two main types: forced and responsive causes. Additionally, they distinguished between three specific mechanisms of displacement: direct-physical causes, indirect-economic causes, and exclusionary causes (see Table 1).

	Forced	Responsive
Direct or	Formal eviction	Deterioration in housing quality
Physical	Informal eviction (e.g., landlord	 Neighborhood violence or
Causes	harassment)	disinvestment
	Landlord foreclosure	Removing parking, utilities, etc.
	Eminent domain	i itemo ving purking, utilites, etc.
	Natural disaster	
	Building condemnation	
Indirect or	Foreclosure	Rent increase
Economic	Condo conversion	 Increased taxes
Causes		Loss of social networks or cultural
		significance of a place
Exclusionary	Section 8 discrimination	Unaffordable housing
Causes	• Zoning policies (restriction on density,	Cultural dissonance
	unit size, etc.)	 Lack of social networks
	NIMBY resistance to development	

Table 1. Categories Of Displacement (Zuk, Bierbaum, Chapple, Gorska, & LoukaitouSideris, 2018).

Elliott-Cooper, Hubbard, and Lees (2020) build on Atkinson's (2015) conceptualization of displacement as a process of unhoming that severs the links between residents and their communities. This severance is experienced through various modalities, including experiential, financial, social, familial, and ecological aspects. Additionally, they extend the work of Brickell et al. (2017), who argue that displacement should be considered an affective, emotional, and material rupture.

2.4. Benefits and Drawbacks of Urban Green Spaces

As the trend of urbanisation is expected to continue, promoting public health and wellbeing in urban areas has become a goal for urban planners and policymakers. Many cities have developed and implemented urban sustainability plans by installing greeninfrastructure projects. Examples include rain gardens, bioswales, green streets, permeable pavers and widescale redevelopment of entire waterfront districts (Gearin, Dunson, & Hampton, 2023), and there is a broad literature showing the benefits of green spaces, According to Anguelovski et al. (2018), from a development perspective, abundant and high-quality green spaces enhance an area's identity, making it more attractive for residents, workers, and visitors, which positively impacts local economies and increases real estate values. Urban green spaces provide numerous ecological benefits, including enhancing biodiversity, improving stormwater absorption, mitigating urban heat island effects, and regulating climate emissions. For example, a research by Baró et al. (2014) demonstrates that urban forests annually remove over 300 tons of air pollutants and prevent the release of 5,000 tons of CO2 into the atmosphere (Anguelovski I., Connolly, Masip, & Pearsall, 2018). Supporting this notion, Sharifi et al. (2021) propose that Urban green spaces, as a form of nature-based solution, can promote mental and physical health through different mechanisms; for example, reducing obesity, diabetes mellitus, cardiovascular problems, stress, and concentration problems, and causing considerable improvement in self-esteem which also can improve neighborhood satisfaction, sense of place, social cohesion, social capital, and reduce crime and incivilities all of which are identified as social determinants of health. However, a critical concern

posed by some scholars regarding urban greening initiatives is whether efforts to enhance lower socioeconomic suburbs might yield unintended consequences. The introduction of green spaces can potentially attract higher-income residents, inflate property values, and induce significant shifts in the housing and commercial markets, thus raising pertinent questions about gentrification and its correlation with greening efforts (Sharifi, Nygaard, Stone, & Levin, 2021).

Which Angelo (2021) illuminates the multifaceted dynamics of urban greening, portraying it not as a monolithic public good but as a contested terrain where issues of social justice, economic development, and community displacement intersect. And Loughran (2022) delves into the evolving landscape of urban parks through an exploration of three prominent examples: the High Line, the Bloomingdale Trail/606, and Buffalo Bayou Park. These parks, born from the adaptive reuse of industrial infrastructures, represent a shift towards privatization and commercialization within public spaces. The author underscores how these postindustrial parks have become emblematic of urban revitalization efforts, catering predominantly to affluent, predominantly white demographics.

Central to Loughran's analysis is the concept of "post-industrial parks" as places designed not just for recreation, but as curated environments which prioritize aesthetics and consumer experiences. Loughran argues that, these parks serve as instruments of social exclusion, shaping norms of park use to align with bourgeois leisure practices.



Figure 5. Image representing the impact of gentrification on historically Black and Brown communities in Los Angeles (Aubry, s.d.).

2.5. Green Gentrification

In recent years, the intersection of urban redevelopment and greening initiatives has given rise to a phenomenon commonly referred to as "green gentrification." This concept highlights a paradox where greening projects, although providing economic, ecological, and social benefits to many, may simultaneously exacerbate vulnerabilities for certain groups, particularly lowerincome residents and minorities. Anguelovski et al. (2019) describe this paradox as the emergence of "green gaps" areas where municipalities, private investors, and privileged residents capitalize on greening efforts, perceiving them as new sources of potential "green rents." Building on the idea of rent gaps (Smith, 1987) and environmental rent gaps (Bryson, 2013), Anguelovski et al. (2019) argue that these green gaps are framed as beneficial, win-win public goods that ultimately drive up property values and contribute to displacement.

This process is particularly evident in lowincome neighborhoods targeted for urban greening interventions, which are increasingly viewed by local residents as a form of GreenLULU (Green Locally Unwanted Land Use). In response, communities are organizing to contest the social effects of such projects, advocating for a more just approach to urban sustainability, although there is growing recognition of the displacement and exclusion associated with green gentrification, Anguelovski et al. (2019) emphasize the need for further research to expand theoretical frameworks and empirical studies that can better capture the socio-spatial dynamics of this phenomenon. The authors stress that not all greening initiatives lead to gentrification, and it is essential to understand the conditions under which green gentrification occurs, as well as its broader socio-political ramifications.

2.6. Types of Green Gentrification Based On the Degree of Relevence

Anguelovski and Connolly (2022) distinguish between three different kinds of green gentrifica-tion, depending on the role that green-ing plays in the urban process of gentrification

1. Lead Green Gentrification: In these cities, greening is the major driver of gen-trification, and largely dominates changes to the built environment over the long term. Greening represents the strongest factor explaining gentrification, with other changes to the built environment-like new development and transit-playing limited roles. The hypothesis that greening can independently lead to gentrification finds the most robust support in these cities.

2. Integrated Green Gentrification: In this category, greenspace has an explanatory role in gentrification, that is comparable to new development and transit. Here, greening is part of a wider set of interventions aimed at neighborhood redevelopment and sustainability initiatives. Thus, green gentrification is a real phenomenon, it is not the only driver; instead, it works alongside other urban improvements to drive gentrification.

3. Subsidiary Green Gentrificatio: In these cities, greenspace plays a relevant, but secondary role in gentrification. Other interventions, like new residential development, are more dominant in explaining gentrification over time. Greening is an important factor, but not the dominant one in the gentrification proccess.

Each of the three forms of green gentrification underlines the role of greening in urban gentrification, although its influence varies. Even in subsidiary forms, greening contributes to the mix of forces driving gentrification and and must be taken into account when analyzing such processes.

2.7. The green gentrification cycle

In the study by Rigolon and Collins (2023), titled "The green gentrification cycle," they introduced and explored the concept of the green gentrification cycle, which refers to the complex interplay between urban greening initiatives and processes of gentrification within neighborhoods. They noted that previous research had acknowledged the existence of this cycle, albeit without a clear conceptualization or comprehensive exploration of its bidirectional nature (Gould & Lewis, 2017; Reibel et al., 2021; Rigolon et al., 2020). Specifically, the authors highlighted that while some studies found gentrification following greening initiatives, others indicated that greening could precede gentrification, emphasizing the iterative and potentially cyclical nature of these processes (Gould & Lewis, 2017). The empirical evidence presented by Rigolon and Collins supported their conceptualization of the green gentrification cycle through various mechanisms. They identified demand-side factors where gentrifiers' preferences for green amenities drive local governments and developers to invest in greening initiatives to enhance neighborhood attractiveness and property values (Rigolon & Collins, 2022).Moreover, they discussed the supplyside influence of the "green growth machine," a coalition involving developers, elected officials, and non-profit organizations, which strategically promotes and implements greening to stimulate economic growth and attract affluent residents (Gould & Lewis, 2017).

Additionally, Rigolon and Collins highlighted the resource-side dynamics, noting that gentrifying neighborhoods often benefit from increased public and private resources directed towards greening projects. This includes higher tax revenues and park fees that fund improvements in local green spaces, thereby facilitating the convergence of greening and gentrification in urban areas (Rigolon & Collins, 2022).

Their analysis underscored that while the green gentrification cycle is well-documented in Global North contexts, particularly through initiatives like park renovations and greenway developments (Anguelovski et al., 2018; Immergluck & Balan, 2018), its applicability and mechanisms in the Global South remain underexplored and may differ due to distinct socio-political and economic conditions (Chen et al., 2021).

So, Rigolon and Collins called for further research to better understand the complexities and implications of the green gentrification cycle, particularly its impacts on social equity and justice in urban development. Their study contributes to a nuanced understanding of how greening initiatives can both promote sustainability and exacerbate socio-economic disparities within rapidly changing urban landscapes.

2.8. Challenging the Simplistic View of Green Gentrification Dynamics

Anguelovski and Connolly (2024) emphasize the importance of moving beyond a simplistic and binary understanding of the relationship between urban greening and gentrification. Rather than framing green gentrification as a straightforward causeand-effect phenomenon where greening always leads to gentrification, they advocate for a more nuanced perspective that considers its multifaceted and multi-directional dynamics. This approach underscores the complex interplay of social, economic, and environmental factors that influence how greening initiatives impact urban neighborhoods.

By rejecting reductive narratives, the authors highlight the need to examine green gentrification as a process shaped by intersecting structural forces, including unequal redevelopment, land speculation, and the historical context of urban inequality, authors also argue that focusing solely on whether greening predicts or contributes to gentrification risks oversimplifying the issue and overlooking the broader socio-spatial dynamics at play. Instead, Anguelovski and Connolly stress the importance of understanding how greening and gentrification are enmeshed in a "messy entanglement" that perpetuates social exclusion and environmental inequities.

This perspective also extends beyond practical urban planning considerations to engage with diverse academic disciplines such as urban ecology, public health, and urban economics. By situating green gentrification within these broader frameworks, the authors aim to shed light on its systemic nature and the feedback loops that reinforce its normalization. As cities increasingly prioritize green urban planning under the banner of climate resilience and sustainability, they warn that processes such as unequal redevelopment and speculative urbanism may become embedded as routine aspects of urban governance. This normalization, which they caution, risks downplaying or dismissing the exclusionary effects of greening initiatives, especially on historically marginalized communities.

Through their analysis of "greening 2.0," Anguelovski and Connolly (2024) elucidate how contemporary greening projects are deployed as multifunctional, universally marketed interventions that often exacerbate pre-existing inequalities. These interventions frequently result in the displacement of vulnerable residents, who are pushed into areas with fewer environmental benefits and higher climate risks, what the authors term "urban green sacrifice zones." Within this framework, privileged residents benefit disproportionately from access to new green amenities, while marginalized groups face exclusion, displacement, and segregation into grever, less desirable spaces.

The authors further argue that green gentrification is not merely a recent phenomenon but reflects deep-seated, long-standing racial and socio-economic divides within cities regarding access to nature and earlier public investments in green spaces. Historically, communities of color and lower-income residents have been excluded from the benefits of urban greening, a legacy that contemporary greening interventions often reinforce rather than rectify.

2.8.1. Direct Displacement

Direct displacement, occurs when greening interventions directly displace residents from their homes. This displacement can involve legalizing homes for the construction of new green amenities, unfairly enforcing land use regulations, or implementing large-scale redevelopment projects that prioritize green spaces over existing communities. Examples include the removal of vulnerable residents for climate-resilient infrastructure or the displacement caused by major events like the Rio Olympics. These actions disproportionately affect lower-income and minority communities, exacerbating existing inequalities in access to green spaces and housing.

or indirectly through the influx of higherend housing investment attracted by greening initiatives (Anguelovski & Connolly, 2024).

2.8.2. Indirect Displacement

This process of indirect displacement is facilitated by developers marketing properties as green or capitalizing on their proximity to newly greened neighborhoods. As a result, new housing units are typically sold or rented at higher prices, catering to wealthier, often gentrifying residents. The speculative nature of greening allows developers and investors to extract material and symbolic rent, contributing to increased land and property values that further exacerbate gentrification pressures (Anguelovski & Connolly, 2024).

Ultimately, Anguelovski and Connolly's research highlights the urgent need to acknowledge and address the complexities of green gentrification, advocating for a more nuanced understanding that considers its social, economic, and environmental dimensions.

2.8.3. Internal Investment in Greening

Wealthier residents moving into gentrifying neighborhoods often have the means to upgrade their homes and beautify their surroundings through self-funded greening projects. This dynamic is observed in urban environmental stewardship literature, which highlights a divide among residents based on race, gender, and class. In climatevulnerable areas, higher-income earners invest in green resilient infrastructure, such as rain gardens and permeable pavement, to mitigate the impacts of climate change, leading to dynamics of climate gentrification. Additionally, residents mobilize to self-green their streets and private spaces, often pooling resources or undertaking greening projects independently. However, this mode of greening raises challenges, especially regarding long-term maintenance and stewardship. Gentrifying residents demonstrate greater receptiveness to green infrastructure, although concerns over differential power dynamics and maintenance protocols have been observed, particularly among lower-income groups (Anguelovski & Connolly, 2024).

2.8.4. External Investment in Greening

Gentrifiers also have the political capacity to attract external green investments by mobilizing networks within municipal governments and leveraging financial resources. This can lead to the construction of new green spaces in gentrifying neighborhoods. For example, in Montreal's Saint Henri neighborhood, new residents secured funding to transform an unused back alley into a public green space. However, such spaces often cater primarily to the recreational preferences of wealthier residents, highlighting ongoing dynamics of exclusivity within high-profile green initiatives. Research indicates that greening is a common occurrence in gentrifying neighborhoods throughout the gentrification process, from early stages of neighborhood change to advanced gentrification (Anguelovski & Connolly, 2024).

2.9. Role of Governmental and Developers in Green Gentrifications

Frequently, community-driven improvement initiatives coincide with governmental strategies like rezoning to optimize land use, offering tax incentives to repurpose neglected buildings, and attracting private investment. Enhancing community appeal, particularly with environmentally friendly initiatives, fosters this trend. Additionally, community gardens have been linked to reducing crime rates, further enhancing the area's attractiveness for external investments. Gentrification typically occurs in less affluent, often working-class areas with higher proportions of racial or ethnic minorities compared to the city overall. These areas ideally feature good transportation links to the central business district and either existing housing ready for renovation or vacant land suitable for new construction. (Maantay & Maroko, 2018).

Gould and Lewis (2018) suggest that developers use green initiatives to convince local governments to approve eco-friendly urban development. This creates a situation where the profits go to the top, while environmental risks end up affecting those lower down the social ladder. We need to delve deeper into how financial interests shape urban development, especially the speculative practices linked to green projects. Since global financial markets, often supported by government policies, have a big say in how cities develop, it's crucial to understand how they use "green value added" in financial systems. Basically, financial players, with government support, are becoming key players in pushing for urban green projects. Figuring out their motives and actions can help us see both environmental injustices and ways to make cities more equitable and eco-friendly (As cited in Angotti, 2018). also Connolly, and Anguelovski (2020) emphasize that debates around what a green neighborhood and city should be, and who they are for, are often overshadowed by the assumption that new green infrastructure projects are inherently good for all, which highlights the critical importance of avoiding a post-political approach to urban sustainability. Greening is not a politically neutral goal but rather unfolds within profit-driven city-making dynamics. Like any urban process, it is deeply connected to exclusion, dispossession, and displacement of low-income people and people of color.

Environmental gentrification, and the possible multi-fold displacement it entails, is an essential consideration for any urban sustainability model that seeks to simultaneously promote ecologically and socially responsible urban planning, without this awareness, municipal representatives and sustainability advocates who uncritically accept calls for more urban green space may, against their own intentions, create new socio-spatial inequities (Garcia-Lamarca, J. Connolly, & Anguelovski, 2020).

2.10. Eco City Branding

City branding has garnered considerable attention from both scholars and policymakers. In the global competition among cities to attract tourists, investors, and skilled professionals, as well as to achieve broader developmental goals, branding strategies originally rooted in the commercial sector are being increasingly adapted and utilized to enhance urban development, drive regeneration, and improve residents' quality of life. (Dinnie, 2011).

The role of city branding extends beyond mere promotional efforts. De Jong et al. (2019) define city branding as a multifaceted activity that conveys a city's image to various stakeholders, creating a sense of loyalty and fostering long-term engagement. This involves crafting a city brand identity that aligns with its industrial profile and geographic features while reflecting its future aspirations.

The adoption of city labels like "eco-city" and "smart city" is a deliberate attempt to attract stakeholders and promote urban sustainability (Jong & Han, 2019).

As described by de Jong, Han, and Lu (2019), eco-city branding shares its ambition with concepts such as low-carbon, green, liveable, and resilient cities, aiming to enhance environmental quality in urban areas while attracting stakeholders.

Sulistiowati et al. (2023) highlight that ecocity branding can drive urban transformation by integrating sustainability into urban development strategies. Cities adopting this approach aim to attract eco-conscious investors, stimulate local economies, and improve environmental performance.

However, this process is not without its criticisms. De Jong et al. (2019) point out that the branding efforts of many cities are often perceived as tactical greenwashing, prioritizing economic gains over genuine environmental improvements.

Despite these challenges, eco-city branding has catalyzed significant policy initiatives aimed at sustainability. Sulistiowati et al. (2023) argue that eco-city branding has the potential to transform urban landscapes by encouraging sustainable practices and infrastructure development.So many European and North American cities are launching a positive image or brand based on growing environmental concerns and complementing their historical heritage and cultural attractions, Nowadays, this is already a growing trend, and there are several places, such as cities, countries or regions, that choose to promote their natural resources such as native species, national parks or landscapes or their unique characteristics such as wellbeing or 'slowness' to distinguish themselves from other regions as a differentiation strategy It is in this context that sustainable city and place brands emerge (Moreira, Pereira, Lopes, Calisto, & Vale, 2023).

The rise of sustainable city brands and ecocities has given rise to what Gould et al. (2018) refer to as the sustainability class. This group is well-educated, holds overt sustainability oriented values, can afford sustainability-themed consumption, and promotes their green urbanism, such as living on the waterfront or near green spaces, to brand their lifestyle.

However, this trend can lead to green gentrification, where the wealthy use their private capital to access sustainable living, potentially displacing lower-income residents who cannot afford such amenities. This issue underscores the need for more attention to prevent green gentrification and ensure that sustainability efforts benefit all urban residents equitably (Gould & Lewis, 2018).

2.10.1. The Role of the European Union (EU) in Green City Branding

In many post-industrial cities, there is a strong desire to transform their image from one of dark, polluted, and unhealthy environments to modern, clean, and attractive urban areas. This ambition has paved the way for the implementation of environmental policies aimed at achieving this transformation (Andersson, 2016). One of the key motivations behind green place branding is the ambition to convert run-down, dirty, and stagnant locations into vibrant, clean, appealing urban settlements and (Andersson, 2016).

Furthermore, intra-urban competition between cities adopting environmental policies is also seen as a factor that can enhance the overall level of greenness across cities. As Jonas, While, and Gibbs (2010) explain, "Cities and regions are likely to engage in a 'race to the top' and want to be seen as leaders in meeting more stringent [...] targets" of sustainability (Andersson, 2016).

Which also, another significant factor driving the development of green place branding in cities is the practice of sharing and learning about successful initiatives among policy-makers (Andersson, 2016). At the European Union (EU) level, this is demonstrated through awards like the European Green Capital Award and events such as the annual Open Days Conference in Brussels (Andersson, 2016). Locally, political interest in sharing effective green ideas is facilitated through city networks such as the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives, the Union of the Baltic Cities , and Energy Cities (Andersson, 2016). Which some critics argue that the development of green cities and policies can be a façade referred to as "greenwashing" where the label 'green' signifies only a superficial awareness of environmental issues with minimal substantive political action toward genuine sustainable development (Andersson, 2016).

Which Oscilowicz et al. (2023) highlight that greenwashing and the (re)development of green amenities in vulnerable neighborhoods, those often most in need of support towards resilience and adaptation ,can expose residents to the impacts of green gentrification. This includes pricing-out and physical displacement from housing, sociocultural displacement from public space, and associated personal and community traumas.



Figure 6. Illustration of how brands mislead consumers with false sustainability claims (greenwashing) (India, 2020).

2.10.2. EU's 100 Climate-Neutral Cities Mission

European Union has embarked on a bold mission to tackle climate change through its "100 Climate-Neutral and Smart Cities by 2030" initiative, part of the Horizon Europe research and innovation programme (European Commission, 2023).

The mission aims to transform 100 European cities into climate-neutral and smart urban areas by 2030, with the expectation that their success will catalyze similar efforts across the continent, contributing to the EU's broader climate goals as outlined in the European Green Deal (European Commission, 2023). The initiative reflects an understanding that urban areas, which house 75% of the EU's population and are responsible for a substantial portion of global CO2 emissions, are pivotal in the fight against climate change. By focusing on cities, the EU Cities Mission promotes a multi-level and co-creative approach to decarbonization, formalized through Climate City Contracts. These contracts, designed to address each city's unique circumstances, encompass comprehensive plans for energy, waste management, and transport, supported by significant funding from

Horizon Europe (€360 million for 2022-2023) (European Commission, 2023).

However, while the EU Cities Mission represents a commendable effort toward climate neutrality, it is not without its social risks and challenges. The transition to climate neutrality, though environmentally beneficial, may exacerbate social inequalities and economic hardships if not managed inclusively. This concern is particularly relevant in light of the social risks identified by recent analyses. Cities have recognized that failing to address these risks could undermine the success of climate initiatives. Public resistance can emerge when climate measures lead to economic strain, as evidenced by the "Gilets Jaunes" (Yellow Vests) crisis in France. The economic pressures exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic and the ongoing economic crisis further compound these challenges, highlighting issues such as energy and transport poverty, which create barriers to adopting climate-friendly practices (Ulpiani & Vetters, 2023).

The analysis points to the need for a more nuanced approach to balancing environmental goals with social equity. While the EU Cities Mission emphasizes technological innovation and funding, it does not fully address the social dimensions of the transition. For instance, rising energy prices and large-scale retrofit programs could disproportionately affect vulnerable populations, leading to increased social polarization. Furthermore, digitalization and gentrification could exacerbate existing divides, complicating efforts to achieve a just and inclusive transition. The recommendations to involve communities early in decisionmaking processes and to use participatory budgeting are crucial for mitigating these risks, yet there is a noted lack of explicit focus on distributive and procedural justice in current climate actions (Ulpiani & Vetters, 2023). Therefore, while the EU Cities Mission is a significant step toward a sustainable urban future, it must be complemented by robust strategies to address the social impacts of climate measures. Engaging with diverse stakeholders, including industrial associations, trade unions, and grassroots organizations, is essential to ensure that the transition to climate neutrality does not deepen social inequalities or lead to economic hardships. Addressing these social risks will be crucial for the overall success and sustainability of the EU's ambitious climate goals (Ulpiani & Vetters, 2023).

2.11. Media Influence and Critical Discourse on Green Gentrification

Green gentrification discourse has become increasingly prominent in media and broadcasts, which shapes public perception and policy discussions, while there's a prevailing narrative that greening initiatives bring universal benefits, recent critiques challenge this notion, highlighting the adverse effects such as residential displacement.

Marcco T. Higham's (2019) research contributes significantly to understand how media shapes perceptions and discourse surrounding green gentrification.

Higham (2019) conducted a comprehensive analysis of media representations in the context of N. Williams Avenue in Portland, Oregon. His study focused on how different media forms, such as marketing materials and public discourse, construct narratives around urban sustainability and lifestyle choices within the framework of gentrification. Through a detailed examination of promotional texts from property developers and media coverage, Higham identified specific language and rhetorical strategies employed to market sustainable housing options to affluent demographics.

Higham's (2019) finding underscores the role of media in legitimizing and promoting the concept of green gentrification. He observed that the marketing strategies often highlight themes of "urban" and "sustainable" living as key selling points to attract middle to upper-income residents. these kind of narratives not only portray new develop-ments as environmentally conscious but also position them as desirable lifestyle choices, thereby influencing consumer perceptions and shaping the urban landscapes. Furthermore, Higham's research highlights the discrepancy between marketed sustainability claims and their actual environmental impact. He notes that while some properties in N. Williams Avenue boasted ecofriendly features such as LEED certifications or net-zero energy designs, others merely used sustainable rhetoric without substantial environmental benefits. This discrepancy raises critical questions about the authenticity of sustainability claims in real estate mar-keting and their implications for equitable urban development. Media outlets like PBS NewsHour, NPR, Bloomberg, and Al Jazeera have contributed to dissecting this discourse and shed

light on the complexities of green gentrification. They have facilitated discussions on the tensions between environmental improvement and social equity, amplifying voices that question the presumed benefits of greening projects (Anguelovski & Connolly, 2024).



Figure 7. A report on the rising concerns regarding 'climate gentrification' following the devastating fire in Maui (O'Malley & McDermott, 2024).



Figure 8. A view of East Boston's changing landscape, highlighting the impact of 'green gentrification' on longterm residents (NewsHour, 2024).



Figure 9. Figure 3: A depiction of the challenges faced by Black residents in Atlanta as gentrification pressures rise (Ashly, 2020).



Figure 10. An exploration of how cities can address 'green gentrification' while promoting climate resilience and community equity (Sisson, 2022).

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Figure 11. An analysis of whether cities can adopt green initiatives without contributing to gentrification (NPR, 2022)

This reflection prompts planners to reconsider the development-driven discourse which prioritizes greening as inherently positive. Instead, there's a call to acknowledge, the nuances and unintended consequences, specially regarding displacement pressures on vulnerable communities, and by engaging with these critical perspectives, planners can strive for more inclusive and equitable urban development strategies, balancing environmental goals with social justice imperatives.

2.12. Public Interest in Gentrification Through Google Trends

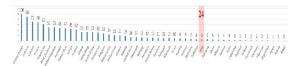


Figure 12. Global Interest in "Gentrification" (2019–2024) by Country (Google, 2024).

In examining Google Trends data for global searches related to "gentrification" from (2019 to 2024), United States stands out as the country with the highest level of interest in regard to this topic also following closely are Jamaica, Canada, France, and Singapore, all of which demonstrate significant engagement with the concept of gentrification during this period.

In contrast, Italy ranks much lower at this list, at 24th place, with a search interest score of only 6.

It Seems like several factors contribute to Italy's lower ranking. One of the factors can be the language differences which play a significant role; for example, terms such as "gentrificazione" are likely more commonly used in local discussions and searches. Furthermore, regional variations in how gentrification is framed could also impact public discourse. In Italy, urban issues may be discussed in terms of specific neighborhood dynamics or urban renewal projects without explicitly using the term "gentrification." Which these factors might explain why Italy's presence in global search data is relatively modest (elaborated by author)

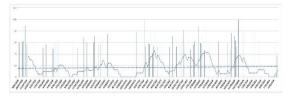


Figure 13. Google Trends Data for "Gentrification" Searches in Italy 2019–2024 (Google, 2024).

Also the trend data for searches on "gentrification" in Italy indeed reflects some months without recorded data, particularly in early 2020 and throughout 2021. However, the year 2022 stands out as the most dominant period for interest in this topic.

- In 2022, there were several peaks of high search interest:
- March 2022 reached a peak score of 100, which indicates the highest level of engagement.
- Other notable peaks occurred in January (with a score of 78), April (around 58-74), and May (with scores between 53-77).

This suggests that 2022 was a year of increased awareness or discourse about gentrification, likely triggered by specific local events, policies, or discussions surrounding urban development and housing issues(elaborated by author).



Figure 14. Regional Variation in Google Trends Interest for "Gentrification" in Italy 2019–2024 (Google, 2024).

The Google Trends data for "gentrification" indicates high regional variation in public interest throughout Italy from 2019 to 2024. with the highest index of 100,Lombardy, reflects the greatest concern, and is most likely to be driven by the large-scale urban renewal projects in Milan, where gentrification and housing transformation are pressing issues and hot topic. Piedmont, with an index of 88, follows second, possibly linked to urban changes in Turin. Regions, like Lazio, Tuscany, and Emilia-Romagna also show considerable interest, with an index of 77, which suggests that gentrification is relevant in areas such as Rome, Florence, and Bolo-gna, where urban redevelopment is re-shaping neighborhoods(elaborated by author).

On the other hand, Campania, Abruzzo, and Calabria are those showing less interest, with index scores ranging from 44 to 22, probably indicating that gentrification may be less prominent in public discus-sions in these areas, likely due to lower levels of urbanization. The lack of data from regions like Aosta, Molise, and Basilicata suggests minimal public engagement with the topic, which might reflect the rural and less urbanized nature of these regions. In general, the data shows a north-south divide, where gentrification is a more prominent issue in northern and central Italy, particularly in economically developed urban centers (elaborated by author).

2.13. Conclusion

The interplay between urban greening, neighborhood transformation, and sociospatial inequality is complex and often paradoxical dynamic. While, green spaces are celebrated for their ecological, aesthetic, and economic benefits in contributing to healthier environments and more sustainable cities. These very projects frequently exacerbate historical inequalities, which create new forms of exclusion and displacement. The convergence of theories on gentrifica-tion, eco-city branding, and green gentrification underlines that urban redevelopment is rarely neutral; rather, it is shaped by intersecting social, economic, and politi-cal forces.

Eco-city branding emerges as a strategic tool for urban competitiveness, linking sustainability with economic growth. However, the prioritization of marketable green spaces often aligns more with attracting affluent residents and investments than with the needs of vulnerable communities. This alignment reveals the systemic nature of green gentrification, whereby rising property values, speculative real estate practices, and infrastructure improvements reinforce patterns of exclusion. These processes are not incidental but are embedded within the logics of urban neoliberalism, as illustrated by the rent gap theory and the green gentrification cycle.

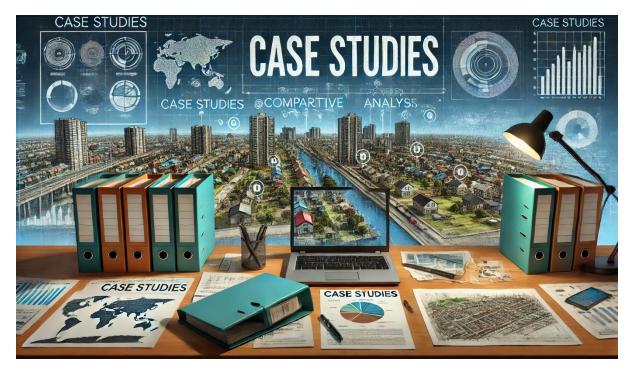
Displacement, both direct and indirect, highlights the tangible human cost of such transformations. Direct displacement, through rising rents and redevelopment, forces vulnerable populations out of their homes, while indirect displacement erodes the cultural fabric of neighborhoods, and reshape them to align with the preferences of wealthier, often transient, newcomers. as argued by An-guelovski and Connolly this phenomenon underscores the need to move beyond simplistic cause-and-effect explanations of green gentrification. This perspective reveals that green spaces can serve simultaneously as instruments of environmental progress and tools of exclusion, locating ur-ban greening within wider structural forces of land speculation, uneven development, and entrenched socio-economic divides.

Furthermore, the role of governments, developers, and financial actors demonstrates how power dynamics influence urban greening. Policies and investments that prioritize profit over equity contribute to the creation of what some have termed "green sacrifice zones," where the benefits of green spaces accrue disproportionately to privileged groups, while marginalized communities face increased vulnerability. These dynamics challenge the framing of urban greening as an un-qualified public good, urging a shift to-ward justice-oriented frameworks that emphasize inclusion and equitable access.

The entanglement of media and planning narratives with these processes adds another layer of complexity. Public discourses often portray greening initiatives as universally beneficial, which masks the socioeconomic disruptions they can entail, this normalization of exclusionary urban practices calls for greater scrutiny of how redevelopment is framed and justified, as well as for participatory approaches that amplify the voices of impacted communi-ties.

Ultimately, the dynamics of green gentrification are shaped by a delicate balance of ecological aspirations and socio-economic realities. So with analyzing how these forces intersect, this study aims to uncover the mechanisms through which green spaces influence neighborhood transformation to contribute to a more nuanced understanding of urban redevelopment. So it is essential to recognizing these complexities not just for understanding the transformations which occures around Parco Dora but also for informing policies that promote equitable and sustainable urban futures.

Chapter 3. Case Studies



3.1. Introduction

This chapter examines two case studies Barcelona and Porto Marghera that reveal the interplay between green urban development and neighborhood transformations. Drawing on Anguelovski et al. (2018) and Alexandrescu and Critto (2021), these cases illustrate how urban greening projects, while addressing environmental degradation and enhancing urban infrastructure, can also contribute to demographic and socio-economic changes. By analyzing the historical context, project implementation strategies, measurement methodologies, and documented outcomes, this chapter sheds light on the complexities of green urban renewal and its diverse impacts on urban communities.

3.2. Green Gentrification and Urban Park Development in Barcelona

3.1.1. Context: Brief Description of the City and Project

Barcelona, like many Spanish cities, was left with a poor-quality built environment following Francisco Franco's dictatorship, which ended in 1975. During this period, the city faced significant deficits in infrastructure, schools, health services, and public spaces. By the late 1970s, after Spain's transition to democracy, the newly elected city government sought to address these deficits, including the creation of parks and green spaces to improve the quality of life, particularly for vulnerable communities.

In the 1980s, the transformation of Barcelona's urban landscape began with an emphasis on social needs and communitydriven urban revitalization. Green spaces were created primarily to provide meeting areas for children, elderly residents, and the general public, as part of efforts to repair the city's social fabric after years of neglect. However, in 1986, when Barcelona was awarded the 1992 Olympic Games, the city entered a new phase of redevelopment. The creation of green spaces shifted from a focus on meeting local social needs to a more economically driven agenda. Parks became central to the city's Olympic infrastructure and were designed to cater to tourism and real estate development rather than local residents. This marked a shift toward "strategic urbanism," where green spaces

became part of broader efforts to enhance the city's international image and economic appeal (Anguelovski I., Connolly, Masip, & Pearsall, 2018).

In the 1990s and 2000s, Barcelona experienced further waves of urban redevelopment, with large-scale projects such as Diagonal Mar and the transformation of former industrial spaces into luxury residential areas. These projects, including the creation of expansive green spaces like Diagonal Mar Park, were designed with aesthetics and economic growth in mind, often sidelining the social needs of local communities. As a result, green spaces that were initially seen as community resources began to drive gentrification processes, contributing to the displacement of longtime residents.



Figure 15. Creueta del Coll Park (1976) (Anguelovski I., Connolly, Masip, & Pearsall, 2018).

3.2.2. Type of Green Project Implemented

Between the late 1980s and early 2000s, Barcelona implemented a series of green infrastructure projects aimed at revitalizing urban areas. This included the development of 18 new parks and green spaces throughout the city, particularly in socially vulnerable and formerly industrial neighborhoods.

These projects varied in scope and intent. Initially, they were designed to address social inequalities and provide accessible, community-oriented spaces in workingclass neighborhoods. However, after the 1992 Olympics, the city's focus shifted toward economic growth, with green spaces increasingly serving the interests of developers and wealthier residents. Parks like Diagonal Mar became symbols of a new type of urbanism that catered to elite interests and excluded traditional neighborhood groups (Anguelovski I., Connolly, Masip, & Pearsall, 2018).

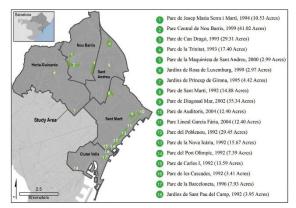


Figure 16. In green, parks built between the period 1992– 2004 within the Ciutat Vella, Sant Martí (Anguelovski I., Connolly, Masip, & Pearsall, 2018).

3.2.3. How Was Gentrification Measured

Anguelovski et al.(2018) evaluated six socio-demographic indicators to measure gentrification in neighborhoods surrounding the new parks. These indicators included:

Rising Property Prices: The study tracked changes in home sale values around the green spaces, comparing them to the overall housing market in Barcelona.

Educational Attainment: The educational level of residents was used to assess shifts in the socio-eco nomic profile of the neighborhoods. Higher levels of education often correlate with wealthier, more affluent populations.

Age Structure: Changes in the percentage of residents aged 65 and older living alone were examined to understand whether older, long-term residents were being displaced.

Global North Residents: The study looked at the influx of residents from wealthy

countries (particularly European nations and the U.S.), which often signals gentrification driven by expatriates or foreign buyers.

Global South Residents: The percentage of residents from developing nations was analyzed, as these populations are typically more vulnerable to displacement.

Household Income: Shifts in the income distribution in neighborhoods near green spaces were measured to assess whether the new parks were attracting higher-income residents.

These indicators helped to track demographic changes and assess whether the green spaces were contributing to the displacement of vulnerable populations (Anguelovski I. , Connolly, Masip, & Pearsall, 2018).

3.2.4. Outcomes: Positive and Negative Consequences of the Project

Positive Consequences:

Improved Quality of Life: The creation of parks provided new recreational areas and improved environmental conditions,particularly in neighborhoods that had been historically underserved.

Urban Revitalization: The development of green spaces contributed to the overall aesthetic and economic revitalization of the city, attracting investment and tourism.

Negative Consequences (Green Gentrification):

Displacement of Vulnerable Residents: In neighborhoods near the city center and more desirable areas (like the old town and former industrial zones), the introduction of parks led to rising property values, attracting wealthier residents. This influx of affluent populations displaced lower-income and vulnerable residents who could no longer afford to live there. Redistribution of Vulnerable Residents: In economically depressed or more isolated areas with less desirable housing stock, the creation of green spaces did not lead to significant gentrification. Instead, these areas attracted vulnerable residents who had been displaced from other parts of the city. This process indicates a redistribution of vulnerable populations rather than their outright displacement.

Tourism-Oriented Development: Parks like Diagonal Mar were designed more for aesthetics and to cater to tourism and the global elite, offering fewer opportunities for neighborhood-scale social interaction. This shift away from community needs diminished the social benefits of the green spaces(elaborated by Author).

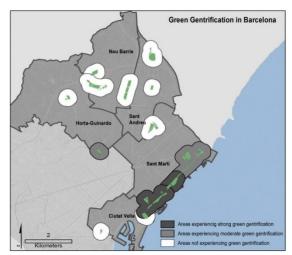


Figure 17. Areas where strong, moderate, and no green gentrification seem to be occurring (Anguelovski I., Connolly, Masip, & Pearsall, 2018).

Lessons Learned from This Case Study: Shifting Priorities Over Time: As seen in Barcelona, the original intention of creating green spaces to benefit local communities can shift over time, especially when economic interests take precedence. It is essential to track how urban policies evolve and whether they continue to prioritize vulnerable residents.

Context Matters: Gentrification processes can vary greatly depending on the neighborhood's initial conditions. In Barcelona, centrally located neighborhoods experienced more intense gentrification, while more isolated or economically depressed areas attracted vulnerable residents instead of displacing them.

Equitable Urban Planning: To avoid the negative effects of green gentrification, it is important to ensure that the creation of green spaces involves local communities in the planning process and addresses their social and economic needs. Parks that are designed solely for aesthetics or tourism can contribute to displacement and social exclusion.

Monitoring Socio-Demographic Changes: Similar to the Barcelona study, the analysis of socio demographic indicators such as property prices, educational levels, and population displacement can provide a clear picture of whether green gentrification is occurring or not (elaborated by Author).

3.3. Green Gentrification and Urban Renewal in Porto Marghera

3.2.1. Context: Brief Description of the City and Project

Porto Marghera is a significant industrial area located adjacent to Venice, Italy. Established in the early 20th century, it was designed as a hub for heavy industries, particularly chemical and petrochemical manufacturing. Its strategic location on the Venetian lagoon allowed for the easy transportation of goods and raw materials, positioning Porto Marghera as a key player in Italy's industrial economy.

However, over the decades, the area experienced significant economic decline due to various factors, including globalization, competition from emerging markets, and environmental concerns. The once-thriving industrial landscape became characterized by disused factories, contaminated land, and socioeconomic challenges for the local population. The need for urban regeneration became critical as residents faced rising unemployment and diminishing living conditions.

In response to these challenges, the Green Tree Strategy (GTS) was proposed as part of a broader vision to reimagine Porto Marghera as a sustainable urban environment. The GTS emerged in the early 2010s, driven by a coalition of stakeholders, including the Milan-based architecture firm LAND, local government officials, and environmental advocates. The initiative aimed to transition the area from an industrial landscape to a greener, more vibrant urban space that aligns with global trends in sustainability and eco-friendly urbanism (Alexandrescu & Critto, 2021).



Figure 18. Location of the case study site (Area 2) in the Northern part of Porto Marghera (Alexandrescu & Critto, 2021).



Figure 19. Location of the case study site in the Northern part of Porto Marghera.

3.3.2. Type of Green Project Implemented

The Green Tree Strategy encompasses a multifaceted approach to urban greening in Porto Marghera, aimed at addressing environmental degradation and enhancing the quality of life for residents. Key components of the GTS include:

Environmental Rehabilitation: Central to the GTS is the commitment to rehabilitating contaminated industrial lands. This involves extensive soil decontamination efforts and the restoration of natural habitats, with the goal of reclaiming these areas for public use and biodiversity.

Creation of Green Spaces: The initiative plans to develop parks, green corridors, and recreational areas throughout the city. These spaces are designed not only to enhance aesthetics but also to provide essential ecosystem services, such as improving air quality, managing stormwater runoff, and offering spaces for community interaction.

Sustainable Infrastructure Development: The GTS promotes the integration of green infrastructure, including green roofs, permeable pavements, and urban forestry. These elements are intended to mitigate urban heat effects, enhance water management, and create a more resilient urban environment.

Community Engagement and Social Innovation: The GTS also seeks to engage local communities in the planning and implementation of greening initiatives. This includes workshops, public forums, and participatory design processes aimed at fostering a sense of ownership among residents and ensuring that their needs are met (Alexandrescu & Critto, 2021).



Figure 20. The growth of the Green Tree Strategy from its roots in historical Venice towards its bright crown in Porto Marghera (Alexandrescu & Critto, 2021).

3.3.3. How Was Gentrification Measured

The assessment of gentrification in Porto Marghera in relation to the GTS involved examining several key indicators, reflecting the complex dynamics of urban transformation:

Rising Property Prices: One of the most telling indicators of gentrification is the increase in real estate values. As the GTS was announced and greening projects began, property prices in the surrounding areas showed significant upward trends. This increase was driven by speculation and the perception that the area was becoming more desirable, especially among wealthier demographics.

Demographic Shifts: The GTS has the potential to attract new residents, particularly young professionals and creative class individuals, seeking a more sustainable urban lifestyle. Surveys indicated that the influx of new residents could lead to demographic changes that alter the community's character. Long-standing residents expressed concerns that the arrival of affluent newcomers could lead to cultural displacement.

Displacement of Residents: The threat of displacement loomed over many residents, particularly those who relied on the industrial economy for their livelihoods. As new developments catered to wealthier individuals, there were fears that existing low-income families would be forced out due to rising rents and property values. The research highlighted that while gentrification can lead to revitalization, it often does so at the expense of vulnerable communities.

Change in Local Businesses: Another indicator of gentrification is the shift in the types of businesses that populate the area. As property values rise and new residents arrive, there is often a trend toward boutique shops, cafes, and upscale services, which can push out traditional local businesses that cater to the existing community. Social and Cultural Changes: The GTS has also implications for the social fabric of Porto Marghera. The cultural identity of the area may shift as new residents bring different values and lifestyles. This cultural transformation can lead to tensions between newcomers and long-term residents, highlighting the importance of fostering inclusive community dialogues (Alexandrescu & Critto, 2021).

3.3.4. Outcomes: Positive and Negative Consequences of the Project

The implementation of the Green Tree Strategy has led to a range of positive and negative consequences for Porto Marghera, illustrating the complexities of urban greening initiatives:

Positive Outcomes:

Environmental Restoration: One of the most significant successes of the GTS is the environmental rehabilitation of previously contaminated industrial sites. These efforts have led to improved soil and water quality, benefiting both the ecosystem and public health. The introduction of green spaces has also increased biodiversity and provided habitats for various species. Enhanced Quality of Life: The development of parks and recreational areas has contributed to a higher quality of life for residents. Green spaces provide essential opportunities for leisure and social interaction, promoting physical and mental wellbeing among the community.

Attraction of New Investments: The GTS has successfully attracted investment in the area, with new businesses and developments emerging as a result of the enhanced urban environment. This influx of capital has the potential to create jobs and stimulate economic growth.

Increased Community Engagement: Efforts to involve local residents in the planning process have fostered a sense of community ownership and empowerment. Public forums and participatory design workshops have allowed residents to voice their concerns and desires, leading to more community-oriented outcomes.

Negative Outcomes:

Economic Displacement: Despite the positive aspects of revitalization, rising property prices have led to the economic displacement of long-term residents, particularly those from low-income backgrounds. Many residents reported concerns about their ability to afford housing as property values increased.

Fragmented Community Support: The analysis revealed a fragmented network of support for the GTS, with many stakeholders expressing differing opinions on its benefits and drawbacks. This lack of cohesive support can hinder the implementation of inclusive policies that address the needs of all community members.

Cultural Tensions: As new residents move in and the demographic composition of the area shifts, tensions can arise between newcomers and long-standing residents. Cultural conflicts may manifest in different expectations regarding community norms and values, complicating the social dynamics within Porto Marghera.

Risks of Commercialization: The trend toward commercial development catering to wealthier residents can undermine the character of Porto Marghera, potentially erasing its historical identity and pushing out local businesses that serve the original community (elaborated by Author).

Lessons Learned from This Case Study: Importance of Inclusive Planning: Engaging local communities in the planning and

decision-making process is essential to mitigate the risks associated with gentrification. Ensuring that diverse voices are heard can lead to more equitable outcomes and foster a sense of shared responsibility among stakeholders.

Balancing Greening with Social Justice: The Porto Marghera experience emphasizes the need to align environmental objectives with social equity goals. Future initiatives should prioritize the needs of existing residents, ensuring that greening efforts do not come at the expense of vulnerable communities.

Monitoring and Adaptation: Implementing systematic monitoring of gentrification indicators will enable stakeholders in to identify potential negative trends early on. This proactive approach allows for timely interventions that can protect vulnerable populations and preserve the community's social fabric.

Building Strong Community Networks: Strengthening communication and collaboration among stakeholders can enhance the effectiveness of urban greening initiatives. Fostering a cohesive network of support can facilitate the sharing of best practices and help build consensus around common goals. Fostering Economic Opportunities for Local Residents: Initiatives that focus on creating job opportunities and supporting local businesses can help counteract the negative impacts of gentrification. Prioritizing the needs of long-term residents can promote inclusive economic growth and strengthen community ties(elaborated by Author).

3.4. Conclusion

The case studies of Barcelona and Porto Marghera demonstrate how urban greening projects can drive significant transformations in neighborhoods, both positive and negative. Barcelona highlights the shift from community-oriented green spaces to projects driven by economic and aesthetic priorities, leading to displacement and social exclusion in certain areas. Porto Marghera emphasizes the challenges of addressing environmental degradation while preserving the social and cultural fabric of the community.

These examples underscore the importance of carefully monitoring socio-demographic changes, engaging with community stakeholders, and balancing environmental goals with the needs of existing residents. They also highlight the potential for unintended consequences when green initiatives are implemented without considering the broader implications for long-term residents and vulnerable population.

Chapter 4. Research Methodology



4.1. Introduction

This chapter is divided into two main parts to establish a clear framework for studying how green spaces impact gentrification in urban neighborhoods. The first part reviews recent methods used in gentrification research, focusing on approaches that specifically examine the role of green spaces in neighborhood change. This section explores both quantitative and qualitative methods from existing studies, providing a comprehensive overview of the tools and techniques used to study neighborhood transformation. Each approach offers unique insights into the complex and varied aspects of gentrification.

The second part of the chapter outlines the specific framework used in this thesis. Building on the insights from the first part, this framework is designed to meet the research goals and fit the unique urban setting under study. By using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, this framework provides a balanced view of how green spaces influence gentrification. This mixed-methods approach allows for capturing both data-driven impacts and the personal experiences, creating a strong foundation for a detailed analysis of gentrification in these neighborhoods.

4.2. Recent Existing Methodologies for Identifying Gentrification

In the study of gentrification, researchers often utilize a variety of data types, which significantly influence how gentrification itself is defined. The analysis typically falls into two main approaches: quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative research relies on numerical data, such as census information, to assess sociocultural and economic transformations within neighborhoods. This approach often examines specific indicators, including household income, education levels, housing prices, demographic compositions, such as the percentage White residents and unemployment rates. Researchers may also consider the percentage of the adult population employed in professional occupations. These factors are analyzed either in isolation or combined to create comprehensive indices that illustrate broader trends (Maantay & Maroko, 2018).

In some studies, researchers categorize certain neighborhoods or census tracts as "eligible" for gentrification. This classification implies that these areas are not already predominantly middle-class or higher, allowing researchers to identify neighborhoods that might undergo significant change during the study period. By distinguishing these areas, the research seeks to illuminate neighborhoods that may experience the effects of gentrification without having already undergone substantial transformation (Maantay & Maroko, 2018).

Conversely, qualitative research focuses on the narrative and experiential aspects of gentrification, emphasizing cultural changes and the visible alterations in the built environment. This approach seeks to capture the impacts of gentrification on local communities, including shifts in cultural identity, the transformation of social dynamics, and the changes in the types of businesses that thrive within these neighborhoods. (Maantay & Maroko, 2018).

By integrating both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, scholars can construct a more nuanced understanding of gentrification. Quantitative data provides measurable evidence of socioeconomic shifts, while qualitative insights reveal how these changes influence the lives of residents and reshape the identity of neighborhoods. Together, these approaches offer a comprehensive framework for analyzing the multifaceted phenomenon of gentrification.

Huang et al. (2022) proposed a novel framework for identifying gentrifying neighborhoods by combining computer vision and statistical analysis of street-level visual data. Their approach aimed to address the limitations of traditional methods for measuring gentrification, which often rely on broad socioeconomic metrics that may overlook localized changes. By analyzing time-lapsed images from street view data, the researchers sought to provide a more detailed and dynamic understanding of neighborhood transformations associated with gentrification.

In their study, Huang and colleagues identified several key indicators of gentrification based on observable visual cues in street-level imagery. These indicators included visible changes in residential structures, such as repairs, repainting, and the construction of new single-family homes and apartment buildings. Enhancements in green spaces, such as the restoration of vegetation and greenery, suggested increased investment in local infrastructure. Additionally, infrastructure improvements, including road and sidewalk refurbishments, indicated an overall enhancement in neighborhood quality. These visual markers were crucial for detecting potential signs of gentrification, especially in neighborhoods that might not yet be formally recognized as gentrifying.

Data collection for this study involved a multi-layered approach. The primary data source consisted of time-lapsed images from Google Street View, allowing the researchers to track neighborhood changes over time. This visual data was supplemented with auxiliary datasets, including information on permits, business registrations, and socioeconomic metrics, which added context to the visual indicators and enabled a more comprehensive analysis of gentrification patterns. Specific census tracts were selected across cities such as Oakland, Seattle, and Denver, allowing for in-depth case studies of local changes in the urban environment.

Huang et al. used a combination of computer vision and statistical analysis techniques in their research. A learnable mechanism utilizing computer vision techniques was applied to extract and analyze features from the street view images. An attention model was used to assign weights to specific image pairs, aiding in the identification of significant visual cues associated with gentrification. This visual analysis was then compared with neighborhood classifications derived from the auxiliary datasets, revealing discrepancies and helping to identify neighborhoods that might have been overlooked by traditional models.

The results, presented through visualizations, illustrated prediction discrepancies and demonstrated the extent of neighborhood changes over time. The study concluded that this method effectively identified neighborhoods at risk of gentrification, particularly those adjacent to already gentrifying areas, which may be in the early stages of gentrification as indicated by observable visual cues.

The study's findings suggest that visual analysis can complement traditional quantitative measures of gentrification, offering valuable insights into local changes that might be missed by conventional data sources. These findings have important implications for policymakers and urban planners, as they can help identify areas at risk of displacement, guide infrastructure investments, and inform targeted policy interventions to mitigate the negative effects of gentrification.

Gray, Buckner, and Comber (2023) conducted a comprehensive study to examine the spatial and temporal patterns of gentrification in specific neighborhoods. Using a data-driven approach, they identified and analyzed various types of gentrification by focusing on their indicators and the dynamics that define these processes.

The study identified several key indicators of gentrification, which included sustained

increases in house prices, reflecting economic uplift within neighborhoods; a rise in professional occupations, indicating socioeconomic shifts; patterns of residential mobility (or "churn"), showing in- and out-migration that altered population demographics; and changes in ethnic composition, particularly reductions in Black and Asian populations within affected neighborhoods.

To capture these changes, the researchers collected data from multiple sources, ensuring a detailed analysis of neighborhood characteristics. Their primary dataset consisted of annual records for Local Super Output Areas (LSOAs) over a 10-year period, allowing for a granular examination of neighborhood-level transformations. Additionally, Google Street View and Google Earth were used as validation tools, enabling the team to visually inspect gentrified areas and confirm physical changes that matched their data-driven findings.

The analysis employed a data primitive approach, which included several critical steps. First, the researchers quantified yearto-year changes across the four chosen indicators to identify neighborhoods that might be undergoing gentrification. Next, they applied significance filtering, focusing on neighborhoods showing substantial changes in all four variables to identify established cycles of gentrification. The team then characterized these cycles by determining the start, peak, and end years of gentrification processes within the identified neighborhoods.

The study concluded that gentrification in these areas was multifaceted, with distinct types characterized by unique spatial patterns and periodicities. Key findings included the identification of different types of gentrification, such as transit-induced gentrification, studentification, and gentrification driven by residential development, each associated with specific dynamics and impacts on local communities. The researchers also noted significant demographic shifts resulting from these processes, including widening socioeconomic disparities and increased inequalities within neighborhoods.

For future research, Gray, Buckner, and Comber suggested further exploration of gentrification dynamics and recommended refining the selection of data primitives to better identify different types of gentrification and other neighborhood changes. This approach, they argued, would enhance understanding of how various forms of gentrification impact communities and inform more targeted urban policy responses.

Anguelovski et al. (2018) conducted a comprehensive study on green gentrification in Barcelona, focusing specifically on how the creation of parks and green spaces in historically underserved neighborhoods affects local sociodemographic characteristics. The researchers aimed to determine whether urban greening initiatives provide equitable access to environmental amenities or if they inadvertently lead to increased socio-spatial inequalities.

The study used several sociodemographic indicators to assess the impact of new parks on neighborhood dynamics. These indicators included the percentage of residents with a bachelor's degree, measuring educational attainment near new parks; the percentage of residents aged 65 or older, with an emphasis on those living alone, as they are particularly vulnerable to displacement; the proportion of residents from countries classified as part of the Global North; household income trends, which often correlate with gentrification; and home sale values, which were assessed to understand the economic impacts of park development on the real estate market.

To gather data, the researchers used a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. Sociodemographic data were collected from census tracts covering the years 1991, 1996, 2000, and 2004 to 2008, providing a foundational understanding of changes in educational levels, age distribution, and nationalities. Additionally, home sale data from 1992 to 2001, alongside indices of family economic capacity and household income, offered insights into economic trends in areas near new green spaces. Geographic Information Systems (GIS) analysis using ArcGIS software was employed to spatially examine the relationship between park locations and surrounding residential areas. The team also conducted field observations and exploratory interviews to capture residents' experiences, including displacement concerns and perceptions of the new green spaces' benefits or drawbacks.

For data analysis, the researchers used both descriptive and inferential statistical methods. Descriptive analysis helped summarize initial trends in sociodemographic changes around the parks. Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression was then used to analyze relationships between sociodemographic variables and proximity to parks, although this method had limited explanatory power (accounting for less than 50% of variance). To capture spatial variations, Geographically Weighted Regression (GWR) was applied, which significantly enhanced the models' explanatory power for certain sociodemographic indicators, with R² values ranging from 40% to 80%.

The study's findings revealed distinct trends of green gentrification in several historically underserved areas of Barcelona, particularly in the Sant Martí and Ciutat Vella districts. The researchers observed an increase in socioeconomic status, marked by a rise in the percentage of residents with higher educational attainment and household income levels in neighborhoods surrounding new parks. While some neighborhoods benefitted from the presence of green spaces, the study highlighted a paradox where vulnerable populations, such as elderly residents and individuals from the Global South, experienced displacement pressures as gentrification took root.

The concept of "green goods polarization" emerged from the research, illustrating a socio-spatial divide. Privileged residents enjoyed the benefits of green amenities in desirable neighborhoods, while socially vulnerable groups became increasingly isolated in less integrated areas. This polarization underscored a growing inequality, where green spaces intended for public benefit inadvertently contributed to socio-spatial exclusion, raising significant questions for urban planners aiming to create equitable access to urban greenery.

Maantay and Maroko (2018) conducted a study investigating the relationship between community gardens and gentrification in Brooklyn, New York. The primary research question focused on whether proximity to community gardens in lower-income neighborhoods was associated with an increased likelihood of gentrification, as indicated by changes in per capita income. This research contributes to the broader discourse on urban greening initiatives and their potential socioeconomic impacts, particularly in the context of environmental justice.

To assess the relationship between community gardens and gentrification, the study utilized several key indicators. Proximity to community gardens was measured by counting the number of gardens located within a specified distance (1/4 mile) from census block groups. Changes in per capita income were evaluated as a primary indicator of gentrification, specifically looking at the changes that occurred between 2010 and 2015. Additionally, the founding year of community gardens was categorized into groups based on their establishment year, such as those founded in 2005 or later and those founded in 2010 or later, to assess the temporal impact of these gardens on income changes.

Data for the study were collected from multiple sources. The American Community Survey (ACS) provided five-year estimates of per capita income at the census block group level, serving as a foundation for income analysis. Information about community gardens, including their founding years and locations, was obtained from local databases and community organizations. Geographic Information Systems (GIS) tools were employed to spatially analyze the distribution of community gardens and their proximity to lower-income block groups.

For data analysis, the researchers applied several statistical techniques. Block group analysis involved conducting t-tests to determine the correlation between proximity to community gardens and changes in per capita income, with a focus on block groups with varying reliability based on coefficients of variation. Additionally, a Gi* (Getis-Ord statistic) hot spot analysis was performed to identify statistically significant clusters of community gardens and their association with income changes. Robustness checks included further t-tests with different inclusion criteria to assess the reliability of the findings and to account for potential errors in the ACS data.

The study's findings indicated a significant association between proximity to community gardens and increases in per capita income, suggesting a potential link to gentrification. The block group analysis revealed that areas near community gardens experienced larger income increases compared to those further away. However, this relationship was less pronounced in the hot spot analysis, particularly when examining only more recently established gardens, which might not have had sufficient time to influence local economies. These results prompted discussions about whether community gardens could serve as a "just green enough" strategy to mitigate the adverse effects of gentrification or if they inadvertently contributed to it.

Zhou and Xie (2022) conducted a study investigating the phenomenon of green gentrification in the Central Park area of Chongqing, China. This research aimed to analyze the relationship between urban green spaces and housing prices, exploring how the development of Central Park influenced real estate dynamics and socioeconomic conditions within the neighborhood. The study particularly focused on the impact of environmental changes on residential characteristics, income distribution, and community access to green spaces.

To assess the effects of green gentrification, the researchers utilized several key indicators, including changes in property prices in the Central Park area over a ten-year period (2012-2021), the distribution of household incomes among residents living near Central Park, architectural and ecological features of residential properties, the frequency of residents' visits to Central Park and their activities while there, and transaction data related to land supply and market activity.

Data for this study were collected through multiple methods. The researchers utilized real estate transaction data from KERRY, a digital service platform, which provided insights into average property prices, units sold, and supply-demand dynamics in the Central Park area. Additionally, a structured questionnaire was developed and administered both online and offline. This survey included questions about residents' demographics, family income levels, types of properties purchased (new or secondhand), and distances from Central Park. A total of 402 questionnaires were collected, with 319 valid responses used for analysis after data cleaning. To supplement the survey data, information on property characteristics, including prices, fees, and amenities, was gathered from six different real estate applications.

For data analysis, the researchers employed several statistical methods. The Hedonic Price Method (HPM) was utilized to assess the relationship between house prices and various characteristics, including ecological, architectural, and neighborhood features. This analysis was based on a linear regression model, allowing the researchers to quantify how each characteristic affected housing prices. Correlation analysis was conducted using SPSS software to examine the significance and strength of relationships between house prices and the independent variables, calculating key indicators such as p-values and correlation coefficients (r-values) to identify statistically significant relationships. Additionally, descriptive statistics were generated from the survey data to create distributions for household income and housing purchase prices, providing a comprehensive view of the demographic profile of residents in the area.

The findings revealed that the Central Park area has undergone significant green gentrification, characterized by rising house prices and an influx of middle- to high-income residents. The study found a strong positive correlation between proximity to Central Park and housing prices, as well as a positive relationship with architectural characteristics. Conversely, ecological characteristics, particularly distance to the park, exhibited a significant negative correlation with house prices.

While the research indicated that the gentrification process did not lead to the displacement of low-income residents, it highlighted existing environmental inequities. Residents living further from green spaces were found to have limited access to the benefits associated with urban greening initiatives, reflecting a "green space paradox." The study concluded with recommendations for urban planners to develop smaller green spaces and manage real estate speculation, ensuring that all income groups can benefit from improved access to green areas.

Bottero et al. (2023) conducted a study titled "The Value of Urban Parks in the City of Turin: An Application of the Geographically Weighted Regression," investigating the economic impact of urban parks on local property prices in Turin. Their research focused on two parks: Dora Park, a redeveloped post-industrial area, and Valentino Park, an upscale historic neighborhood. The primary objective was to quantify the economic value of these parks by assessing how proximity influences property prices and examining local factors, such as apartment characteristics, that contribute to this variation.

To achieve this, the authors employed Geographically Weighted Regression (GWR), a spatial analysis technique that allows for location-specific regression coefficients, thereby accommodating the geographical context of real estate prices. Data was sourced from Immobiliare.it, comprising 15,000 real estate ads published between 2014 and 2018. The study analyzed two datasets: one containing 719 apartment listings within 1 km of Dora Park and another with 721 listings within 1 km of Valentino Park.

In their analysis, the dependent variable was the asking price (PRC), while independent variables included surface area (SURF), floor number (FLOOR), presence of an elevator (ELV), availability of a garage (BOX), energy efficiency labels (EL), state of apartment maintenance (ST), market segment (SG), and geographic coordinates (LAT and LON).

The findings revealed that proximity to parks significantly affects property values, with Valentino Park demonstrating a more pronounced influence due to its historic and elegant characteristics. Notably, each additional square meter increased property values by an average of 2,865 EUR near Valentino Park, compared to 2,222 EUR near Dora Park. Additionally, new developments near Dora Park contributed to significant property value appreciation, while Valentino Park's historical charm and location near major roads influenced higher property prices.

Properties in better condition or newly constructed (ST3) saw substantial price increases in both areas. The study found that luxurious properties (SG3) near Dora Park increased by 148,527 EUR, while those near Valentino Park increased by 153,801 EUR. The authors emphasized the significant price premiums associated with apartments featuring better energy efficiency labels, such as ELA.

Bottero et al. (2023) underscored the economic value of urban parks, suggesting that urban planners should integrate this value into their planning decisions. They proposed future research avenues, including the exploration of temporal dynamics using Geographically Temporal Weighted Regression (GTWR) and expanding the dataset to encompass final sale prices and additional socio-economic variables to validate their findings and enhance the robustness of their conclusions.

Huang et al. (2022)		
Section	Details	
Study Overview	Used computer vision and data analysis to detect gentrifying neigh-	
	borhoods.	
Goal	To provide a detailed view of neighborhood changes linked to gentri-	
	fication.	
Indicators of Gentrification	Description	
Changes in Residential Structures	Signs like repairs, repainting, and new construction of homes or apart-	
	ments.	
Enhancements in Green Spaces	Improved vegetation and greenery, indicating investment in local in-	
	frastructure.	
Infrastructure Improvements	Road and sidewalk repairs, showing better neighborhood quality.	
Data Collection	Description	
Time-lapsed Street View Images	Images from Google Street View, capturing neighborhood changes	
	over time.	
Auxiliary Datasets	Data on permits, businesses, and socioeconomic factors to add context	
	to visual cues.	
Census Tracts (Oakland, Seattle, Den-	Selected census areas to focus on local urban changes.	
ver)		
Data Analysis	Description	
Computer Vision Techniques	Used computer vision to detect features from images. An attention	
	model highlighted key visual cues.	
Statistical Analysis	Compared visual results with traditional gentrification labels to find	
	overlooked neighborhoods.	
Visualization Techniques	Showed results with visuals to highlight prediction errors and neigh-	
	borhood changes.	
Results and Implications	Description	
Identified Risk Areas	Found neighborhoods at risk of gentrification, especially near gentri-	
	fying areas.	
Supplement to Traditional Methods	Visual analysis added detail missed by traditional gentrification	
	measures.	
Policy Implications	Helps planners identify areas at risk, prioritize investments, and guide	
	policy changes.	

4.3. Summary of the key findings and methodologie

 policy changes.

 Table 2. Summary of the key findings and methodologies in the study by Huang et al. (2022). Elaborated by author.

Gray, Buckner, and Comber (2023)		
Section	Details	
Study Overview	A comprehensive study was conducted to investigate the spatial and	
	temporal patterns of gentrification in specific neighborhoods. The aim	
	was to identify various forms of gentrification and their unique char-	
	acteristics, using a data-driven methodology to understand these pro-	
	cesses at the neighborhood level.	
Goal	Investigate spatial and temporal patterns of gentrification in specific	
	neighborhoods using a data-driven approach.	

Indicators of Gentrification	Description	
House Prices	Increases in property values indicating economic uplift.	
Professional Occupations	Rise in professional jobs reflecting socioeconomic change.	
Residential Mobility (Churn)	Patterns of in- and out-migration indicating population shifts.	
Ethnic Demographics	Changes in ethnic composition, especially decline in Black and Asian	
	populations.	
Data Collection	Description	
Annual Data for Small Areas	Data from Local Super Output Areas (LSOAs) over 10 years.	
Validation Sources	Google Street View and Google Earth for visual confirmation of gen-	
	trified areas.	
Data Analysis	Description	
Identification of Gentrification Cycles	Quantified interannual changes in key indicators.	
Significance Filtering	Focused on areas showing significant changes across all four indica-	
	tors.	
Temporal Characterization	Identified start, peak, and end years of gentrification processes.	
Results and Implications	Description	
Types of Gentrification	Identified transit-induced, studentification, and residential develop-	
	ment-driven gentrification.	
Demographic Shifts	Significant changes in demographics, leading to increased socioeco-	
	nomic disparities and inequalities.	
Future Research Directions	Suggested refining data primitives and extending temporal data cov-	
	erage to enhance the identification of gentrification processes, in-	
	formed by the patterns observed in this study.	

Table 3. Summary of the key findings and methodologies in the study by Gray, Buckner, and Comber (2023). Elaborated

Anguelovski et al. (2018)		
Section	Details	
Study Overview	Investigated the impact of urban greening initiatives on historically un-	
	derserved neighborhoods in Barcelona, focusing on whether these pro-	
	jects provided equitable access to green spaces or contributed to socio-	
	spatial inequalities. By analyzing demographic, socioeconomic, and	
	spatial data, the research explored how green spaces can drive gentrifi-	
	cation and displacement in urban areas.	
Goal	To explore whether urban greening initiatives lead to equitable access	
	to green amenities or if they increase socio-spatial inequalities.	
Indicators of Gentrification	Description	
Residents with Bachelor's Degree	Measured educational attainment around new parks.	
Residents Aged 65 or Older	Tracked the percentage of elderly, particularly those living alone, vul-	
	nerable to displacement.	
Global North Nationality	Proportion of residents from Global North countries.	
Household Income	Trends in income levels, often associated with gentrification.	
Home Sale Values	Assessed changes in home sale prices to understand real estate market	
	impacts.	
Data Collection	Description	
Census Data	Collected from census tracts for 1991, 1996, 2000, and 2004-2008.	
Home Sale Data	Collected for the years 1992-2001 and indices measuring family eco-	
	nomic capacity and household income.	
GIS Analysis	Employed ArcGIS software to spatially analyze park locations and sur-	
	rounding areas.	
Field Observations and Interviews	Conducted qualitative interviews to understand resident experiences	
	with displacement and green spaces.	

Data Analysis	Description	
Descriptive Analysis	Summarized sociodemographic changes around parks.	
OLS Regression	Assessed relationships between sociodemographic variables and park	
	proximity, explaining less than 50% of the variance.	
GWR (Geographically Weighted Re-	Enhanced analysis by accounting for spatial variations, explaining	
gression)	40%-80% of variance for specific indicators.	
Results and Implications	Description	
Increased Socioeconomic Status	Higher percentage of residents with bachelor's degrees and increased	
	income in areas surrounding parks.	
Displacement Trends	Vulnerable populations, especially the elderly and residents from the	
	Global South, faced displacement pressures due to gentrification.	
Green Goods Polarization	Socio-spatial polarization emerged, with privileged groups benefiting	
	from green spaces while socially vulnerable groups became isolated in	
	less integrated areas.	

Table 4. Summary of the key findings and methodologies in the study by Anguelovski et al. (2018). Elaborated by author.

Maantay and Maroko (2018)		
Section	Details	
Study Overview	Examining the relationship between community gardens and gentrifi-	
	cation in Brooklyn, NY.	
Goal	To determine whether proximity to community gardens in lower-in-	
	come neighborhoods is associated with increased gentrification.	
Indicators of Gentrification	Description	
Proximity to Community Gardens	Number of gardens within 14 miles of census block groups.	
Changes in Per Capita Income	Income changes between 2010-2015 used to signal gentrification.	
Founding Year of Community Gar-	Grouped by founding year (2005+ and 2010+) to assess temporal ef-	
dens	fects.	
Data Collection	Description	
Census Data	ACS 5-year estimates for per capita income.	
Community Garden Records	Information from local databases and community organizations.	
GIS	Used to spatially analyze proximity of gardens to lower-income block	
	groups.	
Data Analysis	Description	
Block Group Analysis	T-tests for correlation between proximity to gardens and income	
	changes.	
Hot Spot Analysis	Gi* (Getis-Ord statistic) for identifying clusters of gardens and in-	
	come changes.	
Robustness Checks	T-tests with varied criteria to account for ACS data errors.	
Results and Implications	Description	
Block group analysis	showed larger income increases near gardens.	
Hot spot analysis	showed less pronounced results, especially with newer gardens.	
Raised questions about whether gardens mitigate or contribute to gentrification		

Table 5. Summary of the key findings and methodologies in the study by Maantay and Maroko. Elaborated by author.

Zhou and Xie (2022)		
Section	Details	
Study Overview	The phenomenon of green gentrification in the Central Park area of	
	Chongqing, China, was investigated, analyzing the impact of urban	
	green spaces on housing prices and socioeconomic conditions.	

Goal	To analyze the relationship between the development of Central Park	
	and its influence on real estate dynamics, income distribution, and	
	community access to green spaces.	
Indicators of Gentrification	Description	
House Prices	Changes in property prices in the Central Park area (2012-2021).	
Income Levels	Distribution of household incomes among nearby residents.	
Real Estate Characteristics	Architectural and ecological features of residential properties.	
Access to Green Spaces	Frequency of residents' visits to Central Park and activities.	
Transaction Data	Data on land supply, transaction areas, and market activity.	
Data Collection	Description	
Real Estate Data	Transaction data from KERRY digital service platform.	
Surveys	Structured questionnaire with 402 collected responses (319 valid).	
Real Estate Applications	Data on property characteristics from six real estate apps.	
Data Analysis	Description	
Hedonic Price Method (HPM)	Analyzed relationship between house prices and characteristics using	
	linear regression.	
Correlation Analysis	Used SPSS for significance and strength of relationships.	
Descriptive Statistics	Created distributions for household income and housing prices.	
Results and Implications	Description	
Housing Market Dynamics	Observed rising house prices and an influx of middle- to high-in-	
	come residents near Central Park.	
Proximity and Housing Prices	Found a strong positive correlation between proximity to Central	
	Park and housing prices, with prices decreasing as the distance from	
	the park increased.	
Environmental Inequities	Identified persistent inequities, with low-income residents retaining	
	access but experiencing limited benefits compared to higher-income	
	groups.	
Urban Planning Recommendations	Recommended developing smaller green spaces and regulating real	
	estate speculation to ensure equitable access and reduce unintended	
	socio-economic disparities.	

Table 6. Summary of the key findings and methodologies in the study by Zhou and Xie. Elaborated by author.

Bottero et al. (2023)		
Section	Details	
Study Overview	Used Geographically Weighted Regression (GWR) to analyze the in-	
	fluence of proximity to urban parks on housing prices in Turin, Italy.	
Goal	To evaluate the economic value of urban parks by assessing their im-	
	pact on real estate prices and highlight the spatial heterogeneity of this	
	effect.	
Indicators of Impact	Description	
Proximity to Parks	Examined the effect of proximity to Dora Park and Valentino Park on	
	housing prices within a 1 km radius.	
Surface Area (SURF)	Larger apartments near parks saw higher price increases, especially	
	near Valentino Park.	
Building Quality (ST)	Renovated or newly constructed properties were associated with sig-	
	nificant price premiums near both parks of Valentino and Parco Dora.	
Luxury Market Segment (SG3)	Luxurious properties experienced substantial price increases, particu-	
	larly in the Valentino Park area.	
Data Collection	Description	
Real Estate Listings	15,000 property listings from Immobiliare.it, focusing on 719 near	
	Dora Park and 721 near Valentino Park, collected between 2014 and	
	2018.	

Geographic Data	Latitude and longitude coordinates of each property to analyze loca-	
	tion-specific effects.	
Property Characteristics	Included surface area, floor number, energy efficiency, building condi-	
	tion, and presence of amenities like garages and elevators.	
Data Analysis	Description	
Geographically Weighted Regression	Used to account for spatial variations in the relationship between prop-	
(GWR)	erty prices and proximity to parks.	
Elasticity Calculations	Analyzed price sensitivity to various property attributes, such as sur-	
	face area and luxury features, in proximity to each park.	
Comparative Analysis	Assessed differences in property price effects between Dora Park and	
	Valentino Park based on their urban context and surrounding charac-	
	teristics.	
Results and Implications	Description	
Proximity Effect	Proximity to both parks positively influenced property prices, with	
	stronger effects observed near Valentino Park due to its historic	
	affluent surroundings.	
Spatial Variation	GWR revealed localized variations in price elasticities, with Valentino	
	Park showing higher price premiums compared to Dora Park.	
Urban Regeneration Impact	Dora Park, situated in a regenerating industrial area, exhibited signifi-	
	cant price increases driven by new residential developments.	
Policy Recommendations	Highlighted the need for urban planners to consider spatially aware	
	methodologies like GWR in planning green spaces and evaluating their	
	economic impacts.	

Table 7. Summary of the key findings and methodologies in the GWR analysis of housing prices near Dora Park and Valentino Park in Turin in the study by Bottero et al. Elaborated by the author

4.3. Methodological Framework

This research employs a mixed-method approach to comprehensively address the main research question: "To what extent do green spaces contribute to green gentrification in the area surrounding Parco Dora, and whether the development of the space, with its associat-ed environmental issues and green infrastructure which has been then perceived and promoted, emphasis on the ecological dimension or not?" The mixed-method approach allows the question to be divided into smaller, targeted inquiries, facilitating a structured and thorough examination of the data.

By integrating quantitative, qualitative, and geospatial methods, this study aims to capture the multifaceted nature of green gentrification and its implications for Parco Dora and the surrounding neighborhoods. Quantitative analyses focus on housing prices, demographic shifts, and residential mobility trends, while qualitative methods delve into stakeholder perspectives through interviews and the examination of community narratives. Geospatial techniques, including GIS mapping and Google Earth analysis, provide visual insights into infrastructure changes and their associated impacts. This combination of methods ensures a holistic understanding of the socio-economic, environmental, and cultural transformations linked to the development of Parco Dora.

4.3.1. Indicator Selection through Literature Review

In the initial phase of this research, relevant indicators were identified based on an extensive review of existing literature to evaluate the transformations within the neighborhood and their relationship to gentrification. The chosen indicators included residents' instruction level, residents' nationality, home sale values, proximity to green spaces, house prices, real estate characteristics, ethnic demographics, age structure of people, residential mobility, street-level imagery (Google Street View), changes in green spaces, and infrastructure improvements. This foundational work involved a comprehensive review of existing literature, allowing for a wellrounded framework to assess gentrification dynamics in Parco Dora.

4.3.2. Analysis of Secondary Quantitative Data

The data collection involved gathering quantitative data derived from various secondary sources. Housing price data exactly around Parco Dora was previously analyzed by Bottero et al. (2023). Based on this prior research, data from the Agenzia delle Entrate (Italian Revenue Agency) was then analyzed using time series analysis to identify trends in housing prices in surrounding neighborhoods.

Educational attainment and ethnic demographics data from the Statistics Service of the City of Turin were examined through comparative analysis to explore transformation dynamics, providing a deeper understanding of socioeconomic changes over time. Both data sets will be visualized using GIS maps and charts to illustrate trends.

Additionally, residential mobility and age structure indicators were assessed using existing data. Residential mobility data and age demographic data will also be visualized through charts to highlight trends in demographic shifts, thereby contributing to a comprehensive understanding of the factors influencing gentrification in the area.

4.3.3.Infrastructure Analysis Using Google Earth and Planning Documents

This step focused on describing the changes in infrastructure and their associated sociodemographic shifts within the area. Data on infrastructure improvements was sourced from city planning documents, which were subjected to content analysis. Additionally, Google Earth imagery was utilized to visually assess changes over time.

Google Earth imagery facilitated the identification of historical transformations, allowing for a qualitative examination of changes in both infrastructure and socio-demographic patterns. This dual approach provided insights into the relationship between infrastructure development and shifts in the community's demographics, enhancing the understanding of urban development in the area.

4.3.4. Analyzing Community Narratives and Interview Insights

Analyzing Community Narratives and Interview Insights

This phase of the research began with an analysis of digital news articles to understand how local media portrayed the transformation of Parco Dora and its surrounding neighborhoods. Articles from TorinoToday, a digital daily newspaper launched in 2011, were selected for their comprehensive and well-organized coverage of neighborhood-level issues. TorinoToday stood out for its focused reporting on local areas, providing detailed and consistent coverage of events, developments, and challenges in neighborhoods like those surrounding Parco Dora. Articles published between 2011 and 2024 were analyzed to identify recurring themes and shifts in narrative, with particular attention to topics such as safety, accessibility, community events, and the socio-economic effects of the park's transformation. This analysis provided valuable insights into how the media framed the redevelopment and its implications for the local community.

Following the media analysis, approximately 300 documents exchanged between the volunteer committee Comitato Dora Spina 3 and municipal authorities were examined. These documents, accessed through the committee's official website (www.comitatodoraspina3.it) and archives, included letters, petitions, posters, and follow-up requests spanning from 2004 to the present. The collection reflected nearly two decades of advocacy efforts by the committee, addressing recurring themes such as environmental risks, shortages in public services, accessibility challenges, the impacts of large-scale events, and calls for inclusive urban planning. This comprehensive review provided a valuable lens into the committee's sustained efforts and priorities in influencing urban policies in the Parco Dora area.

Both the news articles and the committee documents were originally written in Italian and were translated into English to facilitate a detailed and accurate analysis.

Lastly, qualitative interviews were conducted to gain a deeper understanding of stakeholder perspectives on the transformation of Parco Dora. A total of nine interviews were carried out, each lasting an average of 50 minutes. These interviews were semi-structured and divided into two tailored frameworks based on the participants' roles and levels of engagement with the neighborhood:

1. Public Actors

This group included municipal and institutional stakeholders who either previously or currently held roles related to urban planning and governance. Participants were asked about their professional roles, involvement in Parco Dora's development, observations of its transformation, perceived challenges and improvements, the park's impact on the neighborhood, and their outlook on its future. This framework aimed to gather insights into the strategic and governance dimensions of the park's redevelopment.

2. Associations

This group comprised organizations with varying levels of engagement in the Parco Dora area, including those actively involved in the neighborhood and others observing from a more external perspective. Participants were asked about their connections to the neighborhood, experiences with Parco Dora's transformation, perceptions of its effects on community dynamics, safety, economic demographic and changes, environmental quality, and suggested improvements for the park. This framework focused on capturing community-oriented and organizational perspectives.

Both frameworks encouraged open-ended responses, allowing participants to elaborate freely and share their thoughts without restriction. This approach provided a nuanced understanding of the diverse perspectives and concerns surrounding the park's redevelopment.

The collected interview data were analyzed using ATLAS.ti, a qualitative data analysis software. The software facilitated thematic coding to systematically identify recurring themes, patterns, and connections within the responses.

To provide an overview of the interview participants and their roles, the following table summarizes the interviewees, , and the dates of the interviews. Each participant is identified by a unique code (e.g., PA01,

Code	Role	Date of Interview
PA01	Former Public Ac-	7 November 2024
	tor	
PA02	Public Actor	14 January 2025
AS01	Neutral Association	27 November 2024
AS02		7 January 2024
AS03	Graffiti Association	22 November 2024
AS04	Hostel Director	10 January 2025
AS05	Administrator, Art	13 December 2024
	Academy	
AS06	Parish Priest	10 January 2025
AS07	Comitato Dora	26 November 2024
	Spina Tre	

AS01) for organizational clarity in analysis and discussion throughout chapter 7.

Table 8. List of Interview Participants

Phase 0. Indicator Selection	lection					
Sub-Research Questions	Indicators Selected	Source of Data	Analysis Method	Data Type	Contribution to Main Question	Notes
What indicators will be used to ex- plore socio- economic and en- vironmental changes in the Parco Dora	Selected indicators from previous studies: . Residents' Instruction Level . Residents' Nationality . Home Sale Values . Proximity to green spaces . House Prices . Real Estate Characteristics . Real Estate Characteristics . Age Structure of People . Residential Mobility . Street-Level Imagery (Google Street View) . Changes in Green Spaces . Infrastructure Improvements	Literature rviews and previous studies	Comprehensive review of exist- ing research			Provides a foundation for Identifying relevant indi- cators that directly or in- directly address gentrifi- cation in Parco Dora.
Phase 1: Initial Data Collection	Collection					
Data Needed		Source of Data	Analysis Method	Data Type	Contribution to Main Question	Notes
. Housing price data . Time series data		Agenzia delle En- trate (Italian Rev- enue Agency)	Statistica analysis of trends Time series analysis	Quantitative	Describes trends in housing prices over time, providing context for understanding shifts in the area's economic profile.	House prices around the park have been analyzed be- fore by Bottero et al. (2023); Just the trend of prices in neighborhoods around Parco Dora checked
. Educational attainment data	ent data	Statistics Service of the City of Turin	Comparative analysis of edu- cated people changes	Quantitative	Links educational attainment to gentrifica- tion trends, supporting the understanding of socioeconomic changes.	Existing Data : 2011-2021 Data will be visualized with GIS maps and charts to show trends
.Ethnic demographics data	s data	Statistics Service of the City of Turin	Comparative analysis of demographic shifts	Quantitative	Helps identify potential displacement and community change due to gentrification.	Existing Data : 2007-2023 Data will be visualized with GIS maps and charts to show trends

4.4. Research Methodology Overview

Age demographic data	ta	Statistics Service of the City of Turin	Comparative analysis of age group changes	Quantitative	Observes shifts in age distribution over time, which may reflect changing commu- nity dynamics in the context of neighborhood transformations.	Existing Data : 2007-2023 Data will be visualized with charts to show trends
Phase 2: In-Depth Analysis	nalysis					
Sub-Research Ques- tions	Data Needed	Source of Data	Analysis Method	Data Type	Contribution to Main Question	Notes
How have infra- structure improve- ments impacted demographic chang- es?	Infrastructure improvement data	City planning documents Google Earth imagery	Content analysis Visual analysis of changes	Quantitative Qualitative	Describes changes in infrastructure and socio-demographic patterns over time, providing insights into urban development in Parco Dora.	Existing Data : 2006-2023 Google Earth imagery will be qualitatively analyzed using historical data.
Phase 3: Community Insights	. Insights					
Sub-Research Questions	Data Needed	Source of Data	Analysis Method	Data Type	Contribution to Main Question	Notes
What narratives about change and gentrification are presented in local news sources?	Newspaper articles Local committee documents	.Local newspapers	Content analysis with Coding method	Qualitative	Provides a deeper understanding of public perception and discourse on neighborhood transformation and changes in Parco Dora	Analysis of articles related to Parco Dora and gentrification trends.
How do residents and community members view the impact of changes in Parco Dora?	.Interview data	Leaders	Narrative analysis	Qualitative	Gathers diverse perspectives and understanding of community dynamics.	Interviews with different public and local communities
Main e	Main Question			1	Main Goal	

To what extent do green spaces contribute to green gentrification in the area surrounding Parco Dora, and whether the development of the space, with its associated environmental issues and green infrastructure which has been then perceived and promoted, emphasis on the ecological dimension or not?

To investigate how green spaces in Parco Dora shape socio-economic and environmental changes.

Chapter 5. Turin

5.1. Introduction

This chapter delves into the key elements that define Turin's urban landscape and transformation. It begins with an overview of the city's geographic and historical context, setting the stage for understanding its evolution over time. The focus then shifts to the division of areas in Turin, explaining how administrative and geographic boundaries are used for governance, statistical analysis, and urban planning. Next, the chapter explores demographic and socioeconomic trends, highlighting disparities and challenges across the city's neighborhoods. Finally, it examines the policies and planning frameworks that guide urban development, along with the transformations and gentrification processes shaping Turin today. Together, these sections provide a comprehensive foundation for analyzing the city's changing dynamics and their implications for equity and sustainability.

5.2. Geographic and Historical Overview of Torino



Figure 21. IT - Torino (Turin, 2024)

Turin, the capital of Italy's Piedmont region, is situated in the northwestern part of the country. The city lies at an elevation of approximately 239 meters above sea level and is bordered by the Po River and its tributaries the Dora Riparia, Stura di Lanzo, and Sangone Rivers. Surrounded by the Alps to the north and west and hills to the south, Turin's strategic geographic location has historically contributed to its development as a key political, cultural, and economic center (Power, 2016).

The city traces its origins to the Roman settlement Augusta Taurinorum, established in 28 BC. Its orthogonal grid layout, characteristic of Roman urban design, remains a defining feature of Turin's urban structure. During the Renaissance, Turin gained prominence when the Duchy of Savoy made it its capital in 1563, cementing its role as a center of political and cultural influence in Europe. Baroque architecture from this era, including palaces and religious buildings, continues to shape Turin's identity and stands as a testament to its rich historical legacy (Belligni & Ravazzi, 2013).

In the 19th century, Turin was at the forefront of the Risorgimento, the movement for Italian unification, and served as the first capital of unified Italy from 1861 to 1865. This period marked a turning point in Turin's transformation into a modern city, as it underwent significant urban expansion and industrial development (Power, 2016). By the 20th century, Turin had established itself as Italy's industrial powerhouse, largely due to the founding of FIAT (Fabbrica Italiana Automobili Torino) in 1899. The city experienced rapid urbanization and population growth, becoming a magnet for domestic migration. During its industrial peak in the 1970s, Turin's population reached approximately 1.2 million (Belligni & Ravazzi, 2013).

However, the decline of the Fordist industrial model in the late 20th century brought significant challenges. Deindustrialization led to rising unemployment, urban decay, and a steep population decline. Turin became a "shrinking city," with its population decreasing to approximately 900,000 by the 1990s and stabilizing around 860.973 in 2023. This trend reflects broader European challenges faced by post-industrial cities (Power, 2016).

5.3. Division of Areas in Turin

Based on data obtained from Geoportale Torino, the city is divided into four main types of geographic and administrative units: Circoscrizioni, Neighborhoods, Statistical Zones, and Zone OMI. Each of these divisions serves specific purposes, such as governance, statistical analysis, or market monitoring, and plays a crucial role in understanding the socio-economic and spatial dynamics of Turin. This differentiation is particularly important for analyzing data related to the areas surrounding Parco Dora, as various datasets and sources use different scales of division(Elaborated by Author).

5.3.1. Circoscrizioni (Districts)

Circoscrizioni are the broadest administrative divisions within the city. Turin is divided into multiple districts, each encompassing several neighborhoods. These districts are often used in municipal governance and policy implementation. Certain statistical data and reports, such as those focusing on public services and urban planning, are aggregated at this level, making it a key scale for city-wide analyses(Elaborated by Author).

5.3.2. Neighborhoods (Quartieri)

Neighborhoods, or quartieri, represent informal yet widely recognized subdivisions within Turin. These divisions often reflect the historical, cultural, and social identity of the city. Public discourse and media reports frequently refer to specific neighborhoods, making them significant for qualitative analyses. For example, the interviews conducted and the news articles analyzed in subsequent sections focus on the neighborhood level, as it aligns with public perception and local context, particularly in the Parco Dora area.

5.3.3. Statistical Zones (Zone Statistiche)

Statistical Zones are fine-grained divisions specifically designed for data collection and analysis. These zones are defined by statistical agencies to provide detailed demographic, socio-economic, and housing data. They offer a granular perspective, often used in studies requiring detailed numerical data. However, some datasets in this thesis may use Statistical Zones, while others aggregate data at broader levels such as Circoscrizioni(Elaborated by Author).

5.3.4. Zone OMI (Osservatorio del Mercato Immobiliare)

Zone OMI are defined by the Italian Revenue Agency (Agenzia delle Entrate) for the purpose of monitoring and analyzing real estate markets. These divisions are critical for understanding trends in housing prices, rental values, and other property market dynamics. Real estate data presented in this thesis, especially concerning the Parco Dora area, relies on Zone OMI as its primary scale(Elaborated by Author).

5.3.5. Significance of the Divisions

Understanding these divisions is essential for ensuring clarity and consistency in this thesis. Different datasets and analyses utilize these divisions in the following ways: Statistical Zones: Often used for highly detailed quantitative data, such as population demographics or socio-economic indicators.

Circoscrizioni: Used for broader municipal data and governance-related analyses.

Neighborhoods: Focus of interviews and qualitative data, as well as media reports.

Zone OMI: Basis for analyzing real estate trends, such as housing prices and market dynamics.

As these divisions overlap and serve different functions, each section of this thesis will specify the type of division used for its analysis. This approach ensures consistent and coherent data interpretation while addressing the specificities of different sources and scales.

Maps of Divisions

To aid understanding, maps of the Circoscrizioni, Neighborhoods, Statistical Zones, and Zone OMI have been prepared using data from Geoportale Torino. These maps illustrate how each division overlays the city and their relevance to the focus area of this thesis. They serve as an important reference for the subsequent sections, particularly in understanding the spatial context of the areas surrounding Parco Dora.

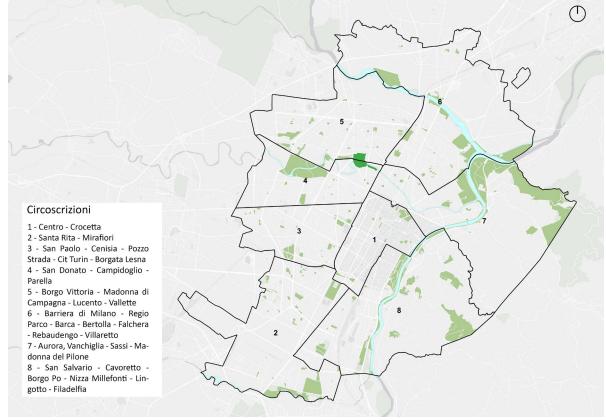


Figure 22. Administrative districts (Circoscrizioni) map of Turin (Geoportale, 2024).

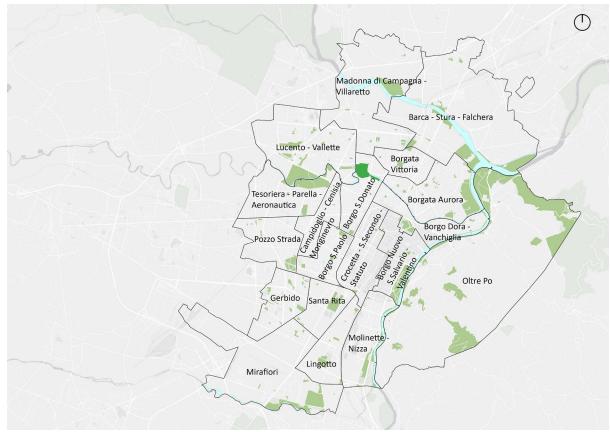


Figure 23. Neighborhood divisions map of Turin (Geoportale, 2024).

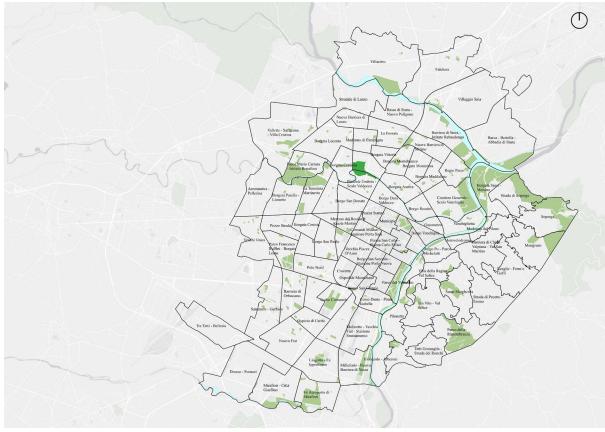


Figure 24. Statistical Zones (Zone Statistiche) of Turin, (Geoportale, 2024).

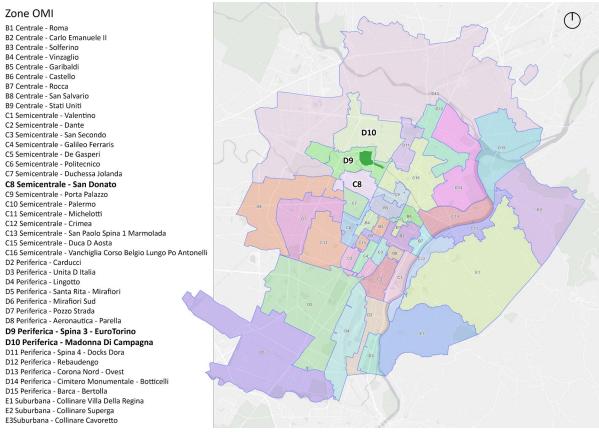


Figure 25. Division of Turin into real estate zones (Zone OMI) (Geoportale, 2024).

5.4. Demographic and Socio-Economic Context of Torino

Based on data derived from the annual report of the Comune di Torino's Statistical Office, this analysis provides an overview of demographic trends and district-level, see (Administrative Circoscrizioni map, Figure 22) dynamics in the city of Turin in 2023. The report highlights significant variations in population distribution, age structure, migration trends, foreign resident concentrations, and socioeconomic indicators across the city's eight administrative districts (Circoscrizioni) (Statistics Office of the City of Turin, 2023).

Turin's total population stood at 860,973 at the end of 2023, marking a slight increase from the previous year. However, this figure reflects a long-term decline from 2014, when the population exceeded 898,000. The city's demographic profile emphasizes a growing aging population, with the percentage of residents aged 65 and over remaining steady at 25.9%.

5.4.1. Demographic Disparities Across Districts

The population distribution across districts reveals substantial disparities in size and characteristics. Circoscrizione 2 is the most populous, with 132,655 residents, significantly exceeding the city-wide district average of 107,622. In contrast, Circoscrizione 1, located in the historic city center, has the smallest population at 80,000. Other high-population districts include Circoscrizioni 5 and 8, each surpassing 120,000 residents. Meanwhile, Circoscrizione 6, despite a smaller overall population, demonstrates notable demographic vibrancy (Statistics Office of the City of Turin, 2023).

Age structure varies significantly between districts. The city-wide median age is 47 years, but Circoscrizioni 2 and 8 have

higher median ages of 49 years, reflecting an older demographic. In contrast, Circoscrizione 6 has the youngest population, with a median age of 45 years, likely due to a larger presence of younger families and foreign-born residents (Statistics Office of the City of Turin, 2023).

Foreign residents account for 15.77% of Turin's total population in 2023, with their distribution uneven across districts. Circoscrizione 6 has the highest proportion of foreign residents at 26.6%, more than double the 12.4% observed in Circoscrizione 1. This significant presence shapes the cultural and demographic profile of Circoscrizione 6, which also recorded the highest birth rates in the city (Statistics Office of the City of Turin, 2023).

Birth and mortality rates further underscore demographic contrasts. Turin recorded 5,149 births in 2023, with districts such as Circoscrizioni 6 and 8 exceeding the citywide average of 644 births per district. Circoscrizione 6 reported 744 births, reflecting its younger demographic profile. Conversely, mortality trends highlight the aging population, with Circoscrizione 2 recording the highest number of deaths at 1,843, significantly above the district average of 1,289 (Statistics Office of the City of Turin, 2023).

Migration patterns also reflect diverse district-level dynamics. Positive migration balances were observed in Circoscrizione 2 (+336), Circoscrizione 4 (+311), and Circoscrizione 5 (+204), indicating these districts attract more residents than they lose. On the other hand, Circoscrizione 6 experienced the most significant migration loss, with a balance of -347, despite its higher proportion of foreign residents and younger age profile (Statistics Office of the City of Turin, 2023). The following analysis is based on data from the Socioeconomic Indicator Report 2023 on neighborhood level, see (Neighborhood divisions map of Turin, figure 23), made available on the (Geoportale Comune di Torino).

The Comune di Torino Geoportale provides an analysis of the socioeconomic conditions across Turin's neighborhoods through its 2023 report, utilizing a multi-dimensional indicator"Indicatore Socioeconomico" to assess key aspects of urban life. Indicators and Methodology

The Socioeconomic Indicator assesses four core dimensions to provide an overarching score for each neighborhood, standardizing the values on a scale from 0 to 100 for comparability. These dimensions are:

Demographics: Includes metrics such as age structure (e.g., percentage of residents over 65) and population trends.

Income: Focuses on the average taxable IRPEF income per resident, highlighting economic disparities across neighborhoods. Infrastructure and Services (Dotazioni): Evaluates the availability and distribution of key public services, such as schools, healthcare facilities, postal offices, banks, and recreational amenities.

Economic Activities (Attività): Examines the prevalence of commercial and manufacturing units, alongside market density and the presence of small- to large-scale retail structures.

The table below summarizes the Socioeconomic Indicator and its components for each district in Turin for the year 2023: (Comune di Torino Geoportale, 2023).

Year	District Name	Demographics	Income	Equipment	Activity
2023	CENTRO	86,95	88,31	77,16	82,33
2023	SAN SALVARIO	49,06	66,34	41,74	45,33
2023	BARRIERA DI MILANO	48,98	82,95	5,79	42,33
2023	CROCETTA	48,12	43,89	60,6	35
2023	SAN DONATO	45,06	51,91	24,01	38,67
2023	CENISIA	41,99	39,83	34,13	33,83
2023	AURORA	38,52	50	7,08	38,67
2023	SANTA RITA	36,12	33,99	20,65	40,83
2023	SAN PAOLO	33,23	45,45	26,79	25,5
2023	POZZO STRADA	31,71	34,14	17,01	27
2023	BORGO PO E CAVORETTO	30,35	32,97	84,93	2,67
2023	MERCATI GENERALI	27,65	27,13	15,63	31,83
2023	MADONNA DEL PILONE	26,38	58,77	46,77	0
2023	PARELLA	25,71	47,94	14,73	16,33
2023	BORGATA VITTORIA	24,62	54,7	5,59	8,83
2023	MADONNA DI CAMPAGNA	23,45	65,38	4,42	5,67
2023	VANCHIGLIA	20,41	30,12	19,52	14,67
2023	MIRAFIORI NORD	20,34	25,5	19,35	20
2023	NIZZA MILLEFONTI	20,05	37,46	14,24	16,5
2023	REGIO PARCO	15,18	47,42	1,11	4
2023	MIRAFIORI SUD	13,85	37,79	7,1	4,67
2023	FALCHERA	11,52	40,48	1,44	1,5
2023	LE VALLETTE	10,06	18,05	4,04	8,33

Table 9.Dimensions of the Socioeconomic Indicator by Neighborhood in Turin based on Neighborhood level, 2023 (Comune di Torino Geoportale, 2023)

5.5. Policy and Planning Framework in Turin

This section provides an overview of the policy and planning frameworks shaping Turin's urban transformation. By examining these frameworks at the European, national, regional, and local levels, the aim is to establish an understanding of the existing planning context and provide a comprehensive picture of the city's developmental trajectory. This information helps contextualize Turin's current urban environment and sets the stage for the analyses conducted in subsequent chapters.

European Level:

At the European level, Torino has engaged with various initiatives addressing urban and environmental challenges. The Urban Innovative Actions (UIA): Based on information from the official Urban Innovative Actions (UIA) website, the UIA is an initiative funded under the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) to provide urban areas with resources to test innovative solutions for addressing complex urban challenges. The program, operating during the 2014–2020 programming period, allocated a total of €372 million to support projects across Europe. It is designed to allow urban authorities to experiment with bold ideas that address issues in areas such as urban poverty, circular economy, housing, urban mobility, and climate adaptation (UIA, 2014).

The UIA targets urban authorities or groupings of authorities, such as cities, towns, or suburbs, with populations exceeding 50,000. The program encourages collaboration among public entities, private organizations, research institutions, and local communities to develop projects that are experimental and inclusive. Each project aligns with thematic areas identified as critical to sustainable urban development, receiving significant financial support, with up to 80% of costs covered by the ERDF.

Turin has implemented two projects under the UIA program: the Co-City Project and the ToNite Project. These projects are part of the UIA framework and address specific challenges within the city. Further details on these projects will be provided in the local-level analysis (UIA, 2014).

The Mission for Smart and Climate-Neutral Cities is a European Union initiative aimed at supporting 100 cities across Europe in achieving climate neutrality by 2030. This mission is part of the broader Horizon Europe program and aligns with the European Green Deal, emphasizing the need for cities to lead the transition toward sustainable and resilient urban environments. The initiative aims to create replicable models of climate neutrality that other cities and regions can adopt, driving systemic change across the continent (City of Turin, 2024).

Selected cities are required to develop a Climate City Contract (CCC), a strategic framework that outlines their commitments, actions, and financial plans to reach climate neutrality. These contracts are cocreated with local, regional, and national stakeholders, fostering collaboration and inclusivity. The mission also emphasizes citizen engagement, including public consultations and the involvement of youth, to ensure that the strategies reflect the needs and aspirations of the communities (City of Turin, 2024).

Turin is one of the cities selected for the mission, reflecting its commitment to climate neutrality and sustainability. As part of its participation, the city submitted its Climate City Contract in 2023, which was endorsed in 2024. This document outlines Turin's strategies for achieving climate neutrality by 2030, focusing on renewable energy, sustainable transportation, urban forestry, and the integration of advanced technologies such as green roofs, solar energy systems, and digital monitoring tools. Turin's approach combines ecological initiatives with technological advancements to create a comprehensive urban transformation strategy (City of Turin, 2024).

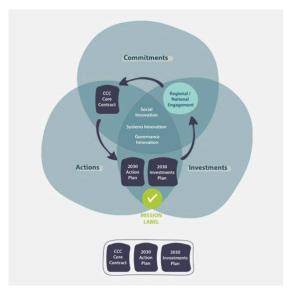


Figure 26. Conceptualisation of the EU Cities Mission Climate City Contract (n.d, Climate City Contract, s.d.)



Figure 27. Turin awarded the EU Mission Label for Climate-Neutral & Smart Cities (Torino City Lab, 2024)

National Level:

Italy's National Recovery and Resilience Plan (PNRR), launched in 2021 as part of the European Union's Next Generation EU framework, is a pivotal strategy to address the country's economic and social challenges following the COVID-19 pandemic. With a total budget of €191.5 billion provided by the Recovery and Resilience Facility (RRF) and an additional €30.6 billion from the National Complementary Fund, the PNRR directs over €222 billion towards promoting sustainability, digital transformation, and social inclusion across Italy. The plan aims to foster long-term resilience and innovation while addressing regional disparities and supporting ecological transitions.

The implementation of the PNRR spans six years, from 2021 to 2026, involving a wide range of actors at different governance levels. The Ministry of Economy and Finance oversees the coordination of the plan, while other ministries manage specific components, such as energy, education, and infrastructure. Local and regional governments, such as the Metropolitan City of Turin, play a crucial role in executing the projects on the ground. Private sector stakeholders and non-governmental organizations also contribute significantly to the plan's implementation, ensuring collaboration across various sectors.

For the Metropolitan City of Turin, the PNRR allocates €396 million to fund 221 projects. These projects focus on critical areas such as energy transition, urban redevelopment, public transport, and social inclusion. Key investments include urban forestry initiatives, school renovations, and the development of cycling infrastructure. These efforts align with the PNRR's broader goals of reducing greenhouse gas emissions, improving public services, and enhancing urban living conditions. Progress on these projects is ongoing, with the PNRR's timeline set to conclude in 2026. While some initiatives within Turin, such as Torino Cambia, are funded under the PNRR, their specific details will be explored further in the local-level analysis. (Città Metropolitana di Torino, 2021).



Figure 28. Distribution of PNRR-funded interventions across the Metropolitan City of Turin, highlighting key areas of infrastructure, environmental, and social cohesion project (Città Metropolitana di Torino, 2021)

Regional Level:

The Torino Metropoli 2025 Strategic Plan is a regional development framework designed to guide the sustainable growth, social inclusion, and economic progress of the Turin metropolitan area. Published in 2015 after two and a half years of consultation and planning, the strategy covers 38 municipalities and outlines objectives to be achieved by 2025. The plan emphasizes metropolitan governance, integrated mobility systems, and public-private partnerships, aiming to establish a cohesive vision for the region (Metropolitan Turin 2025, 2015).

The planning process involved significant collaboration across sectors, engaging 230 public entities, including local municipalities and regional authorities, along with businesses, industry associations, universities, research institutions, and civil society organizations. Stakeholders participated in 148 consultative meetings, ensuring that diverse perspectives informed the plan's development. This participatory approach reflects the broader aim to create an inclusive and comprehensive strategy for the metropolitan area (Metropolitan Turin 2025, 2015). The plan's timeline spans a decade, from its publication in 2015 to its conclusion in 2025. It is currently in its final year of implementation, with progress being tracked against the outlined objectives. The plan's funding strategy combines public and private investments, European Union funds, and other financial mechanisms. While specific budget details for individual initiatives vary, the overarching projects focus on key areas such as mobility, urban redevelopment, and economic development.

The strategic plan identifies 29 concrete projects designed to enhance metropolitan governance and foster economic growth. These include initiatives to integrate transportation systems, strengthen regional infrastructure, and promote public-private collaboration. Projects have been implemented with the goal of improving quality of life, attracting investments, and supporting long-term sustainability across the region. (Metropolitan Turin 2025, 2015).

The Corona Verde Project has been supported by a significant financial commitment since its initiation in 2000. The project has received over €23 million in funding, primarily contributed by the European Union and the Piedmont Region, with additional investments of €13.1 million directed toward specific initiatives. These funds have been allocated to various components, including the creation of greenways, the establishment of ecological corridors, and the enhancement of cultural landmarks.

Budget management is coordinated by the Piedmont Region, which serves as the lead authority for the project. The financial resources are distributed in collaboration with the Metropolitan City of Turin and 93 participating municipalities. This collaborative approach ensures that investments address both regional objectives and local priorities. A combination of EU funding, regional contributions, and co-financing from local stakeholders has enabled the implementation of multiple initiatives within the project framework.

Governance of the budget involves structured oversight and planning. Institutions such as IRES Piemonte and IRCRES have contributed to identifying strategic priorities and ensuring the alignment of financial allocations with the project's overall goals. Regular evaluations are conducted to monitor expenditures and assess progress, ensuring that resources are utilized efficiently and effectively.

The allocated budget supports various activities, including the development of ecological corridors to connect parks and rivers, the restoration of historical irrigation systems, and the enhancement of cultural sites such as the Royal Residences. These financial investments are directed toward integrating natural and cultural landscapes while improving accessibility and supporting environmental conservation across the Turin metropolitan area. (Corona Verde, s.d.).

Local Level:

The Piano Regolatore Generale (PRG) of Turin, adopted in 1995, has been a critical tool in guiding the city's urban planning and redevelopment. Developed by architects Vittorio Gregotti and Augusto Cagnardi, the PRG aimed to transition Turin from its industrial past into a diversified and modern urban environment. Significant projects implemented under the plan include the redevelopment of former industrial sites and the creation of key infrastructure, such as Metro Line 1 and Porta Susa station. The PRG was officially adopted in 1991 and approved in 1995, following years of planning and consultation. It has since been updated periodically to address new urban

challenges and ensure its relevance in a changing urban context.

The development and implementation of the PRG have involved a collaborative effort among various stakeholders, including Municipal Authorities, Urban Planners and Community Architects, and Interest Groups. The PRG is not a static document, but must be periodically reviewed and updated to respond to socio-economic dynamics and new needs of the territory. The legislation requires that municipalities carry out a periodic review of the PRG and, if necessary, proceed with urban planning variations. The variations can be partial when the changes concern only some parts of the PRG or general when, instead, the changes concern the entire master plan. (Comune di Torino, s.d.).

The Piano Strategico dell'Infrastruttura Verde Torino 2030 was launched in 2020 as a strategic framework for the development and enhancement of green infrastructure across Turin. Its primary objectives include promoting biodiversity, improving ecological connectivity, and strengthening urban resilience. The plan outlines annual goals, such as adding 100,000 square meters of green spaces, renovating 20 to 30 parks, and creating 10,000 square meters of ecological corridors. Urban agriculture also features prominently, with an annual target of expanding community gardens by 50,000 square meters. Additionally, climate adaptation measures, such as green roofs, wetlands, and tree planting, are emphasized address environmental to challenges (Comune di Torino, 2021).

The plan covers a decade-long period, from its approval in 2021 through 2030, with progress monitored regularly to ensure its alignment with urban priorities and changing needs. Its implementation aims to adapt Turin's urban environment to contemporary challenges by integrating sustainable practices into city planning. The strategy positions Turin as exceeding European and World Health Organization benchmarks for green space availability, boasting 18.2 square kilometers of public green areas (Comune di Torino, 2021).

The financial aspects of the plan are managed within Turin's annual municipal budgets, with funding contributions from regional and national grants, as well as potential collaborations with private stakeholders. Specific budget allocations are determined on a project-by-project basis, ensuring that resources are efficiently deployed to meet the outlined goals.

Key actors involved in the development and implementation of the plan include the City of Turin's Department of Environment, led during its initial phase by Councillor Alberto Unia, and technical experts from local institutions such as the University of Turin and the Polytechnic University of Turin. The plan emphasizes a participatory approach, involving public consultations and partnerships with local environmental organizations and community groups to ensure inclusivity in decision-making. (Comune di Torino, 2021).

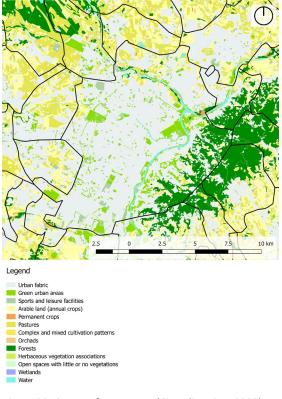


Figure 29. Green Infrastructure (Citta di Torino, 2020)

The AxTO – Actions for Peripheral Neighborhoods initiative, implemented from 2018 to 2020, aimed to address urban challenges in peripheral areas through a €45 million investment. It targeted housing, public spaces, and education, completing 16 construction projects and planning 54 additional interventions. By promoting community participation, AxTO sought to improve urban livability and address inequalities in marginalized neighborhoods (n.d, Innovation and sustainability in the Turin suburbs: presentation of AxTO's circular and collaborative economy projects, 2019).

The ToNite project, implemented in Turin from September 2019 to August 2023, aimed to address perceptions of nighttime safety along the Dora River, with a focus on the Aurora and Vanchiglia neighborhoods. It combined urban regeneration, community engagement, and the application of technological tools to improve the usability of public spaces during nighttime hours. The initiative was funded by the European Union's Urban Innovative Actions (UIA) program, with a total budget of €4.6 million allocated for various interventions.

The City of Turin served as the lead partner for the project, collaborating with multiple organizations, including the Torino Wireless Foundation, Experientia, Engineering -Ingegneria Informatica, SocialFare, and Espereal Technologies. These partners contributed expertise in urban planning, technological development, and social research. Additionally, the National Association of Italian Municipalities (ANCI) supported the project by disseminating its outcomes to other urban areas (ToNite, 2020).

The project encompassed several components. Public spaces along the Dora River, including Viale Ottavio Mario Mai, underwent redevelopment to enhance accessibility and safety. A public call for proposals was launched to fund 19 community-led projects, involving over 50 entities. These projects introduced various services and activities aimed at activating public spaces during evening hours. A technological component of ToNite involved the development of a digital platform and tools, such as the Tellingstones app, to collect and analyze data on urban insecurity and facilitate interaction among residents (ToNite, 2020). The project officially concluded in August 2023, aligning with its initial timeframe. As part of its outcomes, the methodologies and approaches developed under ToNite were integrated into Turin's broader urban planning strategies, including the Night Management Plan introduced in 2023. Plans for potential replication of ToNite's approaches are being considered under the URBACT IV program through a follow-up initiative called 2Nite. This project aims to adapt and apply the methods tested in Turin to other European urban contexts. (ToNite, 2020).

The Co-City Project was a local initiative implemented in Turin between 2017 and 2020 as part of the European Union's Urban Innovative Actions (UIA) program. It aimed to address socio-spatial polarization and poverty by fostering the shared management of urban commons. This initiative focused on establishing a collaborative relationship between the municipality and citizens to regenerate underused public spaces, creating inclusive and vibrant urban environments.

The project's total budget was €5.1 million, with 80% funded by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). The City of Turin served as the main Urban Authority responsible for implementing the project, working in partnership with local institutions and organizations, including the University of Turin and Fondazione Cascina Roccafranca. These collaborations played a vital role in ensuring the project's success by integrating expertise in law, technology, and community engagement.

A core component of the Co-City Project was the creation of Pacts of Collaboration, which formalized agreements between the municipality and citizens for the co-management of urban spaces. Over 40 such pacts were established during the project's duration, focusing on the regeneration of public spaces such as school courtyards, abandoned buildings, and other neglected areas. Tools like a "Library of Tools" for maintenance activities and blockchainbased governance models were developed to support these efforts and ensure transparent and efficient management.

Key interventions under the Co-City Project included the transformation of the Beeozanam building in Borgo Vittoria into a community hub and similar initiatives in neighborhoods like Mirafiori North and Via Cumiana. These projects aimed to promote social cohesion, support local enterprises, and enhance the quality of life for residents by converting neglected spaces into functional, inclusive areas (Comune di Torino, 2020).

The Torino Cambia initiative is a largescale urban transformation project launched by the City of Turin to address urban challenges and foster sustainable development. It operates within the framework of national and European funding mechanisms, including the National Recovery and Resilience Plan (PNRR), REACT-EU, and other programs. The initiative spans from 2021 to 2026 and includes over 300 interventions, focusing on various aspects of urban renewal and infrastructure development.

One of the key components of Torino Cambia is the expansion of Metro Line 2, a major infrastructure project aimed at improving urban mobility and reducing traffic congestion. Another significant intervention is the introduction of 245 electric buses to modernize the city's public transport system and promote sustainability. The initiative also emphasizes energy efficiency through the renovation of public buildings, such as schools and libraries, to reduce energy consumption and operational costs.

Urban regeneration is another central focus of Torino Cambia, with projects such as the redevelopment of Parco del Valentino and the construction of new educational and cultural facilities. These efforts aim to enhance public spaces and improve the quality of life for residents.

The financial backbone of Torino Cambia is substantial, with approximately \notin 1.8 billion allocated for various projects. This funding includes \notin 712 million from the PNRR and other national resources for the 2021-2026 period, \notin 81.9 million from RE-ACT-EU for projects from 2021-2023, and \notin 149.1 million from PON METRO PLUS for initiatives spanning 2021-2027. (Torino cambia, 2021).



Figure 30. Map of Torino Cambia initiatives, showcasing specific interventions within Turin city boundaries under the National Recovery and Resilience Plan (PNRR) (Torino cambia, 2021)

Lastly, The "Torino Città d'Acque" project is a local initiative led by the Municipality of Turin, aimed at transforming the city's relationship with its rivers. Initially launched in 1993, the project focuses on creating an interconnected network of parks, greenways, and recreational spaces along the Po, Dora Riparia, Stura, and Sangone rivers. While the project is primarily local, it aligns with broader regional and European frameworks for ecological restoration and sustainable urban development, including connections to the regional "Corona Verde" initiative.

The timeframe for the "Torino Città d'Acque" project spans multiple decades. Beginning in the early 1990s as part of Turin's urban regeneration strategy, the project is ongoing and the project's budget is not consolidated into a single figure, as it has been implemented over several decades with funding sourced from various channels (MuseoTorino, 2009).

5.6. Urban Transformations and the Evolution of Gentrification in Turin

Turin's urban transformation from the late 20th century into the early 21st century was shaped by a strategic urban regime that sought to modernize infrastructure and adapt the city to a post-industrial economy. This regime, characterized by a coalition of political leaders, business elites, and academic institutions, operated under the leadership of Mayor Valentino Castellani. Castellani's administration launched an ambitious Master Plan in the 1990s that aimed to rejuvenate derelict industrial areas and reimagine the city's urban landscape. Key projects included the Spina Centrale, which unlocked previously inaccessible land by constructing a road and rail network over the central railway lines, and the expansion of the Politecnico di Torino, reinforcing the city's identity as a center for education and innovation. Additionally, the development of a modern metro system significantly improved urban connectivity, reducing congestion and pollution (Belligni & Ravazzi, 2013), (Power, 2016).

This transformation reflected the broader goals of the urban regime to position Turin as a competitive European city. Guided by a pro-growth agenda, the regime sought to diversify the local economy, attract investment, and enhance the city's cultural and technological assets. However, as highlighted by scholars Belligni and Ravazzi, the regime's strength lay in its ability to mobilize resources and coordinate efforts across public and private sectors, but its effectiveness was sometimes hindered by competing priorities and limited engagement with marginalized communities. Despite these challenges, the regime's achievements in urban renewal and infrastructure development remain pivotal in Turin's shift from an industrial hub to a dynamic metropolitan center. (Belligni & Ravazzi, 2013), (Power, 2016).



Figure 31. Map of Turin's urban transformation zones highlighting the Spina Centrale project and key redevelopment areas (Belligni & Ravazzi, 2013).

This strategic approach paved the way for the gentrification of the *Quadrilatero Romano*. By the early 1990s, developer-led projects redeveloped the neighborhood, refurbishing buildings, opening cafés and boutiques, and transforming it into a vibrant, cosmopolitan area. Cultural landmarks like the MAO Museum of Oriental Art and an influx of middle- to upper-middle-class residents further enhanced the area's appeal. However, these changes displaced lower-income and immigrant communities, raising concerns about social equity (Bolzoni & Semi, 2023).

In the late 1990s, urban branding emerged as a tool to reframe Turin as a dynamic, culturally vibrant metropolis. This effort culminated in the 2006 Winter Olympic Games, which provided political momentum and significant financial investments to transform the city. Major regeneration projects, such as the requalification of the Lingotto area and the Spine 3 redevelopment, highlighted the city's ability to repurpose disused industrial sites and modernize its infrastructure (Vanolo, 2015; Maahsen-Milan, 2013). The Olympics marked a turning point in Turin's image, positioning it as a dynamic and cosmopolitan city. Substantial investments during this period reinforced urban transformation and enhanced local and international perceptions of Turin, as it moved beyond its industrial past (Bolzoni & Semi, 2023).

After the conclusion of the 2006 Winter Olympic Games, Turin's aspirations of becoming a 'global city' began to fade (Vanolo, 2015). The post-Olympic period was shaped by significant challenges, including mounting public debt from Olympic investments, the 2007 neoliberal policy liberalizing commercial activities, and the global financial crisis starting in 2008 (Bolzoni & Semi, 2023).

The 2008 financial crisis marked a turning point, severely impacting Turin's already struggling economy. Unemployment rose sharply from 5.6% in 2008 to 12.9% in 2014, among the highest rates in Northern Italy. Turin's manufacturing sector, particularly the automotive industry, shed 15,000 jobs during 2008-2009, deepening economic instability. Although public sector and retail industries showed some resilience, the city's efforts to transition to a post-Fordist economy through cultural and sports investments proved insufficient against the broader economic downturn (Gonzalez, Oosterlynck, Ribera-Fumaz, & Rossi, 2018).

This period highlighted a dual transformation in Turin. The city center saw increased commercial gentrification, driven by tourism, student populations, and business growth. In contrast, peripheral areas faced austerity urbanism, with reduced expenditures and limited economic activity. Policies like the 2007 national deregulation enabled flexible business operations but redirected commercial growth to adjacent neighborhoods like San Salvario. This "reverse zoning" effect transformed San Salvario into a hub for nightlife and businesses catering to students and young professionals, further accelerating commercial gentrification (Bolzoni & Semi, 2023).

The Metropolitan Turin 2025 Strategic Plan, published in December 2014 by Torino Internazionale, articulated an ambitious vision to transform Turin into a "City of Opportunity" by emphasizing innovation, inclusivity, and sustainability. The plan, developed through collaboration with over 230 entities and 500 individuals, sought to address the challenges of economic restructuring and global competitiveness, proposing transformative actions across governance, economic development, and urban planning (Torino Internazionale, 2015).

Central to the plan was the restructuring of local governance to enhance coordination and efficiency across the metropolitan area. This included the establishment of the Metropolitan Economic Development and Investment Agency, envisioned as a streamlined body for attracting investment and promoting economic growth. The introduction of a Metropolitan Spatial Plan was proposed to set strategic priorities for physical development, ensuring equitable urban renewal and resource distribution. In addition, the plan aimed to expand the Green Crown initiative, enhancing the management and quality of green spaces across the metropolitan area to bolster environmental sustainability and community well-being (Torino Internazionale, 2015).

Economic revitalization and social development were positioned as essential pillars of the strategy. The plan advocated for integrating public services to support new businesses and foster a dynamic local economy. It included the launch of AcceleraTO, a venture accelerator program designed to nurture emerging enterprises, and the establishment of the Turin Management School, which aimed to attract international talent while cultivating local expertise. Recognizing the potential of underutilized spaces, the plan proposed the rehabilitation of obsolete industrial sites for new manufacturing uses, incorporating innovative workspaces such as co-working hubs and fab labs. Furthermore, 15 place-making projects were outlined to enhance the connectivity and livability of suburban and peripheral areas, improving urban cohesion and accessibility (Torino Internazionale, 2015). Sustainability and technological innovation were also central to the plan's vision. A Metropolitan Mobility Information Platform was proposed to integrate transportation systems and provide real-time travel data, supporting sustainable mobility and reducing inefficiencies. The Digital Ecosystem initiative aimed to digitize public data, fostering transparency and entrepreneurship while enabling more efficient public service delivery. Social innovation was another key focus, with proposals for collaborative service models involving partnerships between private entities and the non-profit sector to address emerging social needs in innovative ways (Torino Internazionale, 2015)

The plan also aimed to enhance Turin's international reputation and attractiveness. It sought to increase foreign investment, attract international students and tourists, and showcase Turin's strengths in culture and innovation. To this end, the development of a high-speed rail connection to Milan Malpensa International Airport was proposed to strengthen regional connectivity. The creation of a sustainable university campus was envisioned as a catalyst for academic partnerships, fostering global collaboration in research and higher education. By leveraging its cultural heritage and innovation ecosystem, Turin aspired to establish itself as a leading global destination (Torino Internazionale, 2015).

Despite its ambitions, the plan suffered from limited funding and public disengagement. Critics pointed to an elitist political system, known as *Sistema Torino*, as a barrier to meaningful change. Public dissatisfaction peaked in 2013, with protests by disenfranchised groups disrupting the city. By 2016, this discontent culminated in a political shift, as the populist Five-Star Movement won the mayoral election, underscoring a divided city where affluent central neighborhoods supported the center-left while lower-income areas leaned towards populism (Gonzalez, Oosterlynck, Ribera-Fumaz, & Rossi, 2018).

By 2019, Turin had experienced significant changes in housing, consumption, and cultural policies, driven by factors such as platform capitalism, touristification, and the increasing presence of corporate landlords. Tourism surged to 1.9 million arrivals, with Airbnb listings nearly doubling between 2016 and 2019. The student population also grew to approximately 100,000, with 30% coming from outside the city and predominantly relying on private rentals. Despite these shifts, the city struggled with high unemployment and job insecurity, particularly among young people, alongside a continuing decline in industrial production (Bolzoni & Semi, 2023).

Historically working-class neighborhoods like *Borgo Rossini* and *Aurora* emerged as new gentrification hotspots. Investments in projects such as a new university campus, private educational institutions, the Lavazza headquarters, and upscale developments like *Mercato Centrale* and *The Student Hotel* transformed these areas. These initiatives catered to tourists, students, and affluent temporary residents, steering the local economy toward consumption and entertainment (Bolzoni & Semi, 2023).

These transformations have sparked controversy, with protests highlighting concerns about gentrification, displacement, and the marginalization of lower-income residents. Projects such as *Mercato Centrale* and high-end accommodations faced criticism for prioritizing commercial interests over community needs. (Bolzoni & Semi, 2023). While the COVID-19 pandemic had not yet begun, the trends observed by 2019 underscored the evolving nature of Turin's urban landscape, characterized by the expansion of high-end accommodations and commercial spaces targeting transient populations (Bolzoni & Semi, 2023).

The COVID-19 pandemic significantly disrupted urban environments globally, and Turin was no exception. According to sociologist Giovanni Semi, the economic downturn interrupted traditional gentrification patterns that relied heavily on tourism and events. The economic freeze led to an increase in vacant properties and a slowdown in real estate investments, halting the dynamics that typically drive gentrification. High-end commercial spaces and luxury residences, particularly in areas undergoing rapid transformation before the pandemic, were left empty. This disruption caused property owners and developers to reassess their strategies, marking a temporary pause in gentrification as attention shifted to mitigating immediate economic impacts (Papa, 2020).

By 2022, Turin began recovering, and gentrification processes resumed. The *Essenon Committee*, a local group opposing commercial developments, raised concerns about redevelopment projects prioritizing commercial interests over community needs. Protests centered on the redevelopment of the Artiglieria Montagna garden between Corso Vittorio Emanuele II and Via Borsellino, where plans for a shopping center highlighted tensions between development strategies and local priorities. Critics argued that luxury student residences and expanded commercial spaces favored wealthy investors and transient populations over long-term residents, exacerbating social inequalities (n.d, 2022).

In 2023, Turin advanced several major urban transformation projects, with a focus on cultural, educational, and mixed-use developments. One of the most debated initiatives was the Scalo Vallino project, a redevelopment of a 42,000-square-meter disused railway area near Via Nizza and Porta Nuova. The project, with an estimated investment of €60 million, is divided into two main lots: the first, a Molecular Biotechnology Research Center commissioned by the University of Turin, and the second, developed by Nova Coop, which features student housing, commercial spaces, restaurants, and public areas. The development also includes sustainability measures such as photovoltaic panels and greenery, alongside 7,500 square meters of public spaces. However, critics argue that these measures are insufficient to meet the needs of the community (Gibello, 2032).

Concerns raised by residents focus on several key issues. A petition signed by over 500 residents demanded a review of the project, citing a lack of public consultation and weak municipal negotiations. Critics pointed out that the allocation of green spaces is inadequate, particularly for a neighborhood already lacking in such amenities. Additionally, the above-ground parking structures and extensive impermeable surfaces were criticized for contributing to urban heat island effects and insufficient environmental planning.

Another significant point of contention is the commercial spaces included in the project, which residents fear will create strong competition for local traders, including those in the adjacent market area. The introduction of new shopping galleries and restaurants has sparked worries about potential disruptions to the existing neighborhood economy, particularly for small businesses already under pressure (Gibello, 2032).

By 2024, Turin's gentrification reached a new phase with the redevelopment of Porta Palazzo, a significant urban market area. Supported by the National Recovery and Resilience Plan (PNRR), the project aimed to improve infrastructure and transform the square into a vibrant nightlife and cultural hub. With an investment of €2.5 million, the redevelopment focused on upgrading glass canopies and resurfacing the square to enhance its accessibility and usability. However, while these interventions were framed as essential maintenance, they were part of a broader agenda to reposition Porta Palazzo as an upscale destination, prioritizing tourism and entertainment over community needs.

Councilor for Commerce Paolo Chiavarino emphasized the vision of making Porta Palazzo a dynamic venue for both day and evening activities. The square was envisioned as a space for events, music and dance performances, and culinary tastings representing both local and global cuisines. These plans aligned with long-standing efforts by municipal councils to transform the Aurora neighborhood and Porta Palazzo into trendy, tourist-friendly areas. Previous initiatives, such as the reorganization of the Balon flea market and the introduction of venues like Mercato Centrale and Combo, set the stage for this transition, often at the expense of traditional market vendors and lower-income residents.

Critics argue that this redevelopment exemplifies the dynamics of "touristification" and gentrification. By prioritizing tourists, affluent students, and high-spending visitors, the project risks displacing long-standing residents and traders. Property speculators and real estate developers have been quick to capitalize on the rising desirability of the area, leading to inflated property prices and increased living costs. These shifts threaten to marginalize low-income residents who can no longer afford to live in the neighborhood, further exacerbating social inequalities.

Moreover, the use of PNRR funds, specifically those allocated through the National Plan for the Quality of Living (Pinqua), has sparked controversy. Although the project includes renovations to public housing for social housing purposes, critics argue that such measures fail to address the housing emergency effectively. Social housing, with its higher rents compared to traditional council housing, caters to middle-income groups rather than the most vulnerable populations. This approach has historically allowed developers and banking foundations to profit under the guise of social responsibility, while indirectly contributing to the overall rise in rental prices across the city.

The Porta Palazzo redevelopment is emblematic of the urban transformation strategy under the Lo Russo council. Framed as part of a "City of Opportunities," this model prioritizes major events, tourism, and inaimed wealthier vestments at demographics, while sidelining tools to support the housing and economic needs of existing residents. Similar redevelopments are planned for other markets across the city, including Corso Racconigi, Brunelleschi, Porpora, and Guala, with a total investment of €10 million. The promotional campaign through the Torinocambia.it website paints these initiatives as fostering "social cohesion, urban regeneration, and security," but the outcomes are increasingly seen as favoring tourists and wealthier newcomers. Ultimately, the transformation of Porta Palazzo underscores the tensions inherent in urban redevelopment. While the project aims to revitalize and modernize the area, it has become a symbol of a city prioritizing economic growth and speculative investment over inclusivity and social equity. Critics call for alternative approaches that center community well-being and ensure that urban renewal benefits all residents. rather than exacerbating displacement and inequality. (potere al popolo, 2024).

5.7. Conclusion

The analysis of Turin's transformation highlights a city in the midst of balancing its ecological aspirations with its socio-economic realities. While the municipality has acknowledged challenges faced by the northern parts of the city, marked by weaker socio-economic indicators, efforts to address these disparities remain uneven. Projects such as Torino Cambia reflect an imbalance, with more than double the number of interventions concentrated in the southern parts of the city. This uneven allocation of resources underscores the need for a more inclusive approach to urban regeneration that prioritizes equitable development across all neighborhoods.

In evaluating the northern neighborhoods, the municipality often highlights their younger population as a defining characteristic and potential strength. However, this perspective risks oversimplifying the challenges these areas face. A younger demographic represents a potential rather than an inherent advantage. To realize this potential, investments in education, employment opportunities, public services, and community infrastructure are essential. Labeling these neighborhoods as better based on demographic factors while channeling greater resources to areas with aging populations ignores the interconnected needs of urban communities. True inclusivity requires equitable resource distribution and targeted support to help all neighborhoods thrive.

Turin's significant advancements in green infrastructure demonstrate its commitment to ecological sustainability and climate adaptation. As Bottero et al. highlight, the 2021 green infrastructure master plan (Piano Strategico dell'Infrastruttura Verde) dedicated 37% of its covered area (48 km² out of 130 km²) to green spaces, providing an impressive 55.43 m² of green space per resident. This figure far exceeds the European average of 18.2 m² and more than doubles the World Health Organization's recommended minimum of 9 m². However, these accomplishments increasingly reflect an eco-branding strategy that focuses on enhancing the city's image as a green and sustainable urban center. Rather than creating additional green spaces, the city should now prioritize the maintenance, accessibility, and usability of existing ones while addressing pressing social challenges. This shift would ensure that green infrastructure benefits are equitably distributed among all residents.

Critics of Turin's urban redevelopment efforts, such as the Porta Palazzo project, argue that these initiatives often prioritize aesthetics and economic growth over inclusivity. While the redevelopment includes necessary maintenance to improve accessibility, its broader framework appears aimed at attracting tourists, affluent students, and investors. Programs funded through mechanisms like the PNRR and Pinqua are seen as catering to speculative interests, with limited attention given to the housing emergencies or social inequalities faced by local residents. The transformation of Porta Palazzo into a nightlife and cultural hub risks inflating property prices, displacing long-term residents, and marginalizing the very communities that contribute to the neighborhood's identity.

Moreover, projects like Torino Cambia, though ambitious and well-publicized, have been criticized by residents as more propaganda than genuine efforts toward social cohesion. Investments in luxury student accommodations and commercial spaces in already strained neighborhoods highlight a disconnect between urban planning strategies and the needs of Turin's most vulnerable populations. While climate actions and green initiatives enhance the city's global image, they must be matched by policies that address affordability, housing security, and social equity.

For Turin to achieve a truly sustainable and inclusive future, it must integrate ecological goals with a stronger focus on social justice. The city's eco-branding strategy should extend beyond image-building to actively address the realities of its diverse population. **Chapter 6. Parco Dora - Quantitative Analysis**

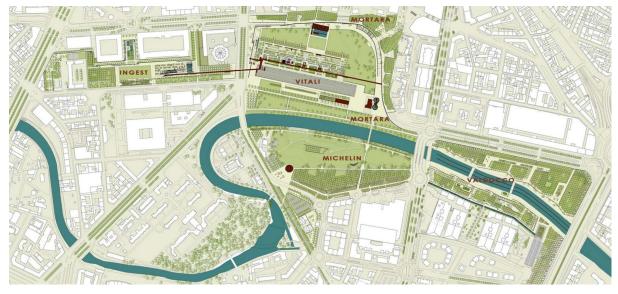


Figure 32.Parco Dora, Turin (Latz+Partner, 2009)

6.1. Introduction

This chapter investigates the transformation dynamics of Spina 3, with a focus on Parco Dora, through a detailed examination of its historical development, urban changes, and socio-economic impacts. The chapter begins by outlining the historical context of Spina 3 and introducing Parco Dora as a centerpiece of urban renewal. It then transitions into a quantitative analysis of housing trends, demographic changes, age distribution, and educational levels to assess the redevelopment's broader impact on surrounding neighborhoods.

Given the complexity of the datasets utilized, it is important to note that the data analyzed in this chapter are often based on different geographic and administrative scales. These include Circoscrizioni (Districts), Neighborhoods (Quartieri), Statistical Zones, and Zone OMI, each of which serves distinct purposes in governance, statistical analysis, and market monitoring. As a result, the names and boundaries referenced in the analysis may vary depending on the source of the data. To ensure clarity and coherence, each section of this chapter specifies the type of division being used, aligning the analysis with the appropriate scale.

These quantitative analyses aim to provide a comprehensive understanding of the evolving socio-economic landscape, paving the way for the following chapter, which focuses on qualitative methods to gain deeper insights into the consequences of these transformations.

6.2. History of Spina 3 and Introduction to Parco Dora

The Spina Centrale project in Turin spans over 2.5 million square meters and was conceived to transform the city's abandoned industrial areas into multifunctional urban spaces. One of the principal components of this initiative is Spina 3, an area of approximately one million square meters located along the Dora Riparia River. This area historically housed large industrial facilities, including Fiat Ferriere Piemontesi and Michelin. These industries ceased operations during the economic downturn of the 1970s, leaving behind significant pollution and derelict structures that highlighted the need for redevelopment (Comune di Torino, s.d.).

The transformation of Spina 3 was outlined in Turin's 1995 Urban Development Plan (PRG), developed under the direction of Vittorio Gregotti. This initiative was among the first large-scale brownfield redevelopment projects in Italy and was part of the Torino Città d'Acque program, which sought to create a network of green spaces along Turin's rivers, including the Dora Riparia. Within this framework, Parco Dora emerged as a central element, encompassing 450,000 square meters. Its design sought to integrate natural landscapes with the industrial legacy of the area (Comune di Torino, s.d.).

The planning and realization of Parco Dora unfolded in several stages. In 2000, the City of Turin launched a competition for its master plan, and in 2004, an international design competition was held. The project led by Peter Latza a German landscape architect known for reclaiming post-industrial sites, supported by an interdisciplinary team including Latz + Partner, STS Servizi Tecnologie Sistemi S.p.A., and Studio Carlo Pession, was selected. Peter Latz is a German landscape architect known for his innovative approach to reclaiming post-industrial landscapes. His philosophy emphasizes the integration of ecological, historical, and cultural elements to create spaces that resonate with their past while serving contemporary urban needs. Latz's work on Parco Dora reflects these principles, as the design preserves key industrial features while adapting them for public use (Comune di Torino, s.d.).

The design phase began in 2004, and construction proceeded between 2007 and 2016. The park opened progressively, with initial sections inaugurated in 2011 during Italy's 150th Unification Anniversary. The final portion, located in the Michelin area, was completed and opened to the public in 2016 (Comune di Torino, s.d.).

The process of constructing Parco Dora involved significant interventions to transform the site into a functional urban space while addressing its industrial past. Five distinct areas were created, each with features reflecting the industrial heritage of the site. The Ingest section includes water gardens, promenades, and an elevated walkway built within the structure of former laminating works. The Vitali section retains the steel framework of the Capannone di Strippaggio, repurposed as a multifunctional space alongside gardens, playgrounds, and stormwater management infrastructure. The Michelin section features meadow landscapes with walkways and a cooling tower reimagined as an artistic installation. The Valdocco area incorporates terraces and promenades along the partially restored and uncovered Dora Riparia River, while the Mortara section provides green paths and areas for relaxation and recreational activities (Comune di Torino, s.d.). Environmental remediation was an essen-

tial component of this project. To address the industrial contamination, several measures were implemented, including the demolition of structures and the restoration of natural elements. A significant intervention was the demolition of the Dora Riparia covering between the Via Livorno bridge and the Viale della Spina bridge, which began on February 27, 2017. This work, which was scheduled to take 240 contractual days, facilitated the exposure of the river and the organization of its banks, adding another portion to the park (Comune di Torino, s.d.).

In addition to environmental work, major infrastructural projects were undertaken to integrate the park into the urban fabric. These included the construction of a 1.3kilometer underground causeway that redirected traffic beneath the park, allowing for uninterrupted green spaces and improved connectivity within the area. The use of materials such as cement, galvanized steel, and gabions in the park's design reflects a deliberate effort to maintain a visual link to its industrial history. One of the most prominent examples of this approach is the preserved structure of the Vitali steel plant, which serves as a landmark and venue for public events (Comune di Torino, s.d.).



Figure 33. Spina3: the area affected by the interventions (laspina3, n.d.)

6.2.1. Key Areas of Spina 3



Figure 34. Key Areas of Spina 3 (Comune di Torino, s.d.)

Valdocco



Figure 35.Valdocco district

Located between Via Livorno and Corso Mortara, Valdocco is a district divided into northern and southern sub-areas:

North: The *Environment Park* (*Envipark*), a science and technology hub focusing on environmental innovation, hosts research institutions and companies. Its design, featuring green roofs and a central visual axis, was created by architects Ambazs, Durbiano, and Camerana.

South: A residential area consisting of 1,352 apartments, including 611 subsidized housing units. The buildings, designed by Picco Studio, range from 5 to 12 stories and are connected by walkways. A prominent feature is the 70-meter tower that adds a modern skyline element to the district (Comune di Torino, s.d.).

Vitali

The Vitali district is divided into two sections, both featuring a mix of residences, commerce, and public amenities:

Vitali 1:



Figure 36. Vitali 1 district (Comune di Torino, s.d.)

Located at the corner of Via Orvieto and Via Verolengo, this area includes 327 apartments (227 subsidized), commercial spaces, a hotel, and an eighteen-story residential and office tower. The design incorporates a double-front concept with L-shaped buildings.

Vitali 2:



Figure 37. Vitali 2 District (Comune di Torino, s.d.)

A multifunctional area combining residences (781 housing units, including 420 subsidized), offices, commerce, and artisanal activities. It also houses educational facilities, such as a nursery and kindergarten.

Vitali Park:



Figure 38. Vitali park (Elaborated by author)

This section integrates advanced manufacturing spaces with a central gallery covered by a steel structure, creating an innovative urban environment (Comune di Torino, s.d.).

Ingest



Figure 39. Ingest district (Comune di Torino, s.d.)

The Ingest district, located in the western part of Spina 3 near Via Borgaro, Val della Torre, and Corso Potenza, was formerly part of the Ferriere-Teksid plant, which produced sheet metal strips. Today, it features:

Santo Volto Diocesan Centre: Designed by Mario Botta, this central-plan church is surrounded by seven towers, a conference center, and office spaces. A 55-meter preserved steelworks tower was converted into a luminous bell tower, adding architectural significance.

Residential Developments: Include the Olimpo Center (386 residences), Gran Paradiso Complex (196 residences), and Valdellatorre Complex (204 homes, with 70 subsidized units).

The area's transformation harmonizes industrial heritage with modern living, offering green spaces that connect to Parco Dora (Comune di Torino, s.d.).

Michelin

The Michelin area is split into two sections:

Michelin Nord:



Figure 40. Michelin district (Comune di Torino, s.d.)

Located north of the Dora River, this section includes three prominent residential towers, each reaching 21 stories and designed by different architectural studios (Picco, Rosenthal, and AI). Six additional lower buildings form a unified base, addressing a five-meter height difference. Initially developed as a Media Village for the 2006 Winter Olympics, the area now functions as residential and commercial space (Comune di Torino, s.d.).

Michelin Sud:



Figure 41. Michelin Sud district (Comune di Torino, s.d.)

South of the Dora River, this area houses a shopping center and residential complex with 340 units. Designed by architect Elio Luzi, the buildings range from nine to fifteen stories, with corner sections featuring large terraces. A central parking lot, covered with hanging gardens, and the environmental museum "A come Ambiente" are key features (Comune di Torino, s.d.).

Paracchi



Figure 42. Paracchi district (Comune di Torino, s.d.)

Located on a long, narrow strip of land between Via Pianezza and the Dora River, the Paracchi area was previously occupied by the Giovanni Paracchi carpet weaving complex. Its redevelopment includes:

Residential Complex: A linear building of varying heights (5–9 floors) with 122 apartments.

Commercial Area: A low-rise structure housing a supermarket in the northern section.

Southern Development: The old office building was restored to accommodate tertiary functions and lofts, creating a blend of heritage and modernity (Comune di Torino, s.d.).

Savigliano



Figure 43. Savigliano district (Comune di Torino, s.d.)

Formerly home to the Società Nazionale Officine Savigliano, which produced and repaired railway materials, this area is located near Via Tesso and Corso Mortara. The transformation includes:

Rehabilitation of Historic Structures: A 350-meter-long historical gallery, once used for railway convoys, has been repurposed into public spaces with commercial units. Six new production pavilions, arranged in a comb-like pattern and clad with modular aluminum panels, complement the restored buildings.

Residential Addition: Lofts will be included in a later phase, blending living spaces with artisanal and productive activities (Comune di Torino, s.d.).

6.3. Quantitative Analysis of Transformation Dynamics in Parco Dora

This section focuses on the quantitative evaluation of transformation dynamics in Parco Dora and its surrounding neighborhoods. The analysis aims to uncover the relationship between urban redevelopment and gentrification processes, using a variety of indicators derived from secondary data sources. By examining housing prices, demographic changes this analysis offers a data-driven perspective on the socioeconomic shifts catalyzed by the Parco Dora redevelopment project.

Based on the information from Comune di Torino, since January 1, 2016, Turin's territory has been divided into 8 circoscrizioni. In this reorganization, the former circoscrizione 10 was incorporated into circolazione 2 (Santa Rita-Mirafiori Nord), and the former circoscrizione 9 was integrated into circoscrizione 8 (San Salvario, Nizza Millefonti, and Collina). In the analyses, it has been considered that Parco Dora spans across both circoscrizione 4 and 5 ensuring accurate representation of the territorial dynamics of the area.



Figure 44. circoscrizione 4 and circoscrizione 5 border (Comune di Torino, s.d.).

6.3.1. Housing Prices and Real Estate Trends

The housing price data analyzed in this section are sourced from Agenzia delle Entrate, Italy's revenue agency, which provides detailed real estate market trends based on Zone OMI (Osservatorio del Mercato Immobiliare). These zones serve as a standardized framework for analyzing housing prices and market dynamics, dividing cities into distinct areas to reflect variations in real estate values and characteristics.

For this study, the focus is on the neighborhoods of Madonna di Campagna, San Donato, and Euro Torino, as defined by the Zone OMI classification. These areas are selected based on the availability of data relevant to understanding housing market trends in and around the Parco Dora vicinity.

In (Figure 25), the division of Turin into real estate zones is presented, highlighting the selected areas of Madonna di Campagna, San Donato, and Euro Torino (Geoportale, 2024). The bar charts used in this section (Figures 45–58) employ two colors to represent the range of values analyzed for all types of houses, both for rental and purchasing. Blue bars indicate the minimum values within each category, reflecting the lower end of the market spectrum, while orange bars represent the maximum values, showcasing the upper limits for properties in the respective categories.

The trends in both rental and purchasing values of residential Houses in Madonna di Campagna figures (45 - 52) reveal interesting dynamics over the years. Looking at rental values, there was a clear increase from 2007 to 2011, especially for properties in optimal condition. This rise suggests growing demand during this time, likely linked to stable economic conditions or improvements in the area. However, between 2012 and 2015, rental values started to decline, possibly due to market corrections or changing economic circumstances. A brief recovery was seen in 2016, particularly for high-quality properties, but this uptick did not last long, as rentals decreased again afterward and remained relatively low until around 2021. From 2021 onward, rental values began to rise once more, especially for optimal condition properties, indicating a renewed interest in quality housing and a shift in the rental market's dynamics.

Purchasing values followed a similar but slightly different pattern. Both affordable housing and civilian dwellings saw their highest values in the early 2010s, driven by strong demand or a buoyant market. Optimal condition properties consistently held higher values than those in normal condition, showing the premium people placed on quality housing. However, after 2011, purchasing values began to decline steadily, with a more noticeable drop between 2014 and 2016. Following this period, purchasing values stabilized at lower levels and have shown minimal recovery since then, pointing to stagnation in the local real estate market.

So, while rental values showed a cyclical pattern with noticeable recovery starting in 2021, purchasing values have remained largely stagnant since their decline in the mid-2010s. What stands out in both cases is the consistent preference for properties in optimal condition, which have held their higher value and rent throughout, reflecting the importance of quality in the local housing market(Analyzed by author).

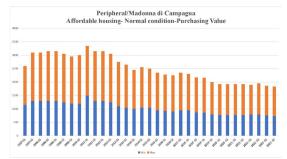


Figure 45. Purchasing values for affordable housing (normal condition), 2007–2023. Source: Agenzia delle Entrate. Visualization by author.



Figure 46. Purchasing values for affordable housing (optimal condition), 2011–2023. Source: Agenzia delle Entrate. Visualization by author.



Figure 47. Rental values for affordable housing (normal condition), 2007–2023. Source: Agenzia delle Entrate. Visualization by author.



Figure 48. Rental values for affordable housing (optimal condition), 2011–2023. Source: Agenzia delle Entrate. Visualization by author.

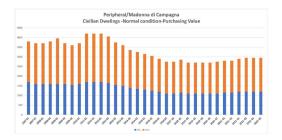


Figure 49. Purchasing values for civilian dwellings (normal condition), 2007–2023. Source: Agenzia delle Entrate. Visualization by author.

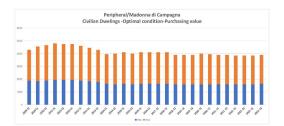


Figure 50. Purchasing values for civilian dwellings (optimal condition), 2009–2023. Source: Agenzia delle Entrate. Visualization by author.



Figure 51. Rental values for civilian dwellings (normal condition), 2007–2023. Source: Agenzia delle Entrate. Visualization by author.

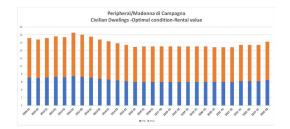


Figure 52. Rental values for civilian dwellings (optimal condition), 2009–2023. Source: Agenzia delle Entrate. Visualization by author.

In terms of rental values, the district of San Donato, figures (53-56) saw an initial period of growth between 2007 and 2011, particularly for affordable housing and civilian dwellings in normal condition. This rise in rental values, particularly evident in maximum values, reflects a strong demand for rental properties during this period. From 2012 onwards, however, rental values began to decline, stabilizing at lower levels by 2015. This period likely marks a cooling off in the rental market, potentially influenced by economic or market-specific conditions. A slight recovery is noticeable from 2016, especially for maximum rental values, before another period of stagnation. In 2021, a new phase of growth in rental values emerged, with both affordable housing and civilian dwellings experiencing gradual increases, signaling renewed demand or improving conditions in the local rental market(Analyzed by author).

Regarding purchasing values, civilian dwellings and affordable housing in normal condition showed their highest values during the late 2000s and early 2010s. Peak values occurred between 2008 and 2012, after which a steady decline set in, with prices reaching their lowest point between 2016 and 2019. This trend points to a broader correction or stagnation in the housing market during this time. Notably, the decline was more pronounced for civilian dwellings than affordable housing. From 2020 onwards, purchasing values started to show signs of recovery, with steady increases evident through 2023(Analyzed by author).

The commonalities between rental and purchasing values in San Donato reflect clear cycles of growth, decline, and recovery. Both metrics show a similar pattern: an initial rise between 2007 and 2011, a period of decline until around 2016, and a slow but steady recovery from 2020 or 2021 onwards. Additionally, properties in better condition consistently commanded higher values and rents, emphasizing the enduring importance of quality in the local housing market. These patterns highlight the shifting dynamics in San Donato, driven by a combination of economic, demographic, and market-specific factors(Analyzed by author).

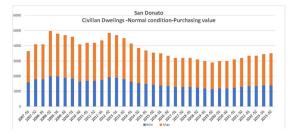


Figure 53.San Donato Purchasing values for civilian dwellings (normal condition), 2007–2023. Source: Agenzia delle Entrate. Visualization by author.



Figure 54. San Donato Rental values for civilian dwellings (normal condition), 2007–2023. Source: Agenzia delle Entrate. Visualization by author.

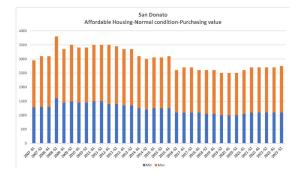


Figure 55. San Donato Purchasing values for Affordable Housing (normal condition), 2007–2023. Source: Agenzia delle Entrate. Visualization by author.

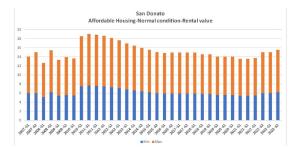


Figure 56. San Donato Rental values for Affordable Housing (normal condition), 2007–2023. Source: Agenzia delle Entrate. Visualization by author.

In terms of purchasing values Of Euro Torino/Spina 3, figures (57-58), properties in optimal condition initially experienced strong growth, peaking dramatically around 2010. This peak reflects the area's popularity and potential at the time, likely driven by its positioning as a modern urban center and possibly the completion of significant development projects. However, this growth was not sustained, and from 2011 onwards, the market began to see a steady decline. By 2012, properties in normal condition also mirrored this decline, suggesting broader market cooling(Analyzed by author).

Interestingly, a second peak occurred in 2016, marking a brief resurgence in market value. This rise could be attributed to renewed investment or local developments that temporarily boosted confidence in the area. Despite this short-lived increase, values again trended downward, reaching their lowest levels around 2020. From 2021

onwards, the market began to recover and stabilize, with gradual increases in market value becoming evident. By 2023, properties, particularly those in normal condition, showed signs of regaining value, although they remained below the levels seen in the early 2010s(Analyzed by author).

Rental values in Euro Torino have followed a somewhat parallel but less pronounced trend compared to purchasing values. Between 2007 and 2010, rental prices steadily increased, reaching their peak in 2009. This period of high demand for rental properties likely reflects the area's growing population and appeal during its early phases of development.

However, following this peak, rental values began to decline gradually, echoing the downturn in purchasing values. By 2013, rents had dropped significantly, indicating reduced demand or oversupply in the area. From 2014 to 2020, rental values plateaued at relatively low levels, suggesting a period of stagnation in the rental market.

In 2021, rental prices began to recover, following a similar pattern to purchasing values. By 2023, rents had increased steadily, reflecting a resurgence in interest and demand for housing in the area. This recovery could indicate improved perceptions of Euro Torino as a residential area or broader market dynamics driving rental prices upward across the city(Analyzed by author).

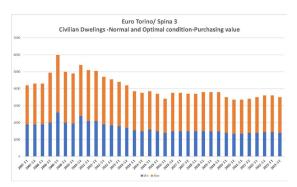


Figure 57. Euro Torino Purchasing values for civilian dwellings (normal&optimal condition), 2007–2023. Source: Agenzia delle Entrate. Visualization by author



Figure 58. Euro Torino Rental values for civilian dwellings (optimal condition), 2007–2023. Source: Agenzia delle Entrate. Visualization by author

The trends in market and rental values in Euro Torino, Madonna di Campagna, and San Donato, as illustrated in Figures (59-60) and Table (10), occurred alongside the development phases of Parco Dora. While these trends align with key milestones in the park's progress, it is important to clarify that this analysis does not establish causation but observes potential temporal correlations(Analyzed by author).

For instance, the rise in property values observed between 2007 and 2011 coincided with the early construction phases of Parco Dora. During this period, the park's development likely contributed to the area's visibility as a significant urban regeneration project, potentially enhancing its appeal to residents and investors. The partial opening of the park in 2011 may have further boosted the attractiveness of nearby neighborhoods. However, these trends should also be understood in the broader context of economic growth and urban development across Turin during this time.

Between 2012 and 2015, a period of decline in property values corresponds with a transitional phase in Parco Dora's development. While some sections of the park were operational, the overall vision was still incomplete, which might have tempered enthusiasm for the area. Concurrently, Italy's economic conditions during this period likely influenced housing demand and market performance, making it challenging to attribute this decline solely to the park's development(Analyzed by author).

The resurgence in property values from 2016 onward appears to coincide with the completion of significant sections of Parco Dora, such as the Michelin area. The transformation of the park into a more functional and cohesive public space may have contributed to the renewed interest in adjacent neighborhoods. However, this observed recovery could also reflect broader market trends, such as economic recovery, infrastructure improvements, or other possible issues(Analyzed by author).

So, while the trends of growth (2007-2011), decline (2012–2015), and recovery (2016 onward) align with Parco Dora's development phases, they cannot be directly attributed to the park without further empirical analysis, such as correlation or causation studies. External factors, including economic fluctuations, urban planning policies, and demographic changes, likely played significant roles in shaping property market dynamics in Euro Torino, Madonna di Campagna, and San Donato. The temporal overlap between Parco Dora's milestones and the observed property trends allows for speculation on a possible connection but remains inconclusive without additional data(Analyzed by author).

Year	Event
1995	Turin's PRG (City Development Plan), led by Vittorio Gregotti, proposes the reclamation of in-
	dustrial areas along the Dora River.
2000	City of Turin announces a competition for the master plan and urban design of Parco Dora.
2004	Second international design competition for the park. The winning team is led by Peter Latz,
	supported by interdisciplinary experts.
2004-	Design phase of the park begins, led by Latz + Partner, STS spa, Studio Carlo Pession, and other
2007	collaborators.
2007-	Construction begins on various sections of Parco Dora, with progressive development across the
2016	site.
2011	First sections of Parco Dora are inaugurated and opened to the public.
2016	Michelin area opens to the public, marking the completion of another significant part of the park

Table 10. Chronological Development of Parco Dora (Comune di Torino, s.d.).

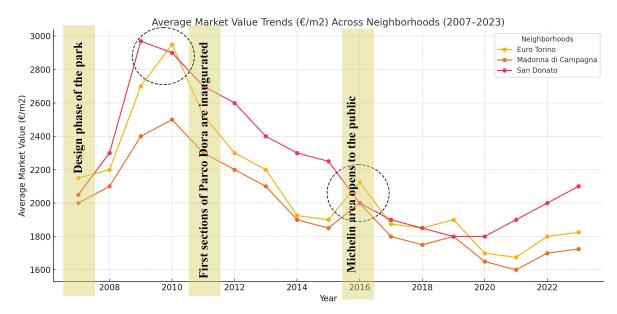


Figure 59. Trends in average purchasing values (€ per m²) across Euro Torino, Madonna di Campagna, and San Donato (2007–2023), In relation to Parco Dora's development phases(Elaborated by author)

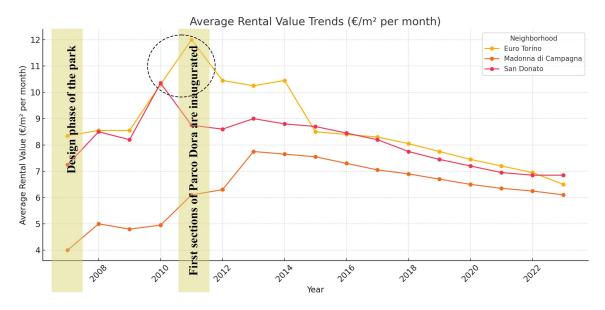


Figure 60. Trends in average rental values (€ per m² per month) across Euro Torino, Madonna di Campagna, and San Donato (2007–2023) in relation to Parco Dora's milestones((Elaborated by author)

6.4. Insights from Existing Research on Parco Dora's Influence on Housing Prices

In the previous part of this analysis, housing price trends in the neighborhoods surrounding Parco Dora, Euro Torino, Madonna di Campagna, and San Donato, were examined, focusing on their evolution from 2007 to 2023. The aim was to observe patterns in property markets and explore potential temporal correlations with the development of this major urban green space. By analyzing both market and rental values, distinct trends and shifts were identified that occurred during key phases of the park's construction and milestones. While these findings suggest a possible relationship between the park's development and changes in local property markets, they remain speculative and do not establish causation. Instead, the analysis highlights that these processes occurred concurrently, inviting further investigation into the potential connections between Parco Dora's transformation and local housing market dynamics (Analyzed by author).

To further contextualize and enhance these findings, insights from Bottero et al.'s research were incorporated. This study, conducted in 2023, specifically examines how proximity to Parco Dora impacts housing prices. Employing a Geographically Weighted Regression (GWR) model, the research assesses spatial variations in property values, offering a detailed understanding of how localized factors interact with green infrastructure development(Analyzed by author).

Bottero et al. (2023) focused their analysis on properties within 1 kilometer of Parco Dora, using the GWR model to account for spatial variability recognizing that the impact of proximity to the park differs across locations. Their findings suggest that the idea that Parco Dora may have had a measurable impact on housing markets, particularly in areas undergoing significant regeneration. For instance, properties near newly developed areas like "Le Isole del Parco" experienced notable price increases, reflecting the appeal of modern residential projects integrated with green spaces. This aligns with the trends observed in Euro Torino, where new developments have

become focal points for investment and growth(Analyzed by author).

Additionally, the study highlights the broader benefits of urban green spaces, such as improved environmental quality and recreational opportunities, as critical factors influencing housing demand. Their work adds depth by revealing the spatial heterogeneity of Parco Dora's impact, emphasizing that neighborhoods with better accessibility and active renewal efforts saw the most substantial benefits. By integrating these localized findings with the broader temporal analysis, a more comprehensive understanding of Parco Dora's role in shaping neighborhood dynamics emerges.

6.5. Changes of the Resident Population

This analysis examines the changes in the resident population in Parco Dora and its surrounding area, based on data from the Statistical Office of the Comune di Torino. The analysis utilizes Turin's Statistical Zones (Zone Statistiche) division, offering a detailed view of population dynamics. The distribution of population density is visualized in Figures 60 and 61: Figure 60 provides a comprehensive view of Turin, while Figure 61 zooms into the Parco Dora area to illustrate local variations. Dark colors on the maps indicate Statistical Zones with higher population densities, while lighter colors represent areas with lower population densities.

Citywide Population Trends

Over the past two decades, Turin has experienced a significant decline in its overall population. In 2007, the city's population was 908,129, decreasing to 860,973 by the end of 2023, a reduction of approximately 5.2%. This long-term trend reflects broader demographic challenges, including aging populations, declining birth rates, and outward migration to suburban or metropolitan areas.

Population Dynamics Around Parco Dora While the neighborhoods surrounding Parco Dora reflect the overall population decline, distinct patterns emerge, particularly in the northern areas adjacent to the park. These neighborhoods, including Madonna di Campagna and Borgo Vittoria, show a decrease in total population, but with a noticeable increase in the proportion of foreign residents. This shift contrasts with trends observed in other parts of Turin, where depopulation is often accompanied by less demographic diversity.

Understanding the population of foreign residents in these neighborhoods is critical for analyzing demographic shifts. A detailed breakdown of this population and its implications is presented in the next section.

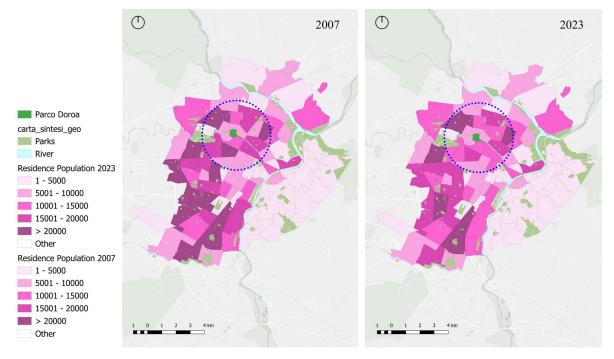


Figure 61. Changes of Population in Torino city (2007–2023) Data visualized using QGIS. (Elaborated by author)

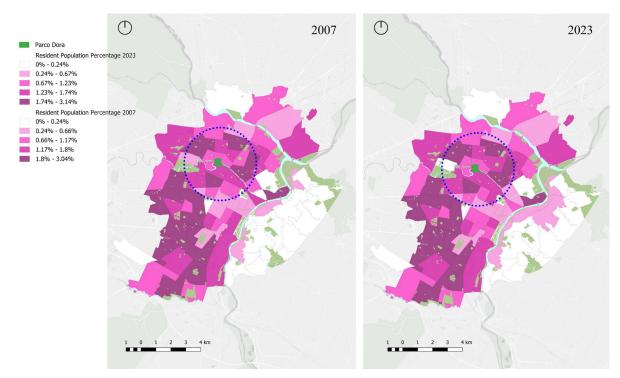


Figure 62. Resident Population Percentage in Torino city (2007–2023) Data visualized using QGIS. (Elaborated by author)



Figure 63. Changes of Population in Spina 3 (2007–2023) Data visualized using QGIS. (Elaborated by author)

6.5.1. Changes in the Foreign Population

The analysis of foreign population, figures (61-62) trends across neighborhoods surrounding Parco Dora reveals distinct patterns over time, reflecting broader demographic and socio-economic changes in the area.

Borgata Vittoria:

- 2007–2009: Significant growth with increases of 12.18% (2007–2008) and 8.76% (2008–2009), reflecting strong early expansion.
- 2009–2013: Continued growth, peaking at 7.18% (2011–2012), before slowing to 0.81% in 2013–2014.
- 2014–2016: Marked by a notable decline, with decreases of -1.59% (2014–2015) and -3.58% (2015–2016), signaling a demographic shift.
- 2016–2018: Partial recovery with an increase of 2.43% (2017–2018) following a decline of -2.40% (2016–2017).
- 2019–2020: Experienced a slight decline of -0.44%, stabilizing after earlier fluctuations.

Madonna di Campagna:

- 2007–2009: Steady growth, with increases of 14.02% (2007–2008) and 4.99% (2008–2009), reflecting consistent early expansion.
- 2009–2015: Continued growth, peaking at 7.63% (2011–2012), before slowing to 0.46% (2014–2015).
- 2015–2016: Declined slightly by -1.20%, marking a pause in the growth trend.
- 2016–2019: Recovered steadily with increases of 3.26% (2017–2018) and 2.06% (2018–2019).
- 2019–2020: Declined slightly by 0.59%, maintaining relative stability.
- Officine Savigliano Acciaierie Fiat
- 2007–2009: Moderate growth, with increases of 11.82% (2007–2008) and 9.26% (2008–2009).
- 2009–2013: Growth slowed significantly, peaking at 6.20% (2010–2011), followed by a sharp decline of -8.90% (2012–2013).

- 2014–2016: Declined further, with decreases of -4.49% (2013–2014) and -4.41% (2015–2016).
- 2016–2019: Stabilized with minor growth of 3.62% (2016–2017) and 0.75% (2017–2018), but declined slightly by -1.28% (2018–2019).
- 2019–2020: Experienced a sharper decline of -4.21%, continuing its downward trend.

Borgo San Donato

- 2007–2009: Strong early growth, with increases of 9.86% (2007–2008) and 3.93% (2008–2009).
- 2009–2015: Declines began earlier than in other neighborhoods, with a sharp drop of -4.25% in 2013–2014 and -3.96% in 2014–2015.
- 2015–2016: Experienced a significant decline of -7.42%, marking the steepest drop among all neighborhoods.
- 2016–2019: Continued its decline, with decreases of -4.22% (2016–2017) and -6.22% (2017–2018).
- 2019–2020: Dropped further by -4.40%, reinforcing its long-term downward trend.

Borgata Lucento

- 2007–2009: Rapid growth, with increases of 15.79% (2007–2008) and 11.37% (2008–2009), making it one of the fastest-growing neighborhoods.
- 2009–2015: Continued steady growth, peaking at 7.30% in 2011–2012 before slowing to 1.21% in 2014–2015.
- 2015–2016: The population decreased slightly by -1.31%, marking a brief interruption in the upward trend.
- 2016–2019: Rebounded strongly, with notable increases of 4.55% (2016–2017), 1.32% (2017–2018), and 5.24% (2018–2019).

 2019–2020: Declined slightly by -0.59%, indicating relative stability after years of growth.

Borgata Ceronda

- 2007–2009: Experienced significant growth, with increases of 11.49% (2007–2008) and 12.21% (2008–2009), reflecting strong early growth.
- 2009–2013: Growth slowed, with smaller annual increases ranging from 7.31% (2009–2010) to 1.40% (2012–2013), indicating the start of stabilization.
- 2014–2015: A slight decline began, with a drop of -0.32%, reflecting early signs of demographic shifts.
- 2015–2016: The population decreased by -2.68%, marking a significant decline during this transitional period.
- 2016–2018: Stabilized, showing minor increases of 0.55% (2016–2017) and 1.21% (2017–2018).
- 2019–2020: Declined again by -2.82%, indicating broader socioeconomic pressures (Analyzed by author).

The analysis of foreign population trends in neighborhoods surrounding Parco Dora highlights distinct contrasts between the northern and southern areas.

In the north, Borgata Vittoria and Madonna di Campagna exhibited resilience and steady growth. While both neighborhoods experienced a slight decline in 2016, they recovered in subsequent years, maintaining their attractiveness for foreign residents due to their affordability and accessibility. These trends reflect stability and recovery in the northern parts of Parco Dora.

In contrast, the southern neighborhoods of Borgo San Donato and Officine Savigliano faced persistent challenges. Declines began earlier and were more pronounced, with 2016 marking a significant turning point. Borgo San Donato experienced the steepest losses, while Officine Savigliano also showed consistent declines, reflecting the impact of gentrification and socio-economic pressures on foreign residents.

These opposing trends underscore a spatial disparity, where the northern

neighborhoods remain stable, while the southern areas face continued demographic pressures. Addressing these challenges is crucial for fostering equitable development in the Parco Dora area (Analyzed by author).

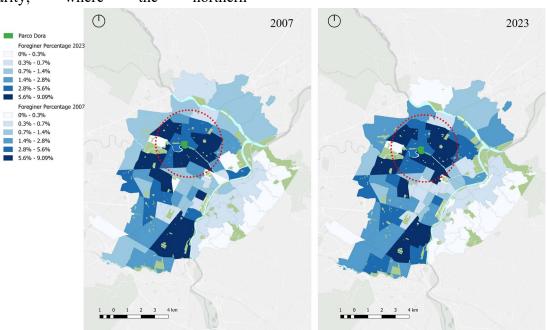


Figure 64. Changes of Foreign Population in Torino Cityt (2007–2023) Data visualized using QGIS. (Elaborated by author)

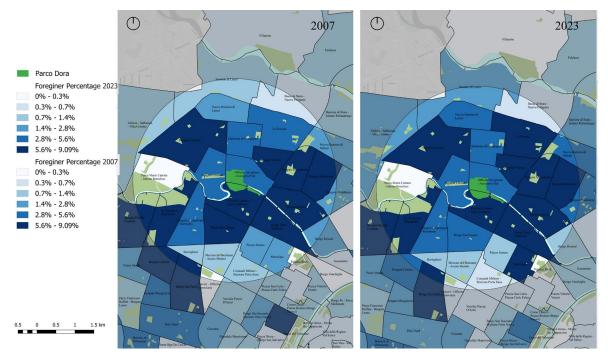


Figure 65. Foreigner percentage over the total of the population(Elaborated by author).

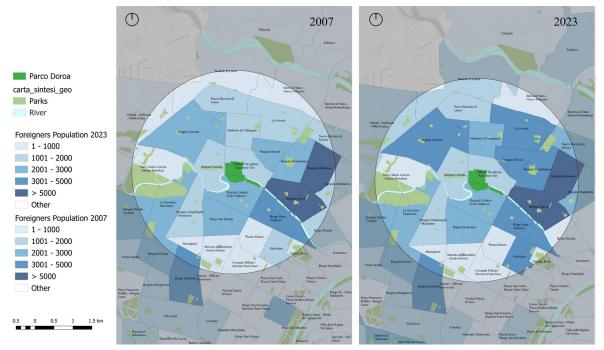


Figure 66. Changes of Foreign Population in the Spina 3 District (2007–2023) Data visualized using QGIS(Elaborated by au-thor)

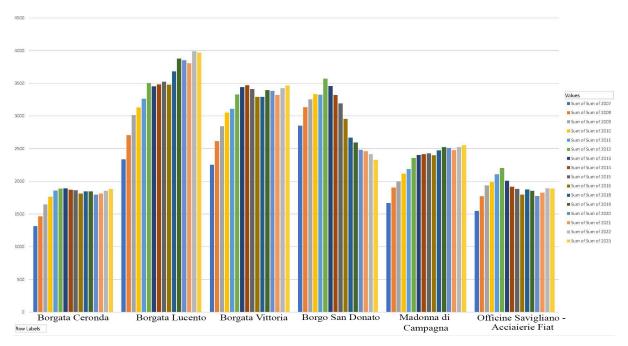


Figure 67. Changes of Foreign Population in the Spina 3 District (2007–2023) (Elaborated by author).

6.6. Age Distribution by Districts

The line chart illustrates the age distribution trends across different demographic groups from 2007 to 2023 in Districts 5 and 4, which encompass the neighborhoods surrounding Parco Dora. This visualization provides a comparative understanding of how populations in these districts have evolved over time, highlighting distinct patterns and shifts across various age groups. The population of children aged 0-14shows a clear decline in both districts over the years. This decrease becomes more pronounced after 2012, with District 5 maintaining a consistently larger share of this age group compared to District 4. This trend may indicate declining birth rates or young families relocating out of the area. The 15–24 age group exhibits a similar downward trajectory in both districts, particularly in District 4, where the reduction is sharper. By 2023, the population stabilizes at a lower level than earlier years, suggesting a diminished presence of younger adults in these areas.

The working-age population, represented by the 25–44 age group, displays significant fluctuations. From 2007 to 2012, this group remained relatively stable, but a notable decline begins around 2013, particularly in District 4. This decline continues through the years, potentially reflecting economic pressures or housing market dynamics that may have driven this demographic away. District 5, while also experiencing a decrease, appears to retain a slightly higher proportion of this age group compared to District 4.

The 45–64 age group demonstrates relative stability in District 5, with modest increases observed until around 2021. In contrast, District 4 experiences more variability, including a noticeable decline after 2016. This discrepancy between the districts may reflect differences in employment opportunities or housing stability for middle-aged residents.

The population aged 65–74 shows diverging patterns between the districts. District 5 experiences some fluctuations but sees a slight increase in this demographic after 2020, while District 4 exhibits a gradual decline beginning in 2013. These trends may suggest differences in the districts' ability to support aging populations, whether through housing, amenities, or services tailored to their needs.

The 75+ age group presents an interesting contrast. District 5 sees steady growth in this population over time, reflecting a clear trend of aging within the district. District 4, however, shows less consistency, with periods of both growth and decline. This divergence could indicate variations in the availability of healthcare, senior services, or housing suitable for older residents between the two districts.

Overall, District 5 consistently maintains larger populations across most age groups compared to District 4, particularly in the middle-aged (45–64) and older (65+ and 75+) demographics. These patterns suggest a greater retention of long-term residents in District 5. Meanwhile, District 4 experiences sharper declines, particularly among younger (15–24) and working-age (25–44) populations, which may indicate challenges such as affordability issues, limited economic opportunities, or fewer amenities attractive to these age groups.

The evolving age distribution in these districts has important implications for the neighborhoods surrounding Parco Dora. Declining younger and working-age populations point to potential challenges in attracting or retaining these groups, while the growth in older populations signals a growing need for age-friendly infrastructure, healthcare, and recreational spaces. These demographic shifts likely reflect a combination of local economic trends, housing market conditions, and the broader socioeconomic dynamics of Turin (Analyzed by author).

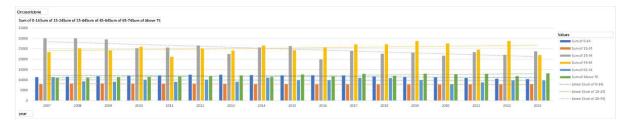


Figure 68. Age Distribution by Districts(2007-2023), District 4

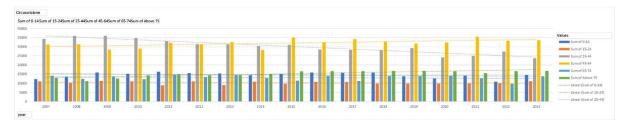


Figure 69. Age Distribution by Districts(2007-2023), District 5

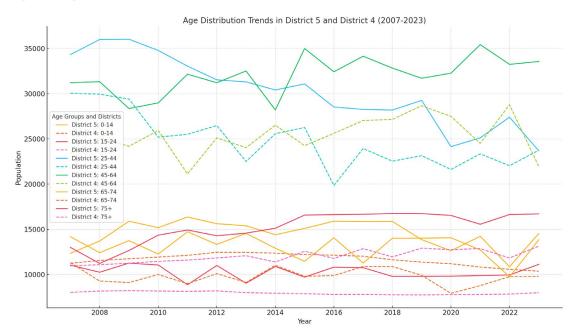


Figure 70. Age Distribution Trends (2007–2023) in Districts 4 and 5: A Comparative Analysis of Population Shifts Across Age Groups Surrounding Parco Dora. (Elaborated by author)

6.7. Changes of the population education level

The maps (70-74) illustrate the changes in the educational demographics of Torino between 2011 and 2021, with a particular focus on the Parco Dora neighborhood. These changes reveal significant patterns that reflect broader socio-economic and spatial transformations in the city.

In the category of individuals without any formal education, there is a general decline across the city, indicating an overall improvement in education levels. However, an exception is observed in the areas immediately surrounding Parco Dora, particularly in its northern parts. In these areas, the population with no formal education has increased, suggesting that while the city is progressing in terms of education, the immediate vicinity of Parco Dora may be experiencing localized challenges or a demographic shift.

A similar trend can be seen for individuals with only elementary-level education. Although this group has declined citywide, the population with elementary education in the northern parts of Parco Dora has increased over the same period. These patterns in the northern areas around the park could indicate the presence of vulnerable populations that may have been displaced from other parts of the city or are concentrated in this region due to specific socio-economic factors.

For individuals with middle school education, the city overall has experienced a significant increase in this population, which is also reflected in the Parco Dora neighborhood. However, this growth is not uniform, as the central parts of the city have seen a reduction in the population with middle school education. This shift suggests that middle school-educated individuals are increasingly moving to peripheral neighborhoods like Parco Dora, perhaps drawn by more affordable housing or opportunities in these areas.

A similar pattern is observed for individuals with high school education. While this group has increased across Torino, including the Parco Dora neighborhood, there is a notable reduction in the central parts of the city. This reduction in central areas could be attributed to housing changes or socio-economic shifts that have displaced this demographic to other parts of the city, including Parco Dora.

The trends for individuals with university degrees present a more nuanced picture. While the population of universityeducated residents has increased across Torino, the Parco Dora neighborhood shows contrasting patterns within its boundaries. The southern parts of Parco Dora have seen a rise in universityeducated residents, likely reflecting an influx of more affluent and educated individuals attracted by urban renewal projects and the park's development. In contrast, the northern parts of Parco Dora have experienced a decline in universityeducated residents, which may indicate a socio-economic within divide the neighborhood or the displacement of higher-educated residents from these areas (Analyzed by author).

Population with no recognized education

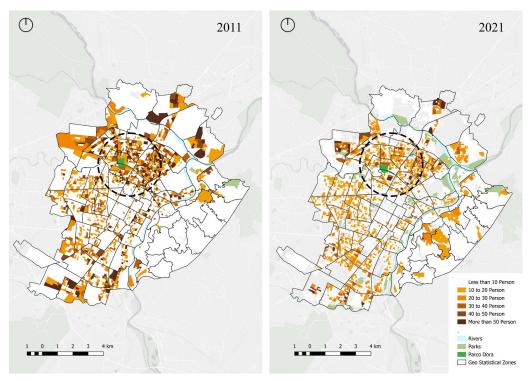


Figure 71. population without a degree 2011,2021, Istat(Elaborated by author)

Population with an elementery school degree

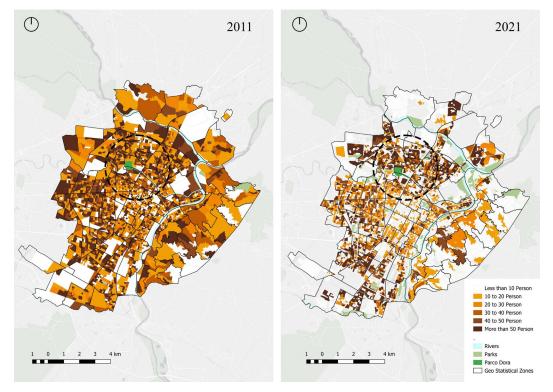


Figure 72. population with elementry school degree 2011,2021, Istat(Elaborated by author)

Population with middle school degree

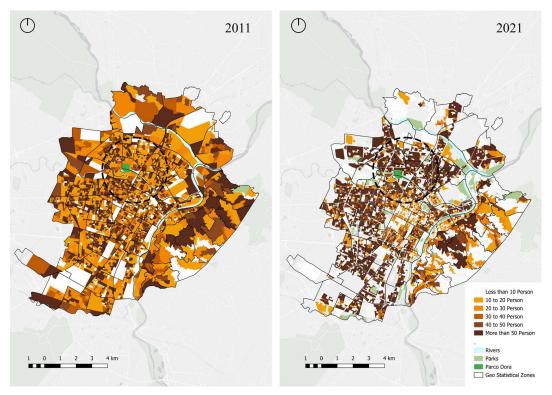
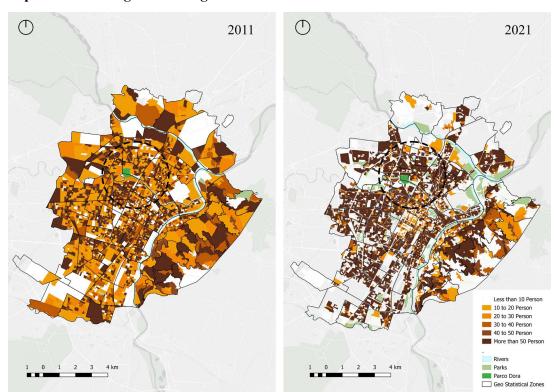


Figure 73. population with middle school degree 2011,2021, Istat(Elaborated by author)



Population with high school degree

Figure 74. population with high school degree 2011,2021, Istat(Elaborated by auth

Population with University degree

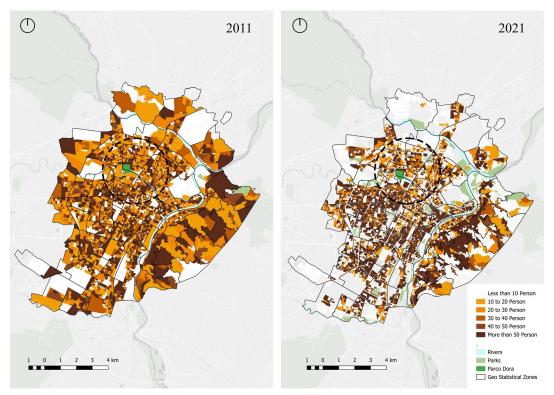


Figure 75. population with university degree 2011,2021, Istat,(Elaborated by author)

6.8. Conclusion

This chapter offers an exploration of the transformation taking place in and around Parco Dora, focusing on its quanitative data of socio-economic, demographic, and spatial impacts. A key challenge in conducting this analysis was the fragmented nature of data across Torino's various geographic and administrative divisions, such as Circoscrizioni, Quartieri (neighborhoods), Statistical Zones, and Zone OMI. These divisions, differing in scale, naming, and purpose, made it difficult to align datasets and extract meaningful insights. This inconsistency highlights the pressing need for harmonized and accessible data, as fragmented information can hinder efforts to accurately assess challenges and design effective urban solutions.

But overall analysis reveals distinct trends of growth, decline, and recovery in housing markets within neighborhoods like Madonna di Campagna, San Donato, and Euro Torino, reflecting the phases of Parco Dora's development. While there is evidence suggesting the park has influenced property values and rental trends, broader economic and urban factors play an equally significant role.

Shifts in demographics further paint a complex picture. The decline in younger and working-age populations, alongside an increase in older residents, highlights changing needs for housing, infrastructure, and community services. Northern neighborhoods, such as Borgata Vittoria and Madonna di Campagna, show resilience, while southern areas like Borgo San Donato and Officine Savigliano face greater socio-economic pressures and gentrification-related challenges.

The trends in educational attainment add another layer of complexity. While the city overall is experiencing progress in education levels, disparities persist within the neighborhoods around Parco Dora. Southern areas are attracting university-educated residents, likely due to urban renewal projects, while northern areas face challenges associated with higher concentrations of less-educated populations, signaling localized vulnerabilities. This analysis also lays the groundwork for the next phase of research, focusing on lived experiences. By combining quantitative data with qualitative insights, a more holistic understanding of the socio-economic and environmental impacts of urban regeneration in Spina 3 emerges, providing a basis for addressing both opportunities and challenges in the area. **Chapter 7. Parco Dora - Qualitative Analysis**



7.1. Introduction

This chapter explore the transformation of Parco Dora and the Spina 3 neighborhood adopting a qualitative approach, focusing on elements that go beyond quantitative data. Using Google Earth's time feature to trace the area's redevelopment from 2005 to 2024, it examines key stages of physical transformation. The chapter also places significant emphasis on the analysis of interviews and community documents to uncover the lived experiences, advocacy efforts, and perceptions of various stakeholders. By combining these qualitative insights, the chapter aims to provide a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the transformation, capturing social and cultural dynamics that numerical data alone cannot fully reveal.

7.2. Analyzing Parco Dora and Spina 3 Through Google Earth

The transformation of Spina 3, particularly Parco Dora, is evident in the historical images using Google Earth's time feature, revealing the gradual redevelopment of the area over the years and its contrast with surrounding neighborhoods. In the earliest stages, as shown in the 2005–2011 maps, Spina 3 was still largely defined by its industrial roots. Massive factory complexes and infrastructure covered the area, creating a stark visual divide between Spina 3 and the nearby residential neighborhoods with their dense, traditional urban fabric. Early redevelopment efforts focused on clearing the industrial structures, leaving vast open spaces that disrupted the urban continuity with the surrounding areas.

By the period between 2011 and 2016, Parco Dora began to take shape as an organized urban feature within Spina 3. This period marked the introduction of green spaces and the incorporation of remnants of the area's industrial heritage, such as preserved structures and pathways. However, the design still retained a modern and industrial aesthetic, dominated by concrete surfaces, in sharp contrast to the tree-lined streets and smaller-scale architecture of the surrounding areas. The wide-open spaces of Spina 3 stood in stark contrast to the compact urban density around it, and the early stages of the park's development showed limited greenery, making the area feel unfinished and disconnected.

The maps from 2016 to 2020 depict a significant turning point in Parco Dora's evolution, marked by the stombatura(figure 79), or the uncovering of the Dora Riparia river. Previously capped with concrete to accommodate industrial activities, the river was revealed, creating a prominent natural feature within the park. While this added ecological and aesthetic value to the area, it also introduced a new element of division. The river acted as a physical and visual barrier, separating the northern and southern portions of the park. The northern part retained a focus on industrial heritage, with its mix of commercial redevelopment and preserved structures, while the southern portion began transitioning into a more community-centered area with residential developments and recreational spaces.

In the 2020–2024 period, further changes are evident in the maps. The removal of large concrete surfaces and the addition of tree coverage and landscaping efforts have made the park's southern section more inviting and aligned with its purpose as a public green space. The newly revealed river corridor introduced natural continuity, but it also reinforced the separation between the north and south sections of Parco Dora. The southern areas have become more accessible and community-oriented, with improvements in pathways and seating areas. In contrast, the northern portion has remained more commercial and industrial in character, with less emphasis on communitydriven features.

Across all phases of redevelopment, the visual and functional identity of Spina 3 has remained distinct from its surrounding context. The traditional neighborhoods nearby,

with their organic layouts and historic architecture, contrast sharply with the planned, modern infrastructure of Spina 3. The evolution captured in the maps reflects the tension between preserving the industrial heritage of the area and transforming it into a functional, integrated urban space. While the park has undoubtedly introduced much-needed green space and ecological improvements, the separation created by the river and the stark differences between the north and south sections continue to shape the identity and usability of Parco Dora within the broader fabric of Torino.



Figure 76. Comparison of Spina 3 between 2005 and 2011, highlighting major transformations, including initial urban changes and the early clearing of industrial structures(Elaborated by author)



Figure 77. Changes in Spina 3 from 2011 to 2016, emphasizing the growth of Parco Dora, new developments, and initial integration of public green spaces(Elaborated by author)



Figure 78. volution of Spina 3 from 2016 to 2020, highlighting expanded urban and green spaces, with visible progress in infrastructure and landscape(Elaborated by author) modifications.



Figure 79. Transformation of Spina 3 between 2020 and 2024, focusing on the removal of concrete along Dora Riparia, establishing a linear green division that separates the north and south sections of Parco Dora(Elaborated by author)



Figure 80. Stombatura della Dora (Torino C. d., 2018)

7.3. News Articles Analysis

This section focuses on the analysis of articles from TorinoToday, a digital daily newspaper launched in 2011, known for its comprehensive coverage of Turin's neighborhoods, including areas often overlooked by other media outlets. As one of the most widely read sources in the city, with an audience of 2.3 million readers monthly, it offers detailed reporting on urban transformations and community dynamics.

The analysis included 928 articles containing the keyword Parco Dora, published between 2011 and 2024. These articles, written in Italian, were translated into English using Google Translate to facilitate analysis. The process was conducted in multiple steps using ATLAS.ti software, enabling both thematic coding and visualization of patterns.

In the first step, the raw text of the articles was uploaded into ATLAS.ti, and word clouds were generated for each year to identify frequently mentioned terms without prior thematic coding. During this process, incomprehensible words and prepositions were filtered out to create more meaningful word clouds. This step offered an initial overview of dominant topics and recurring themes in the articles, revealing what appeared most frequently in each year.

In the next step, thematic coding was applied to categorize the articles based on key indicators of neighborhood transformation, such as social, cultural, economic, and infrastructural aspects. Simultaneously, the articles were grouped by the neighborhoods surrounding Parco Dora ,Borgo Vittoria, Madonna di Campagna, and San Donatobecause the news articles often referenced Parco Dora alongside these surrounding neighborhoods. This grouping aimed to explore the relationships between these areas and the park.

To better understand and visualize these relationships, a Sankey diagram was created using ATLAS.ti. This diagram highlights the connections between key themes (e.g., crime, accessibility, health, and events) and their relevance to each neighborhood. This visualization made it possible to clearly identify which themes were most associated with each neighborhood, facilitating a deeper analysis of Parco Dora's impact on its surroundings.

7.3.1. Evolving Media Focus in Parco Dora Insights from Word Cloud Analysis (2011– 2024)

2011: Industrial, Station, and Temporary In 2011, the focus on "industrial," "station," and "temporary" highlights Parco Dora's transitional stage, moving from its industrial past to urban redevelopment. The prominence of "temporary" suggests that many projects were either under construction or intended for interim use, signaling ongoing infrastructural changes. The area's industrial heritage remained a significant aspect of the narrative, framing the redevelopment process.



Figure 81. Word Cloud 2011: "Generated from TorinoToday news using ATLAS.ti.

2012: Green, Problems, Thefts, and Drug In 2012, the keyword "green" reflects growing attention to environmental elements of the redevelopment, such as the creation of green spaces. However, terms like "problems," "thefts," and "drug" suggest persistent challenges, particularly regarding safety and social issues. These terms indicate tension between the aspirational goals of urban renewal and the ongoing struggles faced by the local community.



Figure 82. Word Cloud 2012: "Generated from TorinoToday news using ATLAS.ti.

2013: Problems, Vandals, Construction, and Bike

The 2013 narrative emphasizes "problems" and "vandals," reflecting concerns over vandalism and public safety in the area. Meanwhile, "construction" and "bike" signal progress in infrastructure and sustainable mobility initiatives. This duality highlights both the challenges and the ongoing efforts to improve the neighborhood.



Figure 83. Word Cloud 2013: "Generated from TorinoToday news using ATLAS.ti.

2014: Event, Race, Electric, and Festival By 2014, terms like "event," "race," "electric," and "festival" suggest an increasing focus on cultural and recreational activities. Many news articles likely covered upcoming events and their impact on the area. However, much of the discourse also included logistical issues or challenges related to these events, such as traffic disruptions or public concerns.



Figure 84. Word Cloud 2014: "Generated from TorinoToday news using ATLAS.ti.

2015: Events, Food, and Music

In 2015, the emphasis on "events," "food," and "music" underscores the growing popularity of festivals and public gatherings. These activities were likely framed as key to fostering community engagement and enhancing Parco Dora's image. However, as with previous years, discussions around logistical problems or controversies related to these events may have been present in the news.

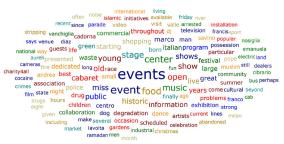


Figure 85. Word Cloud 2015: "Generated from TorinoToday news using ATLAS.ti.

2016: Terms such as square meters and bridge highlight a growing focus on physical infrastructure, public spaces, and economic aspects, which became key focal points for redevelopment. Events continued to be a prominent topic, likely due to recurring coverage of upcoming programs and their associated challenges. The inclusion of closed suggests temporary disruptions or access limitations caused by these activities



Figure 86. Word Cloud 2016: "Generated from TorinoToday news using ATLAS.ti.

2017: Events, Play, and Shopping

The focus on "events," "play," and "shopping" in 2017 highlights Parco Dora's transformation into a vibrant recreational and commercial hub. Much of the media attention may have centered on upcoming events and their potential to attract visitors, as well as logistical issues before or after such events.



Figure 87. Word Cloud 2017: "Generated from TorinoToday news using ATLAS.ti.

2018: Events and Festival

In 2018, the focus on "events" and "festival" underscores the sustained importance of cultural programming in the neighborhood. These terms reflect Parco Dora's continued role as a venue for major public gatherings, with coverage likely including both promotional content and discussions of event-related challenges.



Figure 88. Word Cloud 2018: "Generated from TorinoToday news using ATLAS.ti.

2019: Christmas, Festival, and Events

In 2019, terms such as "Christmas," "festival," and "events" point to a heavy focus on seasonal celebrations and cultural activities. While these activities were a source of community engagement, the media may also have highlighted organizational or logistical concerns, such as traffic, noise, or public safety.



Figure 89. Word Cloud 2019: "Generated from TorinoToday news using ATLAS.ti.

2020:

Euros, Squar meter and Police

A shift in focus occurred in 2020, with terms such as euros and square meter gaining prominence, signaling growing attention to real estate and economic issues, including property values and land use in Parco Dora. These keywords mark a transition in media narratives from predominantly cultural themes to economic and developmental issues. The presence of police as a bold term indicates that safety and security remained significant topics during this period.



Figure 90. Word Cloud 2020: "Generated from TorinoToday news using ATLAS.ti.

2021: Euros, Square Meter, and Events

The discourse in 2021 mirrors the themes of 2020, with "euros" and "square meter" remaining central. However, the term "events" persists, reflecting the neighborhood's dual identity as a site of cultural activity and real estate development. News coverage likely continued to balance promotional and critical narratives around these topics.



Figure 91. Word Cloud 2021: "Generated from TorinoToday news using ATLAS.ti.

2022: Events, Festival, Food, Euroes, Square meter

In 2022, there was a renewed focus on events, festival, and food, reflecting a postpandemic revival of cultural activities and public gatherings in Parco Dora. These themes highlight the park's ongoing role as a hub for community engagement and recreation. Additionally, the prominence of square meters and euros indicates continued attention to real estate and economic aspects, such as property values and land use. This dual narrative reflects the park's evolving identity as both a cultural and ecowhile logistical nomic asset, and

organizational challenges, such as managing large events, remained part of the discours



Figure 92. Word Cloud 2022: "Generated from TorinoToday news using ATLAS.ti.

2023: Square, Center, and Events

In 2023, "square," "center," and "events" highlight the role of public spaces and cultural programming in shaping Parco Dora's identity. Media coverage likely emphasized the area's positioning as a central urban hub, balancing discussions of its infrastructural significance with its function as a venue for events.



Figure 93. Word Cloud 2023: "Generated from TorinoToday news using ATLAS.ti.

2024: Events, Diverted, and Service In 2024, "events" remain a dominant theme, but "diverted" and "service" suggest increasing attention to logistical issues and operational aspects, such as traffic management and public services during major gatherings. These terms reflect the growing complexity of hosting events in an increasingly developed urban area.



Figure 94. Word Cloud 2024: "Generated from TorinoToday news using ATLAS.ti.

7.3.1.1. Discussion and Chronological Analysis from Word Cloud Analysis (2011–2024)

The analysis of TorinoToday articles offers a detailed view of Parco Dora's transformation over time, as reflected in evolving media narratives. This progression highlights the park's journey from an industrial past to a dynamic urban hub, balancing cultural, economic, and logistical challenges.

In 2011, the park's transitional phase was emphasized, with terms like industrial, station, and temporary underscoring its industrial heritage and the early steps toward redevelopment. The prominence of temporary reflects the interim nature of projects and the community's anticipation of change. By 2012, environmental elements gained attention, as indicated by green, reflecting aspirations to integrate natural spaces into the urban fabric. However, terms like problems, thefts, and drug reveal ongoing challenges with safety and social cohesion.

The narrative expanded in 2013 to include infrastructural and mobility improvements, with keywords like construction and bike signaling progress. Yet, concerns about problems and vandals persisted, indicating that public safety remained a significant issue. In 2014, the focus shifted toward cultural activities, with terms like event, race, and festival pointing to the park's emerging role as a venue for public gatherings. However, these events often brought logistical difficulties, such as traffic disruptions and access challenges.

In 2015, the park further established itself as a hub for community engagement, with keywords like events, food, and music reflecting its popularity as a space for festivals and public gatherings. Despite these positive developments, logistical concerns, including traffic and closures, continued to appear in the media. By 2016, the narrative included economic aspects, with terms like square meters and bridge highlighting the development of public spaces and infrastructure. The term closed suggests temporary disruptions due to construction or event-related activities, while events remained a recurring theme in shaping the park's identity.

In 2017 and 2018, the park's cultural significance deepened, as indicated by terms like play, shopping, and festival. These years highlight Parco Dora's role as a vibrant recreational and commercial space. However, logistical challenges, such as managing large-scale events and maintaining accessibility, persisted alongside these developments.

By 2019, the focus on seasonal activities, reflected in terms like Christmas and festival, showcased the park's integration into the community's cultural calendar. In 2020, the narrative shifted toward economic concerns, with keywords like euros and square meter pointing to growing discussions about property values and land use. The term police indicates that safety and security remained relevant issues during this period.

In 2021 and 2022, the dual focus on cultural and economic aspects continued, as reflected in keywords like events, festival, euros, and square meters. These years highlight a post-pandemic revival of cultural activities, alongside sustained attention to real estate and infrastructure. By 2023, terms like square and center emphasized the park's role as a central public space in Turin. However, in 2024, terms like diverted and service highlighted operational challenges related to managing events and public services in a rapidly developing urban area.

Key Findings:

This chronological analysis reveals the multifaceted evolution of Parco Dora, transitioning from its industrial origins to a dynamic cultural and economic hub. Early narratives emphasized challenges in redevelopment and safety, while later years highlighted the park's growing role in community engagement and urban development. Recurring themes, such as events, safety, and accessibility, reflect both the park's successes and its ongoing challenges.

The consistent focus on events underscores Parco Dora's importance as a cultural and recreational space, while the increasing prominence of economic and infrastructural themes illustrates its integration into Turin's broader urban strategy. Despite these achievements, challenges related to safety, accessibility, and event logistics persist, emphasizing the need for continued efforts to balance growth with community needs.

7.3.2. Exploring Neighborhood Connections Parco Dora and Surrounding Areas in Media Coverage

In this part, This analysis investigates the intersection of news coverage between Parco Dora and its surrounding neighborhoods: San Donato, Borgo Vittoria, and Madonna di Campagna. Initially, 928 news articles from TorinoToday were collected, containing mentions of Parco Dora or its adjacent neighborhoods. Through a filtering process that focused only on articles explicitly connecting Parco Dora with at least one of its surrounding neighborhoods, the dataset was refined to 342 relevant articles: 164 for San Donato, 107 for Borgo Vittoria, and 71 for Madonna di Campagna.

Using ATLAS.ti software, the articles were coded into thematic categories, identifying recurring themes such as crime, housing, traffic, environmental sustainability, and governance. Sankey diagrams was then created to visually represent the relationships between themes and neighborhoods.

The codes used for the thematic analysis are listed in the table below, providing a clear framework for understanding how the articles were categorized and analyzed.

Thematic Codes List				
Accessibility and Traffic issues	Community Engage- ment:Program			
Environment: Climate adaptation	Environment: sustaina- blity Programs			
Environmet:concerns	Public Ser- vices:Maintenance Program			
Event: Consequences	Event: Programs			
Governance Transpa- rency:Concern	Governance Transpa- rency:Report			
Health and Safety: Concern	Health and Safety: Pro- gram			
Housing : Housing Price	Housing: Homeless- ness			
Investment: Program	Investment:Hesitancy			
Local Identity: Story	Local Identity:Program			
Maintanance and im- prove the public area	Maintanance and im- prove the public area: concern			
Public Services:Short- age	Equity: Programs			
Crime				

Table 11. Thematic Codes List for Article from Torino Today news using ATLAS.ti.

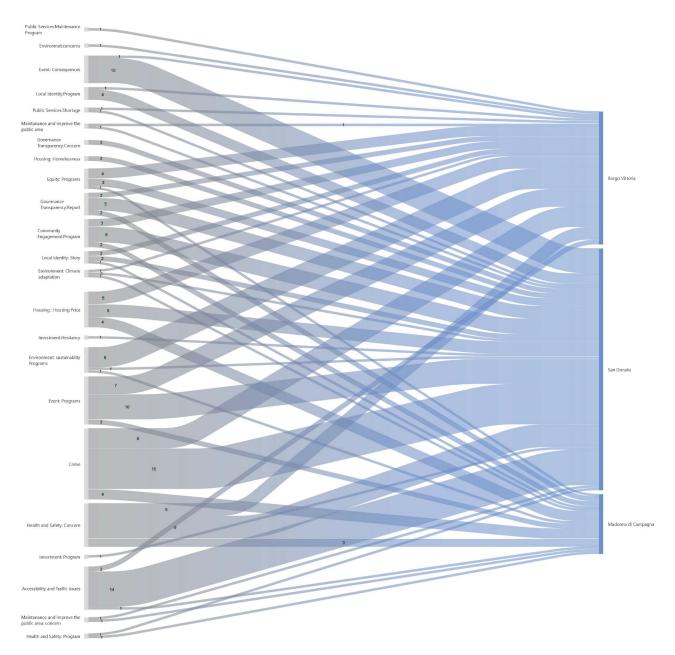
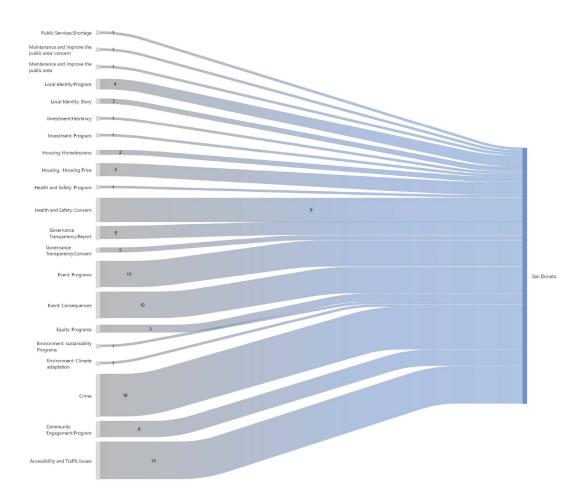


Figure 95. Connections between key themes and neighborhoods around Parco Dora, visualized using ATLAS.ti.





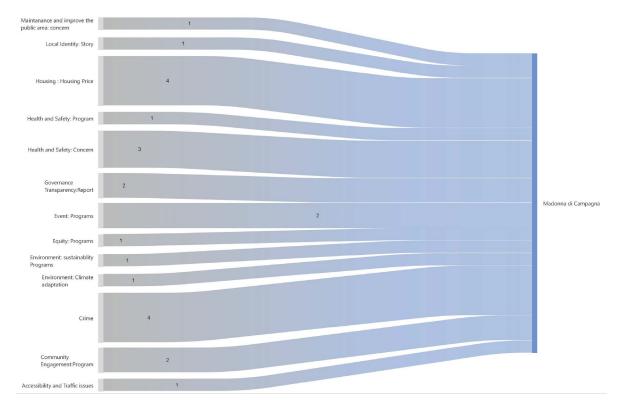


Figure97. key themes relationship with Madonna di Campagna, visualized using ATLAS.ti

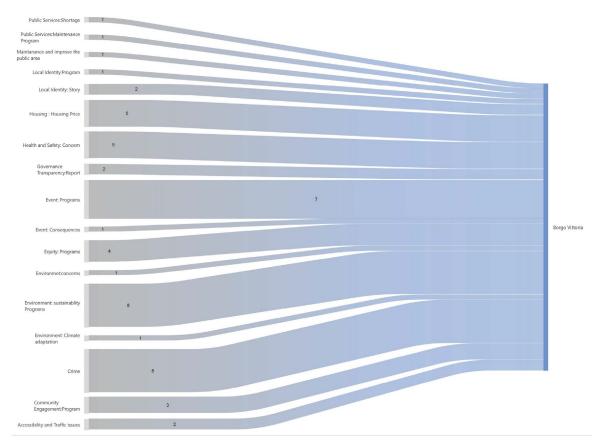


Figure 98. key themes relationship with Borgo Vittoria, visualized using ATLAS.ti

The analysis of news coverage between Parco Dora and its surrounding neighborhoods (San Donato, Borgo Vittoria, and Madonna di Campagna) reveals significant disparities in media representation. From the initial dataset of 928 articles collected from TorinoToday, the filtering process reduced the dataset to 342 relevant articles that explicitly connected Parco Dora with at least one of the three neighborhoods. Among these, San Donato had the highest representation with 164 articles, followed by Borgo Vittoria with 107 articles, and Madonna di Campagna with only 71 articles. This uneven distribution highlights variations in how the neighborhoods are portrayed in the media and their perceived connection to Parco Dora. While this difference could reflect varying levels of activity or interaction with the park, it might also be influenced by journalistic preferences or editorial focus. Investigating these factors

would require further research, which falls beyond the scope of this thesis. Consequently, direct comparisons between neighborhoods should be approached cautiously, as unequal representation may introduce biases into the analysis.

San Donato's prominence in the dataset reflects its central role in Parco Dora's activities and transformation. The neighborhood is strongly associated with crime, highlighting ongoing safety concerns. Accessibility and traffic issues are also dominant themes, reflecting the strain on infrastructure due to increased visitor activity. Event-related programming and its logistical consequences, such as congestion and noise, further emphasize San Donato's role as a cultural and recreational hub. Health and safety concerns, encompassing broader public infrastructure and well-being, also stand out, illustrating the challenges of balancing urbanization pressures with maintaining quality of life.

Borgo Vittoria, while receiving less coverage than San Donato, also exhibits crime as a prominent theme, reflecting significant safety challenges within the neighborhood. In addition, advocacy for green spaces and environmental sustainability programs is strongly evident, showcasing efforts by residents to improve ecological conditions and promote community engagement. Eventrelated programming is another dominant theme, emphasizing the neighborhood's role in cultural activities while also highlighting associated challenges. This thematic combination underscores Borgo Vittoria's complexity, balancing safety concerns with aspirations for a greener and more socially active urban environment.

Madonna di Campagna, with the least coverage, presents a narrower thematic focus, primarily centered on crime and housing pressures, particularly housing prices. These themes highlight localized socioeconomic challenges, underscoring the neighborhood's ongoing struggles with affordability and safety. Health and community safety concerns also feature prominently, indicating the importance of addressing both physical infrastructure and residents' well-being. The relatively limited attention to other themes reflects Madonna di Campagna's peripheral role in the broader dynamics surrounding Parco Dora.

Key Findings:

Despite disparities, certain themes emerge consistently across all three neighborhoods, reflecting shared challenges linked to Parco Dora's transformation. Crime is the most prominent issue across the neighborhoods, underscoring safety concerns within these urban contexts. Event-related programming and its consequences also feature prominently, highlighting both the cultural vibrancy of such activities and their logistical impacts, including noise, traffic congestion, and restricted access. Accessibility and traffic issues further emphasize the infrastructural strain caused by increased activity and visitor inflow. Health and safety concerns remain critical across all neighborhoods, highlighting broader challenges tied to public infrastructure and well-being. Housing pressures, particularly related to pricing, and environmental concerns linked to sustainability programs are recurring themes, reflecting broader socio-economic and ecological dynamics within the neighborhoods.

Themes such as maintenance and investment programs appear far less frequently, indicating these issues receive limited attention in media narratives. This lack of coverage raises questions about the prioritization of these topics in public discourse, despite their importance for long-term urban development and neighborhood wellbeing.

7.4. Analysis of Comitato Dora Spina 3 Correspondence with the Municipality

The urban transformation of Torino's Spina 3 neighborhood, covering over one million square meters, represents one of the city's most ambitious redevelopment projects. Once a thriving industrial hub, Spina 3 has faced significant challenges during its redevelopment, including environmental contamination, inadequate public services, and debates over privatization. This transformation, while bringing opportunities for urban renewal, has also exposed gaps in governance, infrastructure, and inclusivity, requiring active engagement from local communities.

At the forefront of this engagement is the Comitato Dora Spina Tre, a volunteer committee established in 2004. Formed to represent the interests of residents during the redevelopment of Spina 3, the committee has consistently advocated for grassroots participation in planning and decision-making processes. Its members include local residents, community leaders, and activists committed to ensuring that the redevelopment process aligns with the needs and priorities of the neighborhood.

A key resource in understanding the committee's advocacy is its extensive archive of correspondence and documents available on their website.¹ This archive includes 255 letters and formal communications addressed to municipal authorities, government officials, and other stakeholders involved in Spina 3's redevelopment. Spanning from 2006 to 2024, these materials provide a comprehensive record of the committee's concerns, proposals, and feedback on various aspects of the transformation. The documents are predominantly in Italian, and all translations used in this analysis were completed by the author.

The letters were systematically divided and grouped year by year, then coded by their themes to highlight recurring issues. Relevant quotes were also extracted to better understand the specific concerns that arose in each year. Using Excel, this information was organized into a table to visualize the issues in relation to the years, providing a clear representation of which challenges consistently persisted and remained unresolved over time.

Foundational Years and Early Advocacy: 2004–2010

The Comitato Dora Spina Tre was established to counter the lack of public consultation during the early stages of Spina 3's redevelopment. From its inception, the committee emphasized the importance of grassroots participation. Their 2004 correspondence states, "We think that when great urban changes take place, people must be consulted, and really get involved in their planning and realization" (2004, "Introduction to Comitato Dora Spina Tre").

One of the most consistent themes during these early years was environmental risk concerns, which appeared repeatedly in their letters. For example, the presence of hexavalent chromium in groundwater was a significant focus. At the same time, the committee critiqued the lack of public infrastructure, noting in 2009, "We read about huge and very tall buildings, the new Catholic cathedral, and many supermarkets, but no new public buildings except a primary school, which today has yet to be built" (2009, "Spina 3: Public Priorities").

The Emergence of Parco Dora: Opportunities and Challenges (2011–2015)

The opening of Parco Dora in 2011 marked a shift in the committee's focus, as the park became a central element in Spina 3's redevelopment. The committee's critiques centered around two main themes: lack of permeable green spaces and accessibility concerns.

In their 2011 letter, they expressed dissatisfaction with the park's design, stating, "Concerned by the sensation of a notable presence of concrete even in the Park, we remain attentive to the quantity and quality of tree planting" (2011, "Dora Park: Long-Anticipated, Low on Green"). Accessibility issues were another key focus during this

¹ The archive of letters and documents by Comitato Dora Spina Tre is available at their official website: <u>https://www.comitatodoraspina3.it/</u>

time, with the committee advocating for better infrastructure to serve individuals with disabilities: "The internal paths of the park and street furniture must be made accessible to people with reduced mobility and visual impairments" (2011, "Proposals for Accessibility in Parco Dora").

The issue of event consequences also began to surface as Parco Dora became a venue for large-scale commercial events. The committee urged officials to preserve the park's role as a peaceful community space, emphasizing, "Do not forget, this is a park. Its proximity to residences does not need noisy, impactful performances but rather quality cultural activities" (2011, "Dora Park: A Community Space").

Advocacy for Infrastructure and Social Equity (2016–2020)

From 2016 onward, the committee increasingly focused on public infrastructure and social equity. Themes such as inadequate public services and educational infrastructure shortages were frequently mentioned. For example, they criticized delays in building a kindergarten, noting, "The kindergarten planned for 2009 remains incomplete, now requiring more capacity to serve the growing population" (2016, "Concerns About Schools in Spina 3").

During this period, the theme of event consequences became even more prominent, particularly in relation to the Kappa Futur Festival. The committee raised concerns about the festival's environmental and social impact, writing, "Noise levels during the festival disrupt over 12,000 residents, exceeding WHO recommendations. The park's greenery is damaged, leaving it unusable for weeks" (2018, "Post-Kappa FuturFestival Concerns").

Another recurring theme was environmental risk concerns, with the committee continuing to advocate for sustainable urban solutions. In one proposal, they suggested creating a small forest in Parco Dora: "A small forest would enhance air quality and provide much-needed shade in Parco Dora" (2018, "Proposals for Valdocco Lot in Parco Dora"). The theme of cultural preservation also gained prominence, as the committee called for a museum to commemorate the area's industrial history: "This is the history of the social struggles, of the unions, and of the resistance movement against the fascist dictatorship" (2018, "Proposal for Industrial Museum in Spina 3").

Recent Advocacy: Privatization and Incremental Progress (2021–2024)

In recent years, the committee has increasingly voiced concerns about the privatization of public spaces, reflecting a growing focus on governance transparency advocacy and opposition to privatization. Their 2021 letter warned, "Parco Dora must remain a public space and not be dominated by private interests. Privatized management risks prioritizing profit over public well-being" (2021, "Opposition to Privatization of Parco Dora").

Despite ongoing challenges, the committee celebrated several incremental successes, such as the opening of a pharmacy in 2022 and a post office in 2023. They highlighted these achievements as evidence of the effectiveness of collective action: "Years of advocacy have resulted in the opening of a new postal office in Spina 3, showing that collective action can improve neighborhood services" (2023, "Celebrating New Public Services in Spina 3").

The committee has also continued to advocate for elder-friendly spaces in Parco Dora, emphasizing, "Installing shaded benches would encourage use by elderly residents" (2023, "Requests for Maintenance and Amenities in Valdocco South"). They have endorsed low-impact cultural events, such as Terra Madre, that align with their vision for sustainable urban spaces: "Terra Madre is an excellent example of high-quality, low-impact cultural activity that aligns with community needs" (2022, "Support for Terra Madre Event"). Throughout this period, they have consistently reminded officials of the park's original purpose: "This is a park, and it must serve its community not as a commercial venue but as a refuge for greenery, peace, and inclusivity" (2022, "Parco Dora: Priorities for the Future")

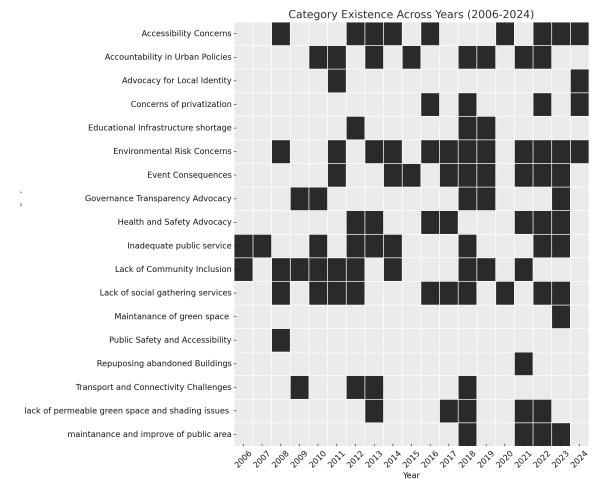


Figure 96. Heatmap Representing the Frequency of Advocacy Categories Addressed by Comitato Dora Spina Tre (2006–2024) (Elaborated by author)

Key Findings

The analysis of correspondence between the Comitato Dora Spina Tre and municipal authorities reveals recurring themes and evolving priorities over the years, as represented in the table. This systematic exploration of the committee's advocacy efforts highlights several key findings: Recurring and Persistent Issues: Environmental Risk Concerns: This theme consistently appears from 2011 to 2024, reflecting ongoing concerns about contamination and environmental impacts linked to Spina 3's redevelopment. The persistent focus underscores the slow progress in addressing these risks.

Inadequate Public Services and Lack of Community Inclusion: These issues were prominent during the foundational years and resurfaced periodically, indicating long-standing deficits in public infrastructure and inclusive urban planning.

Event Consequences: First highlighted in 2011 with the rise of Parco Dora as a cultural venue, this theme reflects tensions between the benefits of community events and their logistical or social drawbacks, such as noise and congestion.

Health and Safety Advocacy: Gaining prominence after 2016, this theme highlights the community's growing concerns about resident well-being amidst urbanization pressures.

Emerging Issues:Concerns of Privatization: Emerging in 2016, this issue became increasingly significant post-2021, reflecting the committee's focus on protecting public spaces from commercial interests. These concerns align with broader fears of urban spaces becoming dominated by profitdriven priorities.

Accessibility Concerns: Intermittently raised, particularly in 2012, 2013, and after 2021, this theme illustrates evolving concerns about inclusivity and mobility in public spaces.

Themes with Limited Representation: Maintenance of Green Space, Repurposing Abandoned Buildings, and Public Safety and Accessibility appear infrequently in the correspondence. Their limited representation could suggest these issues were secondary priorities or less frequently raised in the committee's communications.

Governance Transparency Advocacy, though sporadic, surfaced during critical moments when accountability in decisionmaking became a focus.

Shift in Advocacy Over Time:During the foundational years (2006–2010), the committee concentrated on environmental risks and community inclusion, emphasizing grassroots participation as a critical response to redevelopment challenges.

In the Parco Dora era (2011–2015), the committee's focus shifted to park-related concerns, including lack of permeable green spaces, accessibility issues, and event consequences.

From 2016 to 2020, advocacy expanded to themes like social equity, public services, and sustainable solutions, reflecting the increased complexity of Spina 3's redevelopment.

In recent years (2021–2024), privatization concerns gained prominence, alongside incremental successes such as the opening of a pharmacy and a post office. However, the committee's correspondence about these successes often included phrases like "after years of advocacy," emphasizing the prolonged effort required to achieve these outcomes.

Tone of Advocacy: Even in communications celebrating successes, the committee frequently highlights the long timeline required to achieve them. Phrases such as "years of advocacy" or "after prolonged delays" underline the persistent challenges and the slow pace of progress in addressing community needs.

7.5. Interview Analysis

To gain a deeper understanding of stakeholder perspectives on the transformation of Parco Dora, a series of qualitative interviews were conducted. A total of Nine interviews were carried out, each lasting an average of 50 minutes. These interviews were semi-structured, allowing for openended responses that encouraged participants to elaborate freely on their experiences, perceptions, and suggestions. This flexible approach provided rich, nuanced insights into the diverse viewpoints surrounding the park's redevelopment. The interviews were divided into two tailored frameworks to address the unique perspectives of the participants:

Public Actors: This group included municipal and institutional stakeholders, who were asked about their professional roles, involvement in Parco Dora's development, observations of its transformation, perceived challenges and improvements, the park's impact on the neighborhood, and their outlook on its future.

Associations: This group included organizations with varying levels of engagement in the neighborhood. Some associations were more embedded in the local context and aligned closely with residents' concerns, while others had a broader, more external perspective. They were asked about their connections to the neighborhood, experiences with Parco Dora's transformation, perceptions of its effects on community dynamics, economic and demographic changes, environmental quality, and suggested improvements for the park.

The engagement levels of the interviewees were visually represented using a colorcoded system in the table 12.

Public actors were marked with shades of orange, where a darker orange indicates higher engagement or alignment with Parco Dora's development. Associations represented by shades of blue, with darker blue signifying deeper involvement and closer alignment with the local context . Participants with neutral involvement were marked in grey. This arrangement represents the varying levels of engagement based on the interviewees' roles and their explanations during the interviews.

In some cases, a language barrier necessitated the use of an official translator to facilitate the interviews. This ensured that all participants could communicate their perspectives clearly and fully, allowing for a more inclusive and comprehensive understanding of the issues discussed.

Thematic coding was employed to systematically analyze the interview data using ATLAS.ti, a qualitative data analysis software. This approach enabled the identification of recurring themes, patterns, and connections within the responses. Specific quotes were highlighted and associated with thematic codes, providing a deeper exploration of key issues. The coding process ensured an organized and systematic analysis of the diverse perspectives shared by stakeholders.

The analysis is organized thematically, synthesizing the viewpoints of public actors and associations to provide a comprehensive understanding of the key issues discussed. Instead of presenting individual interviews, the discussion is structured around recurring topics, integrating insights from multiple stakeholder groups. This thematic approach highlights commonalities, contrasts, and connections in stakeholder experiences and perceptions, offering a nuanced understanding of the complexities and dynamics surrounding the park's redevelopment.

Engagemet	Code	Role	Date of
Level	Coue	Roic	Interview
Level	PA01	Former	7 Novem-
	PAUI		,
		Public	ber 2024
		Actor	
	PA02	Public	14
		Actor	January
			2025
	AS01	Neutral	27 No-
		Associa-	vember
		tion	2024
	AS02		7 January
			2024
	AS03	Graffiti	22 No-
		Associa-	vember
		tion	2024
	AS04	Hostel	10
		Director	January
			2025
	AS05	Admini-	13 De-
		strator,	cember
		Art Aca-	2024
		demy	
	AS06	Parish	10
		Priest	January
			2025
	AS07	Comitato	26 No-
		Dora	vember
		Spina Tre	2024

Table 12. List of Interview Participants and their engagement level (with color-coded involvement: orange for public actors, blue for associations, and grey for neutral participants; darker shades indicate higher engagement, while lighter shades represent moderate involvement).

7.5.1. Thematic Analysis of Parco Dora Stakeholder Perspectives

This section provides a comprehensive thematic analysis of the shared perspectives of different stakeholders on the transformation and development of Parco Dora. These stakeholders include public actors, local associations and community leaders, each of whom offers unique insights shaped by their proximity to and interaction with the park. The analysis is designed to examine key issues such as the design and transformation of Parco Dora, maintenance challenges, the impact of events, safety concerns, economic and demographic changes, and migration and displacement trends. By highlighting these perspectives, this section aims to explore the multifaceted

implications of Parco Dora's redevelopment on the surrounding community and its urban context, and to provide a detailed understanding of the successes, limitations and ongoing challenges.

7.5.1.1. Transformation and Design of Parco Dora

The transformation of Parco Dora elicited a range of views across stakeholders, reflecting their varying roles and levels of engagement. A former public authority representative critiqued the park's design, highlighting an overreliance on concrete and architectural monumentality at the expense of greenery. They noted that the park's design leaned too heavily on an urban aesthetic, arguing that a greater emphasis on natural elements, such as trees and grass, would have improved both sustainability and usability:

"There is too much concrete and not enough greenery. The focus should be on trees, grass, and permeable surfaces, especially in light of the climate crisis" (PA01). While they acknowledge the positive environmental impact of reopening the river and creating green space on previously abandoned industrial land, but this representative criticized the lack of integration with Turin's urban grid and skyline. They observed that some of the park's larger constructions felt disconnected from the city's traditional streetscape:

"The area's planning has been criticized for lacking integration with Turin's urban grid and skyline" (PA01).

Another public authority representative emphasized the complexity and scale of the project, noting that the transformation spanned over two decades, beginning in 1999 and culminating in 2022 with the completion of the park itself. They highlighted the unique collaboration between public and private entities to remediate and repurpose over 1 million square meters of industrial land, of which 450,000 square meters were returned as public green space: "The transformation of Parco Dora was an extraordinary undertaking, involving over 1 million square meters of land, including heavily polluted industrial sites. Nearly half of this area was converted into green public space" (PA02).

This representative also stressed that despite the scale of the project, the transformation was achieved in a relatively short time frame for an initiative of such complexity, particularly considering the extensive environmental cleanup required:

"This was a massive change carried out in a relatively short time, given the scale of the transformation and the challenges of remediating heavily polluted land" (PA02).

They praised the incorporation of industrial archaeology into the park's design, acknowledging the efforts to preserve historical elements such as chimneys, cooling towers, and structural foundations. However, they also noted the significant challenges in maintaining these features:

"Integrating industrial structures into the park's design enhances its uniqueness but also creates ongoing maintenance challenges, with some components costing hundreds of thousands of euros to repair" (PA02).

In contrast, as an external observer as a netral association with a role of a communication and informing people about the huge transformations, framed Parco Dora as a landmark achievement in post-industrial transformation, praising its symbolic success and integration of industrial memory with green space. They emphasized its importance as part of Turin's urban regeneration: "Historically, Parco Dora is considered one of the masterpieces of the post-industrial era in Turin. It's quite symbolic" (AS01). They highlighted the project's complexity, which involved gathering resources and land from various stakeholders over many years to turn the area from a "black hole" of abandoned industrial space into a muchneeded public and green space:

"The transformation turned a gray area into a green one, addressing the lack of public spaces like parks or squares for people to gather and enjoy leisure time" (AS01).

Another association representative described the phased development of Parco Dora, reflecting the city's changing economic conditions over time. They noted how the different sections of the park vary, with the most recent parts being less mature and minimal in terms of greenery:

"The most recent parts are like the poorest in terms of number of trees and maturity, so it gets more and more minimal as time goes on, but I think it's also something good" (AS02).

They emphasized the park's significant environmental impact, particularly its role in uncovering the river and re-establishing a relationship between nature and the community:

"The most important perspective to keep in mind is the park's role in changing the environmental balance. It worked on uncovering the river and re-establishing the relationship between nature and the people, which is much more significant than its socio-economic aspects" (AS02).

A graffiti association representative, partially active in the area, valued the transformation for its cultural potential, highlighting the park as a hub for graffiti and street art.

Meanwhile, a local hostel director observed that the redevelopment brought a noticeable

improvement in functionality and vibrancy. Before the park's redevelopment, the area felt abandoned, with many businesses closed and little activit:

"After the area was requalified, the stores reopened, and the space became more functional and vibrant" (AS04).

A local community association described the transformation as incomplete. While they acknowledged the structural improvements brought by the redevelopment, they critiqued the lack of oversight in addressing ongoing social issues such as crime. They emphasized the need for a more peoplecentered approach to the area's development, focusing on social challenges alongside physical improvements.

The parish priest connected to local residents, described the transformation as a partial success. While acknowledging the park's role in addressing the lack of public spaces in the area, they noted ongoing challenges in creating a cohesive and inclusive community. They emphasized that the surrounding area still lacks gathering spaces and facilities for residents:

"The area needed redevelopment, but aside from large supermarkets, there's little else in terms of community presence. There aren't many gathering spaces except for the churches" (AS06).

They also criticized the park's limited greenery:

"Parco Dora doesn't have enough trees or shaded areas, so it doesn't feel like a true 'green lung" (AS06).

Finally, a local community committee representative provided a critical perspective on the park's transformation. They emphasized that the development lacked meaningful public consultation and that decisions were often made without engaging residents. They criticized the park's design for prioritizing aesthetic and monumental features over functionality:

"The initial idea was to create a post-industrial space where you could see from one side to the other with no obstructions. But this didn't account for the needs of the people living here" (AS07).

Additionally, they highlighted the inadequate number of public amenities and gathering spaces, stressing that the park's potential to foster social cohesion remains underutilized:

"A neighborhood without a square has no identity, because a square is where identity is born" (AS07, 26 November 2024).

So the transformation of Parco Dora represents a significant milestone in Turin's post-industrial regeneration, blending green space with the remnants of industrial heritage. However, stakeholders' perspectives reveal a spectrum of views, ranging from admiration for its achievements to critiques of its design and planning process.

External actors, such as neutral associations (AS01, AS02), praised the ambitious nature of the project and its role in reshaping Turin's urban identity. They commended the park's symbolic and environmental contributions, particularly the uncovering of the Dora River and the preservation of industrial relics. However, critiques arose regarding the overuse of concrete and the insufficient emphasis on greenery. The former public authority representative (PA01) highlighted how these design choices detracted from the park's potential as a sustainable and natural space, while external observers (AS01) recognized the park as a symbol of progress but noted the challenges inherent in such a complex redevelopment project. Another association representative (AS02) acknowledged the phased nature of the park's development, pointing out that newer sections lack mature greenery. They

appreciated the park's environmental impact but noted that its benefits were unevenly distributed across the community. Also graffiti association representative (AS03) valued the park's cultural potential, particularly as a hub for graffiti and street art, adding a creative dimension to its transformation.

More localized voices, such as those of a hostel director (AS04) and a local community association (AS05), focused on how the redevelopment affected the neighborhood's daily life. While the hostel director (AS04) observed that the revitalization made the area more functional and vibrant compared to its abandoned past, local community association (AS05) critiqued the redevelopment as incomplete, noting the need for greater oversight to meet residents' expectations and enhance usability.

At the core of local engagement, a parish priest and the local community committee (AS06, AS07) provided grounded insights into the park's impact on the neighborhood. The parish priest highlighted the lack of public gathering spaces and limited greenery, noting that the park feels less inviting compared to other green spaces in the city. The community committee emphasized the lack of meaningful public consultation during the planning process, pointing out how the park's design prioritized aesthetics and industrial memory over functionality for residents. They observed that key elements such as shaded spaces, gathering areas, and public facilities were underdeveloped, limiting the park's ability to serve as a cohesive community space.

When discussing the design of Parco Dora, public actors emphasize the sheer scale of the project and its accomplishment within a relatively short time frame, given the challenges of transforming a heavily polluted industrial site into a green public space. They view the project as a remarkable achievement in urban regeneration, particularly in terms of its environmental successes, such as uncovering the Dora River and creating large green areas. However, they also acknowledge that managing such a vast and complex space presents ongoing challenges, including the maintenance of industrial structures and addressing the evolving needs of the community.

In contrast, external associations take a more process-oriented view of the transformation. They frame the lengthy timeline as an expected and normal aspect of a redevelopment of this magnitude. While they acknowledge the complexities involved, they focus on the symbolic and environmental impact of the transformation, viewing it as a successful example of post-industrial regeneration rather than critiquing specific design elements or delays.

Localized associations (AS04, AS05), however, offer a more critical perspective. For residents and community-focused stakeholders, the prolonged timeline of the project has led to frustration. Many feel disillusioned by the incomplete state of the area and are tired of waiting for promised improvements to be fully realized. This dissatisfaction often overshadows the positive aspects of the environmental remediation, as these groups are more directly affected by the infrastructure challenges, such as a lack of public facilities, gathering spaces, and essential services. As a result, while they may recognize the broader environmental achievements, their concerns are rooted in the day-to-day usability and inclusivity of the space.

7.5.1.2. Maintenance

Maintenance emerged as a critical theme across stakeholder discussions, highlighting both structural and systemic challenges in sustaining Parco Dora as a functional public space. From financial constraints to inconsistent upkeep, stakeholders expressed concerns about the park's ability to meet the needs of its users.

The former public authority representative highlighted the financial burden of maintaining large-scale green spaces like Parco Dora, explaining that maintenance responsibilities initially fall to private investors under redevelopment agreements but eventually shift to municipalities, which often lack the necessary resources. This transition creates gaps in upkeep, leaving spaces vulnerable to neglect:

"Maintenance costs are significant, and public authorities often lack sufficient funds to keep green spaces in optimal condition" (PA01).

Another public authority representative expanded on these concerns, noting that the maintenance challenges stem not only from financial constraints but also from the complex design of the park. The integration of industrial relics and large-scale features, while visually impressive, demands specialized upkeep that municipalities often struggle to provide:

"Maintaining the industrial elements and expansive structures of Parco Dora is a unique challenge. The park's design requires significant resources for ongoing maintenance, which the municipality finds difficult to allocate consistently" (PA02).

They further observed that while the transformation was a remarkable achievement, the long-term maintenance implications were not adequately considered during the planning stages:

"The park was designed at a time when the city was in a different economic position. Today, maintaining such a large and intricate space has become increasingly difficult" (PA02). Adding to this, the neutral external association representative framed these challenges as typical of urban spaces, pointing out that maintenance delays and inconsistencies are common in projects of this scale. They emphasized the difficulty of preserving industrial relics and managing expansive green spaces with limited municipal budgets:

"It's always critical. The grass isn't cut enough, and ancient pieces like ruins need constant preservation. These challenges are not unique to Parco Dora" (AS01).

The complexity of maintaining Parco Dora is further compounded by design choices that did not prioritize long-term sustainability. Another neutral association representativ noted that the park's scale and features, such as industrial relics and water installations, require intensive care, which the city's current economic constraints cannot fully support:

"The maintenance is normally on the central offices of the city. But at the time of design, the city was in a different position and could imagine maintaining such spaces. Today, it's not the same" (AS02).

This mismatch between the park's design and the city's maintenance capacity has resulted in visible signs of neglect, particularly in less trafficked sections.

Local stakeholders added nuanced perspectives, focusing on the impact of poor maintenance on the park's usability and community perception. A graffiti association representative highlighted the absence of basic amenities, such as public toilets, as emblematic of broader neglect. Similarly, hostel director, who regularly observes the park while managing a nearby hostel, described discrepancies in maintenance quality across different sections:

"The entrance is well-maintained, but the southern part of the park is less clean" (AS04).

These inconsistencies create uneven experiences for users, affecting how different parts of the park are perceived and utilized. For a local community association, the lack of regular upkeep directly impacts the park's functionality and its potential as a community hub. They pointed to trash accumulation and insufficient attention to cleanliness as barriers to creating a welcoming environment:

"Trash is a big issue, and it makes the area feel neglected. The municipality should focus on improving these aspects and ensuring the park is a safe and welcoming place for everyone" (AS05).

Additionally, a parish priest drew attention to the lack of greenery and shaded areas, which diminishes the comfort and usability of the park for residents, particularly in the summer:

"There are plans to plant more trees, but even now, benches are often placed without shade, making them uncomfortable in the summer" (AS06).

At the heart of the critique, a local community committee emphasized chronic underfunding and its ripple effects on the park's overall condition. They compared Turin's maintenance budget with international standards, highlighting significant disparities:

"In Germany, they allocate 3–5% of the budget for maintenance. In Turin, it's just 0.5%, and the difference is clear. The tanks that hold water often fill with trash and emit a foul smell because they aren't cleaned regularly" (AS07).

They also noted that incomplete land reclamation efforts beneath the park continue to pose environmental challenges, with heavy metals like hexavalent chromium requiring ongoing remediation. Across all perspectives, maintenance is seen as a critical factor affecting the park's long-term success.

Maintenance is an issue that all stakeholders agree poses significant challenges for Parco Dora. While external actors (PA01, PA02, AS01, AS02) acknowledge this as a concern ,but local stakeholders (AS03, AS04, AS05, AS06, AS07) offer more detailed insights into the root causes and consequences of these challenges. Their proximity to the area allows them to perceive the deeper implications of the park's design and maintenance shortcomings.

7.5.1.3. Events and Community Access

The impact of events hosted at Parco Dora emerged as a divisive issue, reflecting differing perspectives based on stakeholders' experiences and proximity to the park. While some celebrated the cultural vibrancy these events brought, others criticized their disruptive effects on the community and the park's infrastructure.

A public authority representative highlighted the strain that large events, such as music festivals, place on the park's infrastructure, particularly the green spaces. They noted the lasting damage caused by these events and the lengthy recovery period required:

"Large events, such as music festivals, often damage the green areas. After these events, it can take months to restore the grass and other features" (PA02).

While they acknowledged suggestions to move events to alternative locations, PA02 explained the practical challenges in implementing such a shift, emphasizing the need for event organizers to contribute more towards restoration costs:

"That has been suggested, but finding suitable alternative locations is difficult. Another idea is to require event organizers to pay more to cover the costs of restoration" (PA02).

From a broader cultural perspective, a neutral association representative emphasized the value of events like the Kappa FuturFestival, describing them as cultural milestones that boosted Parco Dora's visibility and Turin's reputation:

"Events like the Kappa FuturFestival bring international attention to Turin and highlight Parco Dora as a vibrant, modern space for culture and creativity" (AS01).

These events were seen as instrumental in redefining the park as a hub for contemporary urban culture.

Other association representative offered a more neutral stance, acknowledging the natural tension that arises in shared public spaces when balancing events with daily access:

"Public spaces conflict, and Parco Dora is no exception. There are moments during the year when it can feel quite chaotic" (AS02).

While they appreciated the park's multifaceted use, they refrained from assessing the specific impact of events on the community.

However, for stakeholders directly engaged with the park, events presented significant challenges. A graffiti association representative, who is closely connected to Parco Dora through graffiti and street art activities, voiced frustration about how events restricted access and disrupted their work:

"This year, I did very few street art tours because the park was mostly closed for events. It's really a pity, this is a park that should be reserved for citizens, not closed off for long periods" (AS03).

They lamented the lack of balance between hosting events and preserving the park as an open space for everyday activities. A hostel director noted the economic benefits these events brought, especially for nearby businesses and accommodations. However, they acknowledged the inconvenience caused to residents during these large-scale events:

"While the events bring economic advantages and attract visitors, the closures and noise do cause complaints among residents" (AS04).

A local community association representative (AS05), representing the local community, criticized the inappropriate nature of some events for a residential area, particularly highlighting their disruptive impact on families and children:

"Events like the Kappa Festival bring in crowds that behave inappropriately drinking, being loud, and even dressing in ways that make families uncomfortable. This isn't ideal for a community space where children live and play" (AS05).

Parish priest who oversees local parishes, provided a nuanced perspective on the events. While acknowledging that festivals like the Kappa Festival brought temporary activity to the area, they emphasized the lack of long-term benefits for the community:

"Events like the Kappa Festival are lively, but they're temporary and don't address the underlying issues. When these events end, the area goes back to being empty and neglected" (AS06). They also pointed out that many families feel unsafe during and after such events due to the crowds and noise, which further isolates the community:

"Families have moved away because they feel unsafe. Events like these bring temporary activity, but they don't create a lasting sense of security or belonging" (AS06).

The strongest critique came from the local community committee representative, who underscored the extended closures and long-term damage to the park caused by these events. They pointed out the lack of reinvestment into the local area despite the significant revenue these events generated: "Events like the Kappa Festival close off the park for weeks, sometimes months. Afterward, it takes even longer for the grass and infrastructure to recover. These events prioritize external visitors over local residents, undermining the park's purpose as a community space" (AS07).

They further criticized the insufficient transparency around how the funds from these events were utilized, fueling frustrations among residents.

Events at Parco Dora embody the complex duality of public spaces that serve both local and city-wide purposes. While actors like a neutral association representative (AS01) viewed them as vital cultural assets, those closer to the community, such as a graffiti association representative (AS03), a local community association representative (AS05), a parish priest (AS06), and a local community committee representative (AS07), highlighted the disruptions they caused, including restricted access, noise, and damage to the park's infrastructure. This dynamic reveals the pressing need for more inclusive event management strategies that balance cultural ambition with the needs of local residents, ensuring that Parco Dora remains both a celebrated urban landmark and a functional community space.

7.5.1.4. Safety Challenges

Safety concerns emerged as a significant theme, particularly among stakeholders embedded in the community, though perspectives varied in detail and emphasis.

A former public authority representative PA01 did not address safety issues or crime directly, focusing instead on the broader aspects of the park's transformation and its symbolic value as part of urban regeneration efforts.

In contrast, a current public authority representative, however, highlighted safety concerns in specific areas surrounding Parco Dora, noting that while some parts of the park are relatively peaceful, others are more affected by criminal activities such as drugrelated incidents and petty theft:

"Some areas, such as Valdocco, have issues with drug activity and petty crime, which are often linked to migration and socio-economic challenges. However, other parts of the area are relatively peaceful" (PA02).

They emphasized that increasing public use of the park by residents and visitors could help mitigate safety concerns, as greater activity reduces opportunities for criminal behavior:

"Increasing the use of the park by residents and visitors helps to create a safer environment. The more people actively use the space, the less opportunity there is for criminal activity" (PA02).

In contrast, the neutral association representative (AS01) avoided discussing safety or crime, framing their perspective around the park's success as a public space and cultural symbol, emphasizing its potential to contribute positively to urban vibrancy.

Another neutral association representative acknowledged the inherent tensions in public spaces like Parco Dora, noting that safety concerns were part of broader urban dynamics:

"Public spaces conflict, and Parco Dora is no exception. There are moments during the year when it can get quite dangerous" (AS02).

They identified the presence of gang-related activities as a contributing factor but emphasized that these issues were structural and reflective of city-wide challenges rather than isolated to the park. Graffiti association representative, whose involvement in the park is centered on street art and graffiti, described the space as inclusive and bustling with activity, noting its vibrant use for various purposes such as graffiti, jogging, basketball, and skating. While they refrained from engaging deeply with safety concerns, they observed that the park is frequently closed for events, disrupting regular access:

"Parco Dora is alive with a lot of activities. People meet there and do things together. It's a social place that brings people together" (AS03).

For the hostel director, safety was a concern tied to the lack of community-oriented facilities and the incomplete nature of the park's transformation. They described a sense of insecurity stemming from the absence of sufficient oversight and amenities, which could deter families from fully utilizing the space:

"The municipality made the decision to transform the area, but it doesn't seem like enough thought was given to safety or creating a welcoming environment for families" (AS04).

They emphasized that the area felt isolated, particularly at night, and that better planning could mitigate these issues.

A local community association representative highlighted safety as a major concern, emphasizing both personal and professional experiences of insecurity. They described Parco Dora as unsafe, especially at night, and noted that their office had been robbed nine times since they started working in the area:

"Driving through the area at night still feels unsafe, and families don't feel comfortable using the park in the evenings. Our office has been broken into nine times, it's clear there's a lack of proper oversight and security in the area" (AS05). They called for targeted interventions similar to those implemented in San Salvario, which successfully addressed similar challenges in the past.

Thr parish priest, similarly described the area as unsafe, pointing to repeated breakins at the parish itself:

"Safety has been a significant issue. For instance, there have been thefts and break-ins, even in the parish itself. They've stolen computers and other equipment multiple times. Families feel unsafe, especially in the evenings" (AS06).

They linked these challenges to the lack of community infrastructure and oversight, emphasizing the need for public investment in safety and infrastructure.

Local community committee representative provided a detailed account of safety issues, highlighting rising crime rates, theft, vandalism, and even cases of femicide in public housing areas surrounding Parco Dora. They attributed these problems to poor management and insufficient community infrastructure:

"Without proper infrastructure, this area struggles with isolation. Residents don't feel safe, especially women and families. The lack of consistent management worsens the situation" (AS07).

They stressed that improving safety required addressing the area's social and physical needs.

Crime and safety were discussed by all actors, with varying levels of detail and emphasis. While broader stakeholders like public authority representative (PA02) and a neutral association representative (AS02) framed safety concerns as systemic urban challenges linked to socio-economic conditions and public space dynamics, more localized actors highlighted the direct and personal impacts of these issues. Local stakeholders, such as a community association representative (AS05) and a parish priest (AS06), shared experiences of repeated robberies in their associations and community spaces, emphasizing that these incidents contribute to a persistent sense of insecurity. The parish priest (AS06) further underscored that crime and safety concerns have driven some residents to leave the area, particularly families who feel unsafe using the park or living in its vicinity. These accounts reveal how crime and safety issues are not only abstract urban challenges but also deeply personal and structural barriers to the park's inclusivity and livability.

7.5.1.5. Economic and Demographic Impacts

Economic and demographic shifts surrounding Parco Dora emerged as a complex theme, with stakeholders offering varied insights into the neighborhood's transformation. Perspectives ranged from nuanced analyses of gentrification and urban renewal to observations of local challenges and disparities.

Former public authority representative regarded the rising property values and demographic changes as a natural consequence of urban renewal, framing gentrification as a phenomenon with both challenges and opportunities. While acknowledging that gentrification can lead to the displacement of lower-income residents due to rising rents and property costs, they emphasized its potential to improve the overall quality of life when managed thoughtfully:

"Gentrification is not inherently detrimental. It can address social issues, enhance infrastructure, and create new opportunities for community growth if approached carefully."

They viewed the transformation of Parco Dora as a potential model for sustainable urban development, provided local communities are adequately supported.

Current public authority representative echoed the recognition of rising property values and demographic shifts, noting that the transformation led to a significant population increase in the area. However, they highlighted the lack of corresponding infrastructure development to support this growth, particularly in terms of essential public services:

"The new residential developments brought a significant population increase, but the area wasn't equipped with adequate public services, such as schools, health facilities, or administrative offices" (PA02).

They further emphasized that housing affordability was only partially addressed through agreements between public entities and private developers, which offered some regulated-price units but left the majority at market rates, exacerbating economic disparities:

"About one-third of the residential developments were sold at regulated prices, but the rest were market-rate, which led to higher overall costs in the area" (PA02).

A neutral association representative recognized the economic challenges tied to housing affordability, particularly during the early phases of Parco Dora's development, when high property prices led to low occupancy rates. However, they avoided critiquing broader systemic inequities, focusing instead on the park's symbolic value for Turin's urban identity.

Another neutral association representative offered a broader perspective, tying the park's development to Turin's fluctuating economic conditions over the years. They observed that the park's phased construction mirrored the city's economic highs and lows: "There were moments in which the city was wealthier and attractive, and others when conditions were poorer. This is visible in the different portions of the park" (AS02).

They highlighted that Parco Dora generated value beyond its immediate surroundings, benefiting the entire city:

"It was bringing such an added value not only for the surroundings but for the entire city in a way" (AS02).

Graffiti association representative, with their focus on artistic and cultural activities, expressed uncertainty about the park's impact on local demographics and the economy. Their limited presence in the area prevented them from providing detailed insights into how the park had influenced the surrounding community:

"I really don't know what people over there perceive, if they feel safer, if it's dangerous, if they're happy. I only see that it's a place where people come for activities and events" (AS03).

hostel director, observing from their position in a local hostel, described the economic changes as unevenly distributed. They noted a lack of infrastructure and services for low-income residents and immigrants, which contrasted sharply with the high-end developments near the park:

"The area around the park feels disconnected, with expensive housing on one side and minimal services for those in social housing on the other. This segregation limits the park's potential as a unifying space" (AS04).

Local community association representative observed significant demographic shifts, including an increase in immigrant populations and families facing economic hardship. They stressed the need for better management to foster harmony among the area's diverse residents: "Diversity is a strength, but it needs proper management and support to create harmony. Right now, the park doesn't fully address the social challenges of its surroundings" (AS05).

They also remarked on rising property prices and the limited economic opportunities available to small businesses in the area.

The parish priest, provided a critical view of the neighborhood's demographic dynamics. They described a significant imbalance between deaths and births in the area: "In this parish, births are far fewer than deaths. Across the three parishes I oversee, we perform around 300 funerals annually, compared to roughly 150 baptisms" (AS06).

This trend reflects a broader demographic decline, both locally and across Turin. The parish priest also emphasized the economic struggles of the local population, noting that the parish supports approximately 200 families, half of whom are immigrants. They described the area as having a "dormitory" dynamic, where residents commute out in the morning and return only in the evening:

"It feels like a dormitory neighborhood. People leave in the morning for work and only return at night. There's little sense of community or centrality" (AS06).

Local community committee representative echoed this sentiment, describing how residents primarily use their homes for sleeping and spend most of their time outside the area:

"People go out in the morning from their parking spaces and come back only at night. There's little interaction between neighbors, and the neighborhood feels disconnected" (AS07).

They also highlighted stark contrasts between housing types, pointing out the economic divide between expensive private developments and public housing units between Northern Neighborhoods and Southern ones "There's a huge difference. Here, let's say, are the richer ones; then there are cooperatives where people bought at better conditions. However, the housing is quite good here. But there's public housing in other parts, and even private developments have failed. In essence, it's not a cohesive neighborhood" (AS07).

The local community committee representative also discussed how the river itself exacerbates the neighborhood's social and spatial divisions, creating a physical barrier that further isolates the northern and southern parts:

"The river, which could have been a unifying element, instead divides the neighborhood even more. The northern side has public housing and fewer amenities, while the southern side has newer, more expensive developments. This division is not just physical but deeply social" (AS07).

This lack of cohesion, they argued, deepened social divides and limited the area's potential as a vibrant community.

AS07 further criticized the dominance of large hypermarkets in the area, which left little room for small businesses to thrive:

"The hypermarkets absorb everything. Local commerce struggles to survive, and the sense of a neighborhood economy has faded" (AS07).

Economic and demographic shifts surrounding Parco Dora were viewed differently across stakeholders, reflecting contrasting perspectives on urban renewal and gentrification. A former public authority representative (PA01) and a neutral association representative (AS02) framed the transformation as a positive contribution, emphasizing the added value the park brings not only to its surroundings but also to Turin as a whole. They saw rising property values and demographic changes as natural outcomes of urban renewal, highlighting the park's potential to enhance the city's image and attract investment. However, other stakeholders, particularly those more closely connected to the local community, viewed these changes through the lens of gentrification. Local actors such as a hostel director (AS04), a local community association representative (AS05), a parish priest (AS06), and a local community committee representative (AS07) highlighted rising property prices, the displacement of lower-income residents, and the uneven distribution of economic benefits. They pointed to stark divisions between high-end developments and public housing, exacerbated by a lack of local services and the river acting as a social and physical barrier. These disparities, coupled with limited infrastructure and economic opportunities for vulnerable groups, reflect the challenges of ensuring equity in the face of urban transformation.

7.4.1.6. Migration and Displacement

While displacement was not explicitly highlighted by all stakeholders interviewed, a parish priest (AS06) and a local community committee representative (AS07), who are deeply rooted in the local context, raised concerns about residents leaving the area. These departures underline the social and infrastructural challenges that persist despite the redevelopment efforts in Parco Dora. Their insights suggest that the neighborhood's transformation has failed to address core issues of safety, cohesion, and livability, resulting in an outmigration trend.

The parish priest observes that safety concerns have been a key factor driving people away from the area. Despite the physical redevelopment of Parco Dora, the neighborhood has struggled to shed its reputation for insecurity:

"Safety has been a significant issue. For instance, there have been thefts and break-ins, even in the parish itself. Residents often feel unsafe, especially in the evenings. Some families have moved away because of these concerns" (AS06).

This sense of insecurity is compounded by the lack of meaningful public investments in facilities that could foster a stronger community. According to the parish priest, the neighborhood remains peripheral and isolated, with minimal infrastructure to connect residents to one another:

"It remains a periphery. Many offices, like the ones at Pier della Francesca, have closed. There's no real sense of community or centrality" (AS06).

The structural and social fragmentation of the area, as noted by local community committee representative, further reinforces this issue. The disparity between wealthier private developments and public housing has created divisions within the community, making the neighborhood feel less inclusive and integrated. This fragmentation has contributed to outmigration, particularly among residents seeking a more cohesive and community-oriented environment:

"Some people are starting to leave because they say, 'I'm leaving because this neighborhood is not livable.' In fact, they've built a neighborhood for a mausoleum, a neighborhood without services, without places for gathering, without a square" (AS07).

Both parish priest and the local community committee representative (AS06 AS07) stress that the physical transformation of Parco Dora, while visually impressive, has not been matched by the necessary social and infrastructural investments. The lack of safety, limited public services, and failure to create spaces for interaction and identitybuilding have left many residents feeling alienated. As he community committee representative notes:

"It's not a neighborhood where people live on the streets. It's a neighborhood where many leave the garage, take their car, go to the garage of Ipercoop, and that's it. Therefore, there are difficulties in aggregation because the municipality did nothing" (AS07).

7.6. Conclusion

The transformation of Parco Dora and the Spina 3 neighborhood tells a multifaceted story of urban redevelopment, marked by significant achievements and ongoing challenges. This chapter has explored these dynamics through historical imagery analysis, media narratives, correspondence from local advocacy groups, and interviews with diverse stakeholders, uncovering both shared themes and contrasting perspectives. The historical imagery from Google Earth and archival sources illustrates the remarkable physical transformation of Parco Dora, showcasing its evolution from an industrial site into an urban green space. However, this analysis also highlights its incomplete integration into the surrounding neighborhoods. Persistent divisions, such as the physical barrier of the Dora Riparia River and the contrasting socio-economic profiles of the northern and southern sections, underscore the difficulty of creating a cohesive and inclusive community.

Media narratives brought attention to recurring issues of safety, crime, and accessibility, but mainly in relation to events and neighborhood dynamics. How-ever, a critical limitation was evident: the lack of representation from diverse and marginalized voices. The arti-cles analyzed largely reflected perspectives from residents, authorities, and event organizers, while overlooking the lived experi-ences of foreign residents, economically disadvantaged groups, and those affected by crime. Including those perspectives would provide a more comprehensive understanding of the socio-economic and systemic factors that shape the neighborhood.

Correspondence from local advocacy associations shed light on long-standing concerns such as environmental risks, insufficient public services, and accessibility challenges. These groups highlighted governance gaps and a need for greater inclusivity while striving to represent collective community needs. Themes like privatization, maintenance, and social cohesion emerged repeatedly, reflecting the ongoing complexities and gradual progress within Turin's urban development framework.

Interviews revealed nuanced perspectives that varied based on stakeholders' proximity to and engagement with the area. External observers often emphasized the symbolic and environmental success of Parco Dora, celebrating it as a landmark of postindustrial urban transformation. Public actors acknowledged both achievements and challenges but tended to focus on cost and infrastructure concerns.

In contrast, voices from within the community painted a different picture, centering on tangible, day-to-day issues such as crime, inadequate maintenance, and socio-economic disparities. Recurrent themes included the stark contrasts in housing quality and accessibility between the northern and southern sections and the divisive impact of the river. These community perspectives highlighted unmet promises of inclusivity, cohesion, and equitable access to public spaces.

In conclusion, the transformation of Parco Dora stands as both a triumph of urban renewal and a reminder of the complexities of fostering inclusivity in large-scale redevelopment projects. While the park has generated significant environmental value, the broader social and economic integration of the neighborhood remains a work in progress. Moving forward, bridging these gaps will require a more inclusive and participatory approach to urban planning, ensuring that symbolic achievements align with the lived realities of all community members.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

8.1. Summary of Research

This thesis explored the role of urban green spaces in shaping the socio-economic and environmental dynamics of cities, with a particular focus on Parco Dora in Turin, Italy. The research aimed to understand how urban greening initiatives, often celebrated for their environmental and social benefits, also contributed to complex and sometimes unintended consequences. Specifically, the study investigated the intersection of green space development, urban transformation, and socio-spatial inequalities, framed through the lens of gentrification and ecocity branding.

The goal of this research was understanding whether the development of Parco Dora, alongside with its related green infrastructure and environmental initiatives, had prioritized ecological concerns or had been driven by other dynamics, such as economic interests and urban competitiveness. This study was placed within the wider theoretical framework of urban greening and its social consequences, particularly with respect to its potential role in reshape neighborhoods and impacting demographic, cultural, and economic trends.

Central to this investigation were the ideas of scholars such as Anguelovski et al. (2019) and Rigolon and Collins (2023), who highlighted the mechanisms through which urban greening served as a catalyst for broader neighborhood transformations. The concept of the "green growth machine," for example, described how public and private investments in green spaces often aligned to enhance the appeal of neighborhoods for affluent residents, thus increasing property values and driving economic revitalization. However these processes were not neutral and had serious socio-economic implications specially for the historically oppressed sections.

This research adopts a mixed-methods approach in order to capture the multifaceted nature of the transformation in Parco Dora. The quantitative analyses were focused on housing trends, demographic changes, and socioeconomic indicators, while qualitative insights gained from stakeholder interviews, media coverage, and municipal correspondence provided further insight into lived experiences and broader narratives of the park. Mixing these methods together set up a comprehensive investigation into the ways in which Parco Dora's redevelopment represented both aspiration and challenge within the frame of urban redevelopment for the rapidly changing city.

The research placed Parco Dora, within these broader debates to examine its role as both a site of environmental innovation and a space where urban policy, market forces, and community needs intersect with each other. In so doing, the study provided a foundation for understanding how urban greening projects balanced ecological objectives with the imperatives to ensure equity and accessibility for all residents.

8.2. Discussion of the Main Research Questions

This thesis investigates the complex interlink between urban green spaces and socioeconomic dynamics, by taking into consideration the case of Parco Dora which addresses the central question:

To What Extent Do Green Spaces Contribute to Green Gentrification in the Area Surrounding Parco Dora, and Does the Development of the Space Emphasize Its Ecological Dimension?

The transformation of Parco Dora, highlights the dual role of urban green spaces: as tools for ecological regeneration and as potential contributors to socio-economic and spatial disparities. This case study demonstrates the complex relationship between green urban renewal and its socioeconomic consequences.

8.2.1. The Promise of Ecological Transformation

The redevelopment of Parco Dora brought significant ecological changes, including the uncovering of the Dora Riparia River (stombatura) and the incorporation of green elements into the park's design. These measures represented an effort to restore natural landscapes to an area historically dominated by industry.

However, over time, Parco Dora's transformation has deviated from its initial objectives. The park, originally envisioned as a green public space, has increasingly become a venue for large-scale events which disrupts its ecological and also social functions. According to correspondence from the Comitato Do-ra Spina Tre, local residents have ex-pressed frustration over the prolonged closures, restoration delays, and the restricted access caused by those events: "This represents the sad end of a significant part of a great park, as we had known it for a few years... Many citizens who moved to Spina 3 for the proximity of a park may have to seek their tranquility elsewhere" (AS07).

"That which should be a green area available to citizens is largely closed for almost 9 months... Someone may think: 'What sense does it make to plant grass in March when it will be destroyed by June?'" (AS07).

Residents' concerns extend beyond the costs of restoration to include the limited time available for repairs between events and the commodification of the park as a solution to funding shortages. While the municipality has indicated some efforts to require event organizers to pay more to cover the costs of restoration, but this measure addresses just only a part of the issue because the residents were concerned about the time required for repairs and the frequent closure of some of the sections of the park, which somehow undermine its intended role as a public green space.

Such developments reflect a tension between Parco Dora's role as a green space for citizens and its growing function as a venue for private events. This commodification compromises its accessibility, ecological benefits, and ability to serve as a unifying community asset.

8.2.2. A Two-Edged Sword

While Parco Dora's transformation has brought ecological and aesthetic improvements, it has also acted as a "two-edged sword." The southern section of Spina 3 initially benefited from the redevelopment, attracting higher-income residents drawn by the prospect of living in a neighborhood with enhanced green spaces and modern urban appeal. This influx brought expectations of improved quality of life and urban services, contributing to dynamics often associated with green gentrification.

Over time, however, the failure of promises of public investment and essential services lead to growing dissatisfaction between residents. On the other hand, the northern section, predominantly characterized by social housing, has increasingly attracted foreign residents, which also caused widening the socio-economic divide within the neighborhood.

This divergence underscores how Parco Dora, rather than unifying the community, has inadvertently highlighted and reinforced disparities. The lack of public amenities, gathering spaces, and community-focused infrastructure has amplified dissatisfaction across the neighborhood, as AS07 noted: "Some people are starting to leave because they say, 'I'm leaving because this neighborhood is not livable.' In fact, they've built a neighborhood for a mausoleum. That's the definition: a neighborhood without services, without places for gathering, without a square" (AS07).

This critique aligns with Marcuse's (1986) concept of exclusionary displace-ment, where in the absence of shared public spaces disrupts socio-spatial relation-ships, causing isolation and alienation. Although physical evictions are not evident, but residents feel disconnected and pressured to leave due to the lack of community cohesion.

Slater's (2009) notion of displacement pressure is also apparent. Residents who remain physically present are faced with deteriorat-ing conditions and unmet expectations, leading to frustration and a gradual ero-sion of communal bonds. This again contextualizes Davidson's (2009) critique of displacement as a disruption of sociospatial relations further contextualizes this phenomenon, empha-sizing that the absence of central gather-ing spaces prevents the possibility of forming a cohesive neighborhood identity.

8.2.3. Crime and Safety Concerns

Crime and safety concerns remain persistent issues in the areas surrounding Parco Dora, particularly in the northern section. While the park has brought ecological improvements, it has failed to address rising crime rates, including violent incidents in public housing areas.

"The public housing areas have seen rising crime rates, including cases of femicide. These issues are partly due to the lack of effective management and support from public authorities" (AS07).

Also lack of social infrastructure and community gathering spaces exacerbates these problems, creating an environment where crime thrives which aligns with Marcuse's(1986) concept of "chains of displacement", that socio-economic neglect indirectly forces residents to leave by deteriorating living conditions.

Art Academy Administrator, also highlighted the pervasive sense of insecurity in the neighborhood:

"Even driving through the area at night can feel unsafe... This creates a feeling of insecurity for everyone working and living in the neighborhood."

The connection between crime and park design further demonstrates its double-edged effect. While it was meant to be an a space for recreation and interaction, inadequate maintenance and the prioritization of events over community needs have made parts of the park inaccessible and, at times, unsafe.

8.2.4. Decentralization and Peripheral Neglect

The protest in December 2024 in Circoscrizione 5 highlighted insufficient funding for basic services across peripheral districts. They symbolically donated toilet paper and garbage bags to community centers, to draw attention to the neglect faced by neighborhoods outside the city center:

"A political issue of city relevance in order to achieve a serious and complete decentralization."

This protest reflects the broader findings discussed in more detail in Chapter 5, on how urban development resources are allocated very unevenly. Initiatives such as Torino Cambia disproportionately focus on central and southern districts, often overlooking the nuanced challenges faced by northern neighborhoods like Spina 3. These areas are frequently perceived as being in better condition due to quantitative analyses that highlight factors such as younger demographics. However, such these metrics fail to capture the depth of socio-economic and infrastructural issues present in these neighborhoods.

8.3. Limitations of the Study

Conducting different interviews and document analysis in an unfamiliar language presented significant challenges for the researcher. So interviews required the assistance of a translator, which may introduce subtle inaccuracies in interpretation process. Furthermore, translating written material independently can lead to unintended errors that potentially impact the depth and accuracy of the insights gathered. Also, the research was challenged by the fact that data was available at different geographic scales and used inconsistent naming conventions. This inconsistency complicated the process of reconciling and analyzing data from different sources, making it difficult to make clear and consistent comparisons across scales. As a solo researcher, managing document translation, coordinating interviews, and data collection within a limited timeframe was challenging. These limitations and challenges also reduced the number of residents and stakeholders who could be directly involved, limiting the breadth of perspectives included in the analysis.

8.4. Recommendations

Analysis of Parco Dora's transformation highlights critical lessons for future urban redevelopment projects. These recommendations focus on mitigating risks, enhancing project efficiency, and ensuring inclusivity and sustainability in urban planning:

8.4.1. Adopt Incremental Approaches to Urban Transformations

Experience of Parco Dora underscores the importance of rethinking how urban

transformations are conceptualized and implemented. Large-scale projects often take a long time to complete, which risks deviations from their initial goals due to emerging crises or changes in priorities. Such delays can leave residents vulnerable to socioeconomic or environmental challenges. Transformations should therefore adopt in a smaller-scale, incremental approaches. By implementing projects in manageable phases and assessing each part before proceeding to the next, and make changes in plans to meet unexpected problems or ensure that the plans are responsive to community needs.

8.4.2. Balance Quantitative Data with Lived Experiences

Urban transformations should not rely solely on quantitative data for planning and assessment. While data may provides valuable insights, but it lacks the depth and nuance of lived experiences and the emotional connections tied to a particular space. Incorporating qualitative input through interviews, focus groups, and community based engagement ensures that plans resonate with the actual needs of residents and address underlying socio-spatial challenges..

8.4.3. Conduct Ongoing Impact Assessments

Projects apparently successful, like Parco Dora often seen as an iconic project needs some ongoing assessments to evaluate their impact that may appear over time. Urban environments are dynamic, so periodic evaluations can help ensure that transformations continue to serve their intended purposes while addressing new challenges. This approach avoids complacency and allows for proactive adjustments.

8.4.4. Support Local Economies

Large-scale urban transformations can disrupt local economies, as highlighted by AS07 in the context of Parco Dora. The proliferation of big shopping centers often absorbs the local market, leaving small businesses struggling to compete. Future redevelopment projects should prioritize measures to protect and strengthen local businesses, such as providing incentives for small-scale enterprises, creating dedicated spaces for local vendors, and ensuring balanced urban planning that integrates local economic needs.

8.4.5. Prioritize Community Resilience

Long-term transformations should prioritize community resilience. Interim housing, community services, and temporary community spaces support the mitigation of disruptions over an extended period; otherwise, social fragmentation or resident displacement might occur due to prolonged projects and undermine the purpose of urban renewal. These measures also maintain the social bonds and economic activities at the community level.

8.4.6. Bridging the Gap Between Public Actors and Local Communities

Governance structures need to be adaptive. Bridging the Gap Between Public Actors and Local Communities.

The issue of maintenance in Parco Dora highlights a broader disconnect between public actors and local communities. Although both groups acknowledge the existing challenges, a lack of effective com-munication and collaboration often exacerbates tensions. This disconnect is par-ticularly evident when local community complains about issues like delayed maintenance or the commodification of the park through events. These issues often lead local actors to seek out direct contact with public authorities to address these concerns, but the lack of clear channels of communication or any intermediary organizations that could bridge this gap, commonly results in frustration. The residents may not fully understand the rationale behind certain decisions such as how resource distributed or events prioritization because these are not adequately and well communicated. Similarly, public actors might lack a clear understanding of residents' lived experiences and their concerns, thus leading to a breakdown in mutual trust.

While some mediator associations exist, their often fail functionality of fostering meaningful connections between the public and the local communities. For Turin to become a truly inclusive city, these associations should strengthen their ties to the local context. It is not just about informing the residents of municipal plans and constraints but also about listening actively to resident feedback and advocat-ing for their needs and requests.

As mentioned, "the city is for people," and for it to function effectively, residents must feel included in the process of decisionmaking. Explaining the realities of urban challenges is not enough; it is equally critical to incorporate residents' perspectives into solutions. Such reciprocal en-gagement would not only reduce tensions but also foster a sense of ownership and belonging among local communities.

So building such connections requires a shift in approach. The mediator organizations need to serve as genuine platforms for dia-logue, ensuring that public policies and programs are transparent, understandable, and aligned with community priorities and needs. By creating spaces for meaningful interaction and collaboration, Turin can move closer to achieving its aim of an inclusive and participatory urban environment.

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