

Mutating City: Designing Events as a Matter of Social Innovation

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ABSTRACT

Contemporary European cities have become so large and complex that is extremely difficult, especially in times of economic crisis, to set up for them a top-down type of project. Cities can respond in a more efficient way to the inevitable ongoing change by continuously mutating, through a process of collective awareness about their real-time status. This condition can be achieved through a plethora of bottom-up, shared actions that are codesigned and implemented, and belong to a process that encompasses what is transient and temporary, what is ad-hoc and what relates to the digital sphere. Faced with this challenging premise, design comes into play and, by operating on services, events and analogical and digital communications, it can operate as a discipline that can mediate between continuous urban mutation and the need to govern it through an appropriate shape. In this article, the authors focus on the role of design within the processes of mutation that are occurring within several urban areas in Italy, where a culture of design is prevailing over grand projects of modern-day "urban mysticism". This study will closely examine the type of events that form a process rather than its possible product. As such, they can adapt easily to a logic of continuous mutation that is feather-light, sustainable and engenders participation, both when design is their pretext (such as in the design weeks) and when design is the instrument to give events substance and a tangible form.

Keywords: Mutating city, Design-driven innovation, Urban events, Social innovation

Living in space and creating space can go hand in hand (Ratti & Caludel, 2016)

1. CITY MUTATION AND CRISIS IN "URBAN-MYSTICISM"

"Urban-mysticism" has taken the upper hand within the large-scale government-driven urban projects of the past three decades (Salingaros, 2009; Pizzigoni, 2011, 2017; La Cecla, 2004, 2015; Lauricella, 2015; De Matteis, 2018). Barcelona was the first European city to have felt this invasive treatment for radical re-purposing in the lead up to the 1992 Olympics. In just a few years, the town was transmuted from a coastal harbour and merchant port into a tourist and service-focused city. After Barcelona came Genoa, Valencia, Bilbao and others. This drive and promise altered many European cities, helping them to flourish after the long

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decline of advanced de-industrialisation (Ciaffi & Mela, 2011). Many old and abandoned industrial areas still exist, but less money and, above all, fewer buyers and occupiers are on hand for these immense quarters that were turned into tertiary districts by the *archistars* that were around at that time. "Urban-mysticism" meant re-designing infrastructures, creating show-piece open spaces, unique "branded" skylines, whimsical forms and using - frequently interactive - curtain wall systems as gigantic video screens. This model found favour as long as the real or beefed up demand for new luxury business and domestic properties was proffered as the ideal objective to pursue (Palazzo, 2008; Palazzo & Steiner, 2011). From 2007 onwards, the crisis engendered by real-estate speculation in the United States and Europe reigned in this approach. The utterly ambitious plans devised up to then were completed with great economic effort and long delays. Cities now have to contend with large newly built and half-empty properties, an allegory of the opulent sur-modernity of the early 1990s, as well as having to resolve all sorts of daily issues, with very few economic resources and just as few enlightened administrators.

More or less all the cities that went through a grand urban re-design process followed the same, one and only, urban model, becoming cities of commerce and services, cathedrals to market trade, where nobody produces anything any longer, but everyone revels in a daily routine of ubiquitous digital work and 24/7 compulsive shopping. The manufacturing element has gone, as has that of social housing, the human, interpersonal and civic dimension has nearly been erased from city districts, cars have disappeared and are buried underground or sheltered in gigantic towers, and planned urban parks have costs for their execution and, above all, maintenance that are unsustainable. Landscaping has painstakingly avoided any personal initiative, like in the case of an architect referred to by Adolf Loos in his *Ornament and Crime*, where even the customer's slippers were chosen beforehand to ensure they matched. This was a time of great events and the Olympics, social fora, Columbus celebrations, Millennium Feasts were all mere pretexts to work on cities from the top down and to trademark them.

In parallel with this dominant process, other cities, such as Berlin, Munich, Copenhagen, Zurich, Amsterdam, Milan (up until 2010), Bologna, Florence and so on, gradually found the necessary political space and focus, as well as the required resources and projects, to implement a mix of ongoing small and medium-sized city events of sustainable size and duration. The local citizens were highly involved, meaning that these events could act as a process of constant regenerative vitality within the overall city system. Design was the de facto protagonist of this process, and it is not by chance that the cities most able to exploit

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this process are, today, seen as the European capitals of Design or Creative Cultural Industries. An urban setting will never cling easily to the designers' shirt-tails, yet, because of the small ad-hoc transformations linked to a particular event, designers know how to propose a strategy of transformation that is both gentle and effective and where its greatest strength lies in its "continuity". Strong, sporadic projects have been replaced by regular, lowkey projects, which are transient but visible, sustainable and co-designed.

2. HISTORICAL TRACES OF A LATENT AND CONTINUOUS MUTATION

In February 1996, writing for the Italian magazine *Casabella*, the architectural historian Richard Ingersoll introduced the phenomenon of "The Internationale of the Tourist" (*L'Internazionale del Turista*), questioning the part played by global tourism. While not disparaging the service economy per se in any way, he anticipated the cultural and social risks of progressively transforming European cities into "postcard cities" (Ingersoll, 2004). This debate occurred in the mid-1990s, in a decade that profoundly modified the relationship between uniformity and individuality within urban change. In those years, the metaphor of architecture as machine within the city, which ran throughout the historiography of the Modern Movement, was in part replaced by the metaphor of architecture as an esthetic and media event, mainstreaming the idea of "architourism" (Ockman, 2005) and "architainment" (Fernández-Galiano, 2005).

The legitimating letterheads of "archistars" - in the definition proposed by Gabriella Lo Ricco and Silvia Micheli (2003) - were incorporated into the economic strategies for cities and metropolis with their progressive transition towards outsourcing. The circumstances surrounding the city of Bilbao were emblematic of a globally perceived situation. In 1993, seven years after Spain had joined the European Union, it embarked upon a radical transformation from a manufacturing centre to a city of service industries and culture. The Swiss photographer Roger Wehrli (2017) has recently documented the revolutionary impact of this project, which has since become a model for many former industrial centres throughout Europe. Celebrated architects such as Santiago Calatrava and Norman Foster were commissioned to design public buildings that were to be icons of the reinvented city. The stand-out piece was, however, the Guggenheim Museum, designed by the American architect Frank O' Ghery. Inaugurated in 1997, it embodies the logic of the architectural star system and the growing importance of museums within local policies and marketing operations. According to *The Economist* (2014), "Visitors' spending in Bilbao in the first three years after the museum opened raised over €100m (\$110m) in taxes for the regional government, enough to recoup the construction costs and leave something over". Moreover,

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in 2014, "more than 1m people visited the museum, at least half of them from abroad. This was the third-highest number ever". Valorizing the idea of culture-led urban regeneration, cities were engaged in a competitive race to reinvent their destinies with architecture (Alaily-Mattar *et al.*, 2017). The new cathedrals of culture and flagship star architectural projects (Freidenheim, 2010) apparently gave form to the prophetic vision expressed by Guy Debord (1967), playing a role at the intersection of education, consumption and spectacle.

Architecture became an event in its own right, regardless of bottom-up financing on the occasion of specific events. Needless to say, Grand Events, such as Expos, universal fairs and Olympic Games, have historically always acted - positively and negatively - as catalysts of change and key instruments of urban policy (Essex & Chakley, 2010), from London, Paris and Chicago in the 19th and 20th centuries, to Barcelona in 1992 - an oft-quoted example - and, more recently, Milan in 2015 and Rio de Janeiro in 2017.

The rhetoric of the "Bilbao effect" was replicated in global cities such as London, New York, Abu Dhabi, Paris and Tokyo (Ponzini & Nastasi, 2011), growing in parallel with a progressive recognition of the urban sprawl phenomenon, that emerged in the 1990s attracting the attention of academics, town planners, sociologists, economists, geographers, architects and tourism studies. Within such a heterogeneous panorama of definitions, there was a clearlyfelt common need for new analytic instruments for the methodologies and processes of urban research (Fassino, 2006). In those years, the crisis of city central spaces monopolised by the dynamics of the real estate sector, on one side, and the anonymous urban sprawl, on the other, animated the debate on urban transformation with the identification of its social, anthropological, economical traits (Augé, 1992; Sassen, 1994, 2006; Ghirardo, 1996; Boeri, 2003).

In the meanwhile, the signs of vitalities in the use of urban spaces were beginning to be recognised and studied, elevating the category of temporariness into a transformative factor (Haydn & Temel, 2006; Bishop & Williams, 2012; Reale *et al.*, 2016).

In reality of course the city is four dimensional, and one needs to acknowledge the influence of time in planning and design strategies. Similarly, there has been relatively little analysis of the importance of interim, short-term or 'meanwhile' activities in urban areas. In an era of increasing pressure on scarce resources, we cannot wait for long-term solutions to vacancy or dereliction. Instead, we need to view temporary uses as increasingly legitimate and important in their own right. They can be a powerful tool through which we can drip-feed initiatives for incremental change - as and when we have the resources - while being guided by a loose-fit vision. (Bishop & Williams, 2012)

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These researches have often looked back to the Situationist International (SI) and the creative performance, experiments, activities of the 1960s, which flourished worldwide within the social contestation of that time and linked the emergence of new collective and sustainable awareness:

question[ing] existing urban conditions as did the Situationists. 'Soyez réalistes, demandez l'impossible!' Their wish to open the Paris metro stations at nights for events, inspired the London based 'Space Hijackers' to have a party on a tube train on the Circle Line – but only tunnels, an not for long, before the transport police arrived to turn it off. (Clarke, 2007, 90).

In the Italian context, it recalls to Riccardo Dalisi's project on Quartiere Traiano in Napoli (1971-1975); the urban experiments by Ugo La Pietra; Paolo Soleri's vision of the city materialized in the American desert (1970); the laboratories by Renzo Piano in Otranto (1979), to give some examples.

The last fifteen years have been riddled by a series of short-term, bottom up, collective, citizen-centred and design-driven initiatives to gradually re-appropriate and re-designate urban spaces. It is difficult to give an overarching picture of the contemporary phenomenon, but it can be summarised through its constant elements. Participation is one. Projects such as the German based "Urban Catalyst" (2013) demonstrates that small events can actively charge places with meaning and bring communities closer together by stimulating social networks and knowledge, which in turn may ultimately create a different urban practice. Furthermore, the re-use of inactive spaces of the city is another recurring element (Robiglio, 2017). The concepts of "parasite" effect (Marini, 2008), "re-cycle", "informal", "stratified", "transition", "not-authorial" (Ciorra & Marini, 2011), "flexibility" (Bergevoet *et al.*, 2016), appear repeatedly in the main narratives on this topic. On the other side, temporariness is becoming a social constrains in a cosmopolitan vision of citizenship, overcoming the idea of spaces for "emergency" and "provisional" use inherited from the great tragedies of the 20th century, and moving towards the concept of "passages" (Apel-Muller, 2018).

Services and events, and their intimate relationship with public spaces, thus, can play a social role in helping cities not to alienate their citizenship. They can be a generative factor for urban transformation. Quoting Bruno Zevi's speech at the 2000 Congress of Engineers and Architects (Congresso In/arch), Massimo Locci (2017) describes his

Prophecy of a space determined by the event, outside the box, immaterial, capable of projecting itself into the new millennium in a political, social, philosophical, artistic, architectural and human key. A space no longer contained in a casing without thickness but free of any envelope. It is a dream and a goal.

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3. HOW EVENTS PLAY OUT IN THE FUTURE CITY

Since the Renaissance, the great events in a city's history have been the occasion for artists, men and women of letters and rulers to depict the city (Baxandall, 2001), describe it and govern it, each according to their own sphere. The foundation of all this human activity lies in its two-fold capacity for projection, that is, of being able to translate reality synthetically into a particular language – which can be artistic or literary, the language of performance or letters, or even of another type altogether – as well as knowing how to invent and stage imaginary futures. Design, in its role as the enabler and mediator of knowledge, is both the basis and the process of planning visions that anticipate the future, new identities, cities, territories, and it gathers up and identifies the feeble signals of a future that can already be found in the present (Formia, 2017).

As well as its founding element (Heidegger, 2017), an event contains within itself other properties that are equally important for its very existence: temporality, experimentation and the dual relationship between content and container. Temporality is an essential but immaterial element. It provides the means to identify a moment on the timeline of existence when the ordinary is suspended and so contain the infinite flow of time within a defined limit, a flash when something happens, which the brain can contain, elaborate and put into a historical context. Furthermore, temporality in its material dimension by necessity sets physical boundaries and refers to a space that can be measured, is visible and so can be described. Revolutions, wars, coronations, carnivals, religious festivities, universal exhibitions, as well as the festivals and reviews of modern times, in their guise of grand temporary events, have always provided the occasion for combining and channelling creativity, project-making, production and the enjoyment of these into a given place and a precise time, introducing new practices and innovative tools. In reality, because an event is in itself experimental, a property granted by its very transience - another of its features - this means that it is potentially possible to err, produce different prototypes and put them into action, so that the culture of project-based knowledge can meet the "limiting" culture of human doing (Landry, 2006).

Today, the limits to our scientific knowledge on epistemological thought in comparison with what nature can offer are placed alongside the debate on the limits to human knowledge compared to the supremacy of artificial intelligence and its infinite potential of using algorithms to acquire new concepts. Our limited and fully human ability to learn and our imperfect capacity to translate symbolic artefacts into knowledge are compensated by our creativity and capacity for design, perceived as tools of continuous exploration in the search

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for temporary solution, of a small grain, unexpected and shared (Bianchetti, 2014). And the same hiatus is present in the relationship established between the content that is channelled by an event and the receptacle that contains it, being this a town square, a palace courtyard, a theatre stage or a disused factory.

Any event, such as the accidental meeting and interaction between people and places, by its very nature transforms these places, it is experimental in its capacity to test new technical and/or technological discoveries, it is a performance as it attracts spectators and participants, it generates fresh relationships and it is the means to enable social innovation.

4. HOW DESIGN SHAPES THE MUTATING CITY

Up to about twenty years ago, traditionally cities were described only through well-tested material and contextual values - such as its wealth, its manufacturing sectors and industries and its infrastructural networks - without considering its material values embodied in the many cultures that best express a location's identity and determine its economic value, as well as its standing as a place to live in and the "humanity" of its inhabitants (La Cecla, 2015). Containers are objects endorsed in literature on the post-modern city (Portoghesi, 1980), where the archistars have imagined and built skyscrapers and totems to their egos. From the emergence of the digital city at the end of last century to the networks of the second millennium and the plight of the modern city after the collapse of global techniques, the recurring topic was and remains that of distinguishing and planning new policies and practice-based tool kits that can return contemporary cities to places inhabited by their people, places that are conceived as a place where it is possible to express creativity and design commitment and truly lived in and experienced (Florida, 2002; Landry, 2008; Pon, 2015). Within the framework of the structural mutation of the past two decades, physical spaces are increasingly populated by digital networks that enable them to be connected, monitored and on view even when the viewers are not there. Within such a representation, reality blends and multiplies, influencing the relationships that blur the boundaries between reality and imagination. Paradoxically, "smart" cities, connected through internet and monitored by technology, are transformed into containers that are independent from their inhabitants, and have been flattened by the "cannibalistic" processes of globalisation. In cities shaped by immigration and gentrification, the authorities are progressively coming up against the need to draw city dwellers into taking on an active role in re-designing their city. Inhabitants are encouraged to participate in processes that make their city more attractive, founded on the synergy between public and private institutions and associations, and recognising the value of the cultural heritage that is embedded in every territory (European

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Council, 2005¹). This call is starting to translate into designing small grain temporary actions that see the active involvement of city users in specific spaces and places. This social design process will gradually become the testing bench and the stage on which to try out new meeting points between the inhabitants' creativity, the enabling factors fielded by the authorities and the city containers, bringing into play new models of participation and new uses for the city (Evers *et al.*, 2014).

The way in which the effects of these research-action events are communicated has become an integral part of these very events. Communication of this kind is also the consequence of the strategies to design services applied to the city. The outcome of participation and the tenders won by consortia of institutional bodies is one facet, and the other is the outcome of the initiatives promoted by private bodies, foundations and associations overall.

In both cases, communication is user-centred, and its purpose is to induce sense of belonging, of being cared about, of social well-being and of participating in the common good that is a city. Over the past twenty years, this concept has gradually become more abstract, virtual and elusive because of its ever-mutating identity.

These needs are emerging with greater force in active "post-global" institutions and inhabitants and we must attempt to launch challenges before giving answers. The design of temporary events, the way that the social involvement of city users is measured and their storytelling can be used to channel these values and help in transforming cities across the world (Ratti, 2016). The research projects carried out by Senseable City Lab of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology provide an umbrella illustration of this point. One of these, Friendly Cities, reveals how people use and share urban spaces, using geo-referencing data on smartphones about the flow of city users and the representation in maps. The peaks in concentration for social interaction during workdays and at weekends were configured to evaluate how likely it is that people will meet someone they already know or meet new people in Singapore, the metropolis of reference. Without doubt, great metropoles were chosen as big laboratory for their capacity to attract and concentrate spontaneous, bottomup sets of practices, and so analyse the fact that, although people can connect in an infinite number of ways through devices and social media, they still find that cities' physical spaces are the ideal place for social interaction. This research project provides a good example of how it is essential that people meet in physical spaces not merely for urban projects, but also as an indicator of the well-being of people and society.

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5. A SPOTLIGHT ON THE CONTEMPORARY ITALIAN CITIES

In the first European report on cultural and creative cities (Montalto et al., 2017), cultural and creative cities are monitored by examining a series of measures that describe a city's "cultural vitality", its "creative economy" and its "favourable environment". Of the selected 168 cities in 30 European countries, Milan, Florence and Bologna are high on the list in categories XXL (cities with more than one million inhabitants) and L (cities with between 250,000 and 500,000 inhabitants) for their ability to catalyse creativity and tourism. These data are also confirmed in the report ICity Rate 2018 (ForumPA [FPA], 2018), which publishes its annual ranking of Italy's smartest cities to examine how conductive these cities are to living well in and their level of sustainable development. Milan, Bologna and Florence are again on the podium (among the 106 main cities analysed), with peaks of excellence in the urban system of Emilia-Romagna. In our research methodology, their culture and tourism system is one of the various facets analysed, and this in turn is translated into how capable temporary events are in terms of attracting the public, creating networking events and drawing international players and public. The format launched in the Milan Design Week is a crowning example; it has it place in history and is replicated in many world capitals. The Milan Design Week (at that time called Designers' Week) was launched in September 1989, spreading across a series of fashion and design showrooms, with events organised within sales points. The format first found success with the "Fuorisalone" brand, in the following decade at the threshold of the year 2000 in the uber cool design district of Zona Tortona in Milan. Temporary events were held in large industrial warehouses that became exhibition venues in a project originally curated by Gilda Bojardi, Giulio Cappellini and Luca Fois. This dynamic centre became home few years later of many innovative business venues, among which were the photography space Superstudio 13 and its new offshoot Superstudio Più, the lecture rooms, dance and workshop spaces of the Università dell'Immagine UI (University of the Image), the training school of the Fondazione Industria and brain child of Fabrizio Ferri, the Magna Pars hotel in a former perfume factory, the Nhow hotel in the old General Electric factory and the Mudec - Museum of Cultures in the old Ansaldo factory. Year after year, the project is expanding to include the new buildings, hotels and courtyards of Via Savona. The monthly magazine Interni, run by Gilda Bojardi, was and still is Zona Tortona's media partner in the organisation of the project, as well as the means to spread its message and bring together so many leading figures and events. With the arrival of the new millennium, research on Milan Design System and on Italian Design System (Politecnico di Milano, 1999) has created a new role of industrial design for product innovation, co-financed by the Ministry for Universities and the Scientific and Technological Research of Politecnico di Milano,

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coordinated by Prof. Ezio Manzini and under the scientific direction of Prof. Alberto Seassaro. This is the first attempt to document the features of Italian design, the fact that it is systemwide, the place it plays in the manufacturing and production system and its dynamics of evolution. Milan is championed as the capital of design, in part because of the impact of one large-scale event, the Milan Design Week. The showcasing of a map of all the professional skills, the practices embedded within the production processes spread across the territory and the acknowledgment that they are an integral and indispensable part of Italian doing and knowing can be combined together into a set of features. Together, they launched and sanctioned a process of nation-wide analysis and research into new methods to spread information about the complex system of designing relationships that bond creative minds and designers to the system of production and city systems.

Examples can be found in the newly created national associations that underpin and promote design, Made-in-Italy clusters and the regional off shoots that, in Emilia-Romagna, focus on the emerging phenomenon of Cultural and Creative Industries. The objective in this case is to develop strategies for growth coordinated through the knowledge about projects found within these industries (Vai, 2017).

Apart from the acclaimed Fashion Week and the Milan Design Week (that in the 2018 edition counted 400,000 admission, with 1,371 events uploaded on the site and 922 active locations), launched and initially supported by a network of companies, and the network Pitti Immagine in Florence – which promotes fashion excellences through dedicated fairs (born in 1972, Pitti Uomo 2018 in 4 days has counted 25,000 buyers and 36,000 total admissions), of yarns, of food (Pitti Taste 2017 has attracted 15,800 visitors, over three days, of which 5,300 buyers and sector operators from 50 countries around the world) and fragrances – events in Italy, unless they are company-driven, are still not promoted sufficiently outside the country. They have, however, helped to entice an international audience over the past ten years, and have built relationships between public and private entities, with high impact in terms of social innovation, and so have enhanced the skills and vocations that identify a territory.

An example is the European Photography Festival of Reggio Emilia. Every year, it has been scattering the choicest output of international photography in cloisters, churches, galleries, private apartments and museums. As a consequence of the Festival, with its exhibitions, meetings and performances, the general public (57,832 visitors in the 13th edition of 2018) has also become more interested in the less known Italian photographers. It has also found synergy with Foto/Industria, a biennial event of photography on industry and work edited

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by former director of photography festival Rencontres d'Arles, François Hébel, and promoted by MAST (Manufacture of Arts, Experimentation and Technology), a private Bologna-based foundation. Another case is the Bologna Design Week (45,000 visitors in 2019), which promotes design in Emilia-Romagna and is organised by the web and communication agency Youtool in the old centre of Bologna in partnership with Cersaie, the international exhibition of ceramic tile and bathroom furnishings. This event maps and assembles the best the region offers in terms of culture, education, creativity, production and distribution, within a promotional project of co-design and participatory design. Another illustration is Open Design Italia, which imported the Berlin model to Italy in 2010 for travel trade fairs that showcase limited edition design products, driving this sector of emerging design, after the years of crisis.

While since 4 years, in an abandoned tuff quarry of 2,500 square meters in Mazara del Vallo, the Periferica Festival collects the best proposals in the field of architecture, design and communication to reactivate disused areas in Sicily. This is the origin of Factory of culture, a place in which new forms of urban regeneration are experimented through participatory paths that bring together associations, universities and businesses, a temporary project promoted by Favara's Farm Cultural Park, which is just over 100 kilometers to the south.

To confirm the fact that the temporary event is highly topical in its ability to engender new social relationships, the Philosophy Festival brings together more than 90,000 people in the town squares of Modena, Carpi and Sassuolo over three days, reviving the model of teaching philosophy outside academic lecture rooms, to finally discover that city spaces, the actual agora, are the ideal places for processes of innovation, including in the social sphere.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The European Union has set out the direction in which it wishes cities to develop. This framework includes a number of actions and events that are linked to the processes of social and cultural innovation and inclusion guided by design, which come into effect through practices that work on both content and containers (Montaldo *et al.*, 2017). These useful and exemplary indicators can help to raise the level of employment and the quality of well-being in cities.

Despite the continuous transformation of cities through enabling technology - in order to achieve the objectives set out in the European Digital Strategy for inclusive, intelligent and sustainable growth - there is a further and ever more central aspect. In this context, content enables the relationships between citizenship and physical space, seen as the means of

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promoting social interaction. This is an important aspect and is even more challenging because is escapes from the position of merely measuring the data produced by individual city users.

All the cases we have referred to have a double matrix in common. Design is the occasion for celebrating an event organized around it and these events are implemented by applying design-driven and design-oriented processes and practice. Design cultures seem to be themself a subject matter in the relationship between city inhabitants and the methodology used to modify the city in a continuous manner, through enabling technology and opening potential expressive forms that can be both individual and/or collective.

Even more frequently, the contemporary designer can help to regenerate and revitalize urban settings. This can be the design of processes, of communication, of interaction and of services. Equally numerous are the academic programs that are opening up to these disciplines, creating in practice an area that closes the anomalous divide that took place in the 1990s in Europe between architectural practices, urban projects and design.

The temporal, sustainable and participatory facets of design, its co-design and recyclable elements, its collective component, the fact that it can be replicated, scaled up and down and is enabled through technology are all key words that guide the action of designers in the contemporary city.

The top-down, media-dependent project of "urban-mysticism" of the early 2000s is joined and sometimes replaced - by a care for the city, seen as a living organism that needs constant attention and vitality. These can be achieved through a set of wide-spread and detailed projects that are both temporary and convertible and recall a mutation rather than a radical change.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This article is the result the authors' mutual deliberation. If for academic reasons individual responsibility must be attributed, Flaviano Celaschi wrote the section entitled City Mutation and Crisis in "Urban-mysticism", Elena Formia wrote the section Historical Traces of a Latent and Continuous Mutation, and Elena Vai wrote the sections How Events Play Out in the Future City, How Design Shapes the Mutating City and A Spotlight on the Contemporary Italian Cities.

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ENDNOTES

¹A low active since 2011 and signed in 2013 by Italy together with 21 other countries

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