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ID 1714 | ENABLING YOUTH GEOGRAPHIES IN THE DIGITAL SMART CITY. AN ACTION-RESEARCH APPROACH

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1 INTRODUCTION

Some categories of citizens are excluded by most decisions about how to manage, transform and use urban space. Among these weak categories of citizens there are teenagers, who are the object of many specific urban policies, even if they are rarely involved as active subjects of the policy making process.

The understanding of the real urban geographies, through bottom-up perspectives, and the engagement of citizens, with participatory policy-making, are central in the smart cities narratives, often associated to the use of ICT technologies.

There is often a gap between the city for teenagers – formally planned and ruled by adults – and the city of teenagers, which is actually lived, transformed, occupied and represented by young people. Can the use of ICT fill this gap of knowledge to support participatory policymaking?

This contribution presents the methodologies and the results of an action-research project called Teencarto, carried out by the University of Turin and the City Council. The project involved more than 600 teenagers from 16 schools, in a massive process of community mapping aiming at producing a representation of their urban geography.

The mapping process has been based on First Life, a map-based social network, which aims at reconnecting digital and real spaces, using cartographic representations and crowdsourcing. The specific relational perspective allowed by the social networking functionalities of the application, specifically redesigned for this project on user-centered principles, favors a real shared representation of urban space.

2 TEENAGERS AND URBAN SPACES

Does something like a “teen geography” exist?

As it is known, the existence of adolescence or teenage, as the transition between childhood and adulthood, is a cultural construction, characterized historically and geographically (Aries, 1968; Levi, Schmitt 1994; Savage, 2009; Lesko, Talburt, 2011; Furlong, 2013; Cieslik, Simpson 2013; Kamp, Kelly 2014).

In this context, teenagers are acknowledged as a specific social group, characterized by psychological and behavioural specificities and playing a specific role in society (Avanzini, 2012).

Among the reasons for the "invention of adolescence" in Western society (Savage, 2009), we can identify historical factors, such as the abolishment of child labor and the extension of compulsory education; cultural factors, with the social acceptance of the increased length of the period of dependence of

teenagers by their parents (Berrini and Cambiaso, 1995); economic and market factors, in particular through the identification of teenagers as a consumer group particularly sensitive to marketing (Brooks, 2003).

Of course, despite some common traits, hardly teenagers can be treated as a unitary world, even within the cultures of the most economically advanced countries.The multiplicity of microcultures among teenagers is indeed one of the central themes of the sociological and cultural hub of studies on youth (Skelton and Valentine, 1998; Bennett, Kahn Harris 2004; Hodkinson, Deicke 2007; Istituto Giuseppe Toniolo 2014, 2016; The Subcultures Network 2014; Genova 2015; Blackman, Kempson 2016).

Adolescence is also associated with a specific spatial behavior, partly related to the affirmation of power relations, which define what are the acceptable spatial behaviors of different age groups (Massey 1998; Holloway, Valentine 2000; Holt 2011). The literature suggests though that the sociocultural and psychological characteristics of teenagers are actually translated into specific modes of attendance, use and perception of urban spaces, which form the basis of teen geography, distinct from the general youth geography (Weller, 2006).

Matthews et al (1997) have proposed a useful systematization of some characteristics of the micro-geographies of adolescents, according to which the spatiality of teenagers would be characterized by elements such as the need to create physical spaces of independence and exercise their recently gained and still limited autonomy; spaces in which each juvenile microculture can perform its peculiarities and is recognized through the creation of exclusive territoriality; ordinary and apparently marginal spaces, which are given value as part of everyday geographies.

Lieberg (1995) identified two main typologies of places in the teenager geography: a) “places of retreat” (e.g. backyards, basements, parking lots, etc.), where they can stay away from the adult gaze, which is always present at home an in “institutional” places and b) “places of interaction”, where they can perform their public character, seeing their peers and being seen by them (e.g. main streets, shopping malls, etc.).

The places of the individual and collective geographies of teenagers in the city, though, are planned and managed by adults, which perform their power of parents, educators, city planners, private players. The public space is an adult space (Collins and Kearns 2001), in which adults reproduce its authority in a hegemonic way and in which adolescents perform some sort of negotiation, or even resistance (Hil and Besant, 1999), eventually bringing to a separation between the city for teenagers - which is planned and thought for them - and the city of teenagers, which is actually used, performed and represented by adolescents.

A typical trait of the teenage relationship with space is the limited capacity that they have to formally intervene in transformations, since they are seldom involved in decision-making processes and lack the legal power to own and manage private property, thus becoming frequenters and producers of "landscapes of powerlessness" (ibid.), which can change without them having the power to intervene, following the action of adults or other groups of peers who can exercise more power.

If streets and outdoor public spaces were the typical space of action and interaction of teenagers in urban areas (Cahill, 2000), the progressive privatization of the public space in the contemporary neoliberal city and the emergence of public uses of private spaces (Mitchell, 1995; Ewins, 2002; Bottini, 2010; Nemeth and Schmidt, 2011) contributed to a growth of control of behaviors in urban spaces and to a “moral panic” toward some groups of people, among which teenagers (notably if non-white and male) (Evans, 2008). As a consequence of the progressively bigger control on behaviors in public spaces, of families’ increased perception of unsafety in urban streets and of commercial strategies of private actors, teenagers lost the habit to hangout and spend time in squares, parking lots and streets and more and more often moved to clearly stated private spaces that they use as public ones, typically shopping malls (Anthony, 1985; Matthews et al, 2000), not only in North American, British or Australian cities, where this trend firstly emerged, but also in Italy (Lazzari e Quarantino, 2010).

Even if some researches, showed the still existing importance of material meeting places in the daily geography of adolescents (Martino et al, 2015), the pervasive diffusion of personal digital technologies contribute to change the approach of youth with urban space.

The ability to decide in real time where to meet, with a phone call or message, has changed the way the meeting places traditional had for teenagers. Moreover, chat and social networks represent virtual meeting places unknown to those who were only teenagers a decade ago and that partly took the place of the “hanging around” places that characterize teen geographies (Vanderstede, 2011).

The research presented in this contribution aimed to explore teenagers’ geography in physical space starting from the creation of a virtual space, through a process of community participatory mapping, based on the idea of Volunteered Geographical Information (VGI), presented in the next paragraph.

3 PARTICIPATORY PRODUCTION OF GEOGRAPHIC KNOWLEDGE

In 2007, Michael Goodchild introduced the term Voluntereed Geographic Information (VGI), categorizing those geographic information systems through which information is collected directly by users (considered as human sensors) on a voluntary basis.

Since then, the term VGI has become representative of a phenomenon that is spreading more and more in the world of geoICT, particularly on the web, fully responding to the web 2.0 paradigm where interactivity plays a key role in the development choices of computer platforms. The willingness and the ability to enter geographic information by users entails different challenges and raises new research questions that require an increasingly interdisciplinary approach (Capineri, 2016)

The spread of systems for crowd mapping led to the emergence of a new figure, the neo-geographer (Haklay, 2013). The collection and dissemination of geographic information through contemporary cartography changes to the extent that the cartographer, in the age of geoWeb 2.0, no longer has to be "expert" in the construction of a digital card, but to be engaged in interacting with more and more user friendly platforms .

This passage, considered by Critical Cartography (Crampton et al 2005, Casti 2013), takes on the connotations of a substantial transformation of the very meaning of the maps, which become the result of a collective gathering of information.

The awareness of the added value that the involvement of citizens, who do not necessarily have mapping skills, can guarantee the processes of analysis and representation of territories and geo-referencing processes dates back to well before the advent of the contemporary digital mapping revolution, which is based on concepts like neogeography, crowdmapping and volunteered geographic information.

Although some methodologies have already been experimented with experiences such as the mental maps proposed by Kevin Lynch (2006; 1960) or the English Parish Maps, the first participatory mapping definitions, in the field of the analysis of the territorial processes, were produced by the FAO around the mid-1990s (Burini, 2004).

The field of application of the first structured participatory mapping experiences is the evaluation and management of local resources by rural communities, particularly in developing countries (Chambers, 2006). In this context, the co-production of cartographic knowledge, often carried out under international cooperation projects, allows the emergence of territorial values that are invisible in the eyes of external experts, increasing the degree of legitimacy and acceptance of development projects by local communities (Burini, 2004).

In Italy, participatory mapping is used in some of the most interesting participatory planning cases, for example in Piano Paesaggistico Regionale (landscape regional plans) of Apulia and Tuscany, using methodologies such as community maps, aimed “to foster the role of inhabitants in the construction of maps able to represent in a communicable and meaningful manner, through weak formalization techniques, their living space (territory of daily life), expressing the environmental, territorial, landscape and productive values recognized by the local community "(Magnaghi, 2010).

The diffusion of digital technologies and automatic geolocation and geo-referencing systems has radically altered the concept of participatory mapping directly involving maps users in the production of geographic knowledge. The most used concept to describe this new perspective, of almost total disappearance of the rigid boundary between those who produce cartographic knowledge and those who use it (Rana and

Joliveau, 2009) is the one of “crowdmapping” (Aitamurto, 2012), which transfers to the field of mapping the idea of information crowdsourcing, giving a role in the production of knowledge to large and diversified groups of people, not necessarily previously formed (Heipke, 2010). More and more each of us is subject to passive crowdmapping, and understanding how to become aware subjects of active crowdmapping essentially appears to be a project of political geography. The relationship between unintentional (data that users provide unintentionally) and voluntary (in a planned crowdmapping process) geographic information is a matter of great importance (Capineri, Rondinone, 2011).

The possibility to easily produce cartographic representations of the territorial complexity led the participatory digital cartography to gain a central role both in institutional participatory planning (through the so-called Public Participation GIS, PPGIS: Brown, 2013), and in many bottom-up and grassroots practices of active citizenship and community participation, as a tool of the so called “counter-cartography”, opposed to official cartography produced by experts and by the most influential actors (Parker, 2006, Schofield, 2014).

On the one hand, it seems undeniable the potential of participatory mapping in terms of information democratization, particularly with regard to the inclusion of the weaker actors, the transparency of information and the empowerment of population involved processes of self-reflection about themselves and their relationship with places, resources and other actors (Parker, 2006).

On the other hand, though, there are many critical voices on participatory mapping, which go far beyond doubts about the accuracy, quality and cleanliness of the data collected through the involvement of unskilled users without the application of appropriate filters (Flanagin And Metzger, 2008).

The main doubt raised in the field of the so-called critical GIS (Sheppard, 2005) is the actual increase in the involvement of the weaker population groups through participatory processes using GIS tools, whose technological character, especially in the early years of their dissemination, it is more likely to marginalize them less digitally literate citizens (Elwood, 2002).

The weakest groups of population continue to be excluded from certain processes: it is therefore essential to observe the relationships between digital participatory mapping and democratization processes with a sufficiently critical analytical gaze (Haklay, 2013).

A study of Tabusi and Dumont (2012) on the relationship between societies and virtual spaces shows that the articulation of society and power in cyberspace passes for many actors and for many positions, not always immediately evident and never only virtual. It is unhelpful and unrealistic then to talk about virtual space as other than traditional space. The two authors propose to use the concept of “increased space". Recalling this inspiration we can therefore speak of increased spatiality and territoriality, resuming the definition of territoriality proposed by Raffestin (2012), and highlighting how the whole of relationships with externality and alterity can be expanded through the use of ICTs (biometric sensors, satellite navigators, personal digital maps, etc.).

As a result of the incredible spread of geoICTs and the growing interest surrounding them, the new challenge is to exploit the multiple nature of the information, to reach a representation of space as a social product, focusing on those social phenomena that, even articulating in space, do not have with it an immediately apparent relationship. We can investigate the meaning that space assumes in a relational dimension between different social actors, thus focusing not so much on the "representation of space" but on the "space of representation". According to Lefevbre (1991), we can define the latter as the living space of sensations, imagination, emotions, and meaning that is part of our daily life practices.

The research described by this paper is based on a conceptual framework linked to the world of VGIs that is constantly evolving. Cases of use and technological development are increasingly characterized by mutual dependence. Taking this perspective into account, it is necessary to emphasize the function of off-line accompaniment of users. In particular, the digital engagement given by the usability of proposed technology and the definition of maps’ legendas and categories should be the results of participated debate and discussion.

The ability to process large amounts of geolocalized information is only possible through the use of new technologies. As a result, the challenges we face today seem to relate to balancing off-line methodologies of participation with digital activities. On the other hand, the increase in the quantity and quality of

computable information opens new perspectives in relation to the potential for processing and the creation of new information.

4 METHODOLOGY

The work in schools was structured in three two-hour classroom meetings for each of the 36 involved classes (for totally 620 teenagers involved).

The first meeting aimed to engage students and share with them the aims and the spirit of the project. The main goal of this phase was to convey to teenagers the idea not to be just objects of research, but rather actors in a wider process of participation and co-production of knowledge, aimed at dialogue with institutions. On the same day, students were introduced to concepts of co-production of knowledge, participatory mapping, crowdmapping and web narrative. The theoretical part of the lesson was followed by two practical activities aimed at increasing the confidence of pupils with the production of maps and with the role of knowledge producers that the project intended to attribute to them. The first activity consisted in the drawing of mental maps of their neighborhoods or towns, with the purpose of introducing them to the production of maps and to the self-reflection about spatial behaviors.

The second activity focused on a sort of digital “treasure hunt”, during which students, divided into groups, had to find the locations of some murals painted on the walls of Turin, of which only one photograph was provided.

In the second day of activity students were involved in the actual production of a map of the most significant locations in their daily geography.

Participatory mapping work has developed around three main themes.

At first, boys and girls were asked to reflect on the places in the city that they mostly frequented (the “frequented city”), putting them on the map and attributing to them names, formal or informal ones, thus creating an interesting teenagers’ toponymy map), a detailed description and keywords.

The same activity was carried out to map the “inaccessible city” asking them to indicate which places they avoid or which ones they can not attend for various reasons (economic, perceived insecurity, prohibitions).

Thirdly, particular attention was given to the city that the boys and girls imagine for the future, asking them to imagine a transformation project for the city (“the imagined city”). These imaginative projects could involve the creation of new places or the transformation of existing and perceived places as degraded or unsuitable to the needs of adolescents.

The third meeting was devoted to this, during which a discussion was held in each class about the interest and feasibility of the proposed projects.

5 RESULTS – YOUTH GEOGRAPHIES IN TORINO

5.1 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION ANALYSIS

Activities which have been carried on during the project have leaded to the collection of 2465 points of interests (POI), whose 2069 are within Torino’s administrative boundaries. Figure 1 shows the neighborhood where the schools involved are located. It can been seen that we have covered both the center and the peripheries of the city.

Data has been mapped using First Life (Antonini et al., 2016) and they are described by the following metadata:

- Name: a text field where adding the formal or informal name of the spatial object;
- Category: a set of mutually excludable categories describing spatial objects (Art, Food, Education, Work, Nightlife, Meeting Spots, Shops, Sport, Services, I imagine);

- Evaluation: a set of mutually excludable categories describing the perceived quality of spatial objects, if they are considered as a resource or a criticality
- Transformation: a set of mutually excludable categories describing the perceived temporal like value of spatial objects, if they are considered as part of a positive or negative transformation of the city;
- Description: free text of at least 140 character
- Tags: recommended tags (frequent, suggest) and free tags.

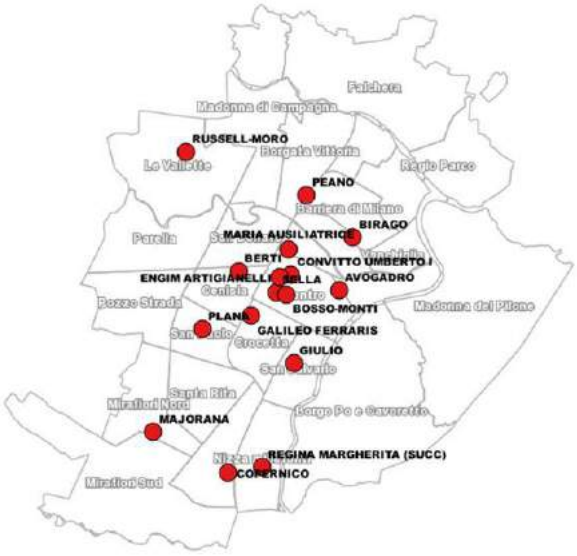
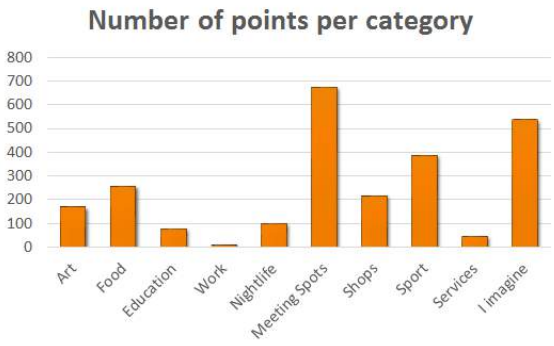


Figure 1 Schools involved in the project

In Diagram 1, the frequency of POI by each category is shown. Excluding the category “I imagine” which is a special one[1], the “Meeting spots” (MS) category is the most used, followed by “Sport” and “Food”.

POIs are distributed throughout the city as it is shown in Figure 2. It can be seen that POI are spread over the entire study area with evident concentrations in proximity of places of interest such as squares, commercial streets, parks, stadium and shopping mall. A similar pattern is shown in the distribution of POI collected into the category of “Meeting Spots”, with a major concentration in parks and squares (see Figure 3). Likewise, POI collected under the category “Sports” concentrates in noteworthy places such as the three stadium of Torino and parks (see Figure 4).



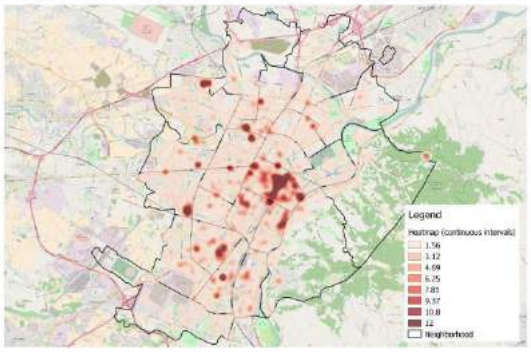
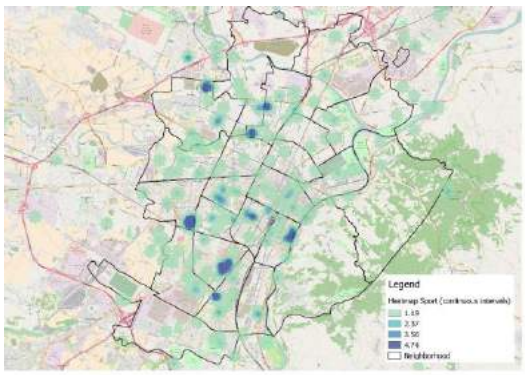


Diagram 1 | Figure 2

[1] The category I imagine collects all the proposals of change teenagers had added on the map. For the current work, since it has not been analysed yet, this category is not taken into account.



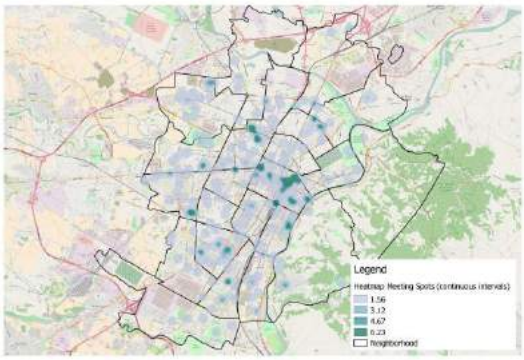


Figure 3 | Figure 4

5.2 TAGS ANALYSIS

Teenagers have added tags for each POI they have put on the map (see metadata description in section 2.1). The textual field has given us the opportunity to enrich, besides categories, the semantic behind POI. The most used tags are “divertimento” which is the italian world for “fun” and “amici”, which means “friends” (see Figure 2). These two tags are associated to almost all the categories but work and services. Table 1 shows the ranking of the five most used tags per category.

Figure 5 Tag cloud

Generally, tags refer to architectural types, activities and quality of spaces. A more accurate natural language analysis of the tags will be object of future works. Extracting a folksonomy from the collected data, indeed, will be useful to go beyond a simple categorization based on a predefined set of categories. However, crowdsourced data are particularly noisy and they need a long pre-processing phase, which we have already started.

Art	Food	Education	Work	Meeting Spots	Shops	Sport	Services
friends	eating	school	working	friends	shopping	fun	bus stop
cinema	restaurant	friends	looking for	fun	friends	playing	station
fun	friends	study	trains	park	fun	park	taking
film	fun	experts	going to	garden	clothes	football	passing
church	ice-cream	fun	…no fun!	square	city centre	swimming poll	…no fun!

Table 1

5.3 POPULAR NEIGHBORHOODS AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

Teenagers have been explicitly asked to use the tag “frequent” to pinpoint, among the places they have added, which of them are the ones where they generally go to. Places tagged as such are of particular interest for our analysis. We have analysed them considering how they distribute in the 23 neighborhoods of the city.

Particularly, we wanted to identify which are the most popular neighborhoods, how they are used and if there is a relation between the diversity of an area and its appeal for the young population.

The map in Figure 5 shows the most frequented neighborhoods. The city centre contains about 40% on the total, while the percentage of points within the other neighborhoods reaches a maximum of 10%. It appears clearly that the city centre is considered the most attractive neighborhood to young people; however, there are some peripheral areas, which are quite frequented as Santa Rita and Pozzo Strada.

To identify the specific character of each neighborhood the relative frequency of points by categories has been calculated (see Figure 6). The relative distribution of the POI classified as Sport and Meeting spots, which are the most used categories, is shown in Figures 7 and 8.

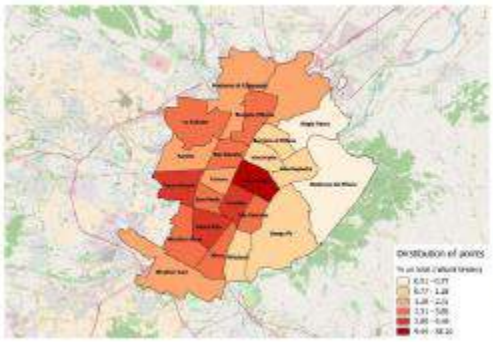
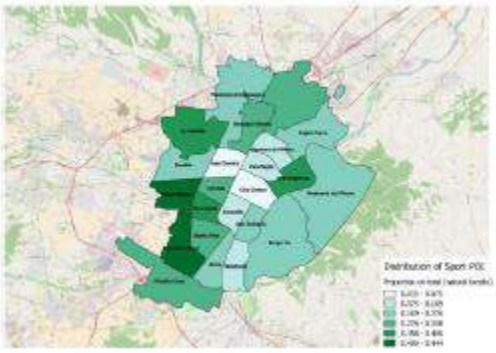


Figure 5 | Figure 6



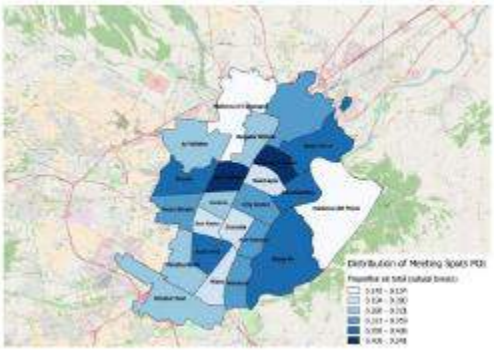


Figure 7 | Figure 8

Mirafiori Nord and Pozzo Strada have the highest proportion of Sport POI driven by a park and the Stadio Primo Nebiolo in the first case and the Juventus Stadium in the second; only about the 3% of the POIs are classified as sport places in the city center. Regarding the distribution of the most used category, we can see neighborhoods where the proportion of meeting places is particularly significant and it is interesting that they are not in the city center, such as Barriera di Milano, San Donato, Parella and Santa Rita.

Finally, we calculated an index to estimate the uncertainty in the identification of functions by neighborhood in order to take into consideration the diversity of uses by neighborhood.

Indexes of diversity are generally used to measure biodiversity in natural ecosystems; applying the same method to urban ecosystem we calculated the Shannon Index. The idea behind the index is that the more different categories there are, and the more equal their proportional abundances in the neighborhood, the

more difficult it is to correctly predict which category can be the attributed to that neighborhood. It has been calculated as follows:

$$H=\sum(loge)piCi=0$$

where pi is the proportion of characters belonging to the ith category in the neighborhood and C is the total of categories. Figure 9 shows the index value by neighborhood. As it can be seen, we can distinguish highly specialized neighborhood such as Barriera di Milano, Pozzo Strada, Mirafiori Nord and San Donato (respectively as being characterized by places where doing sports and places where meet, see Figures 7 and 8), from more diverse neighborhood such as the city centre and Vanchiglia. It is important to underline that the index has resulted independent from the distribution of POI by neighborhood (R=0,27). Therefore, we cannot say that highly specialized neighborhood are also the most frequented nor the contrary.

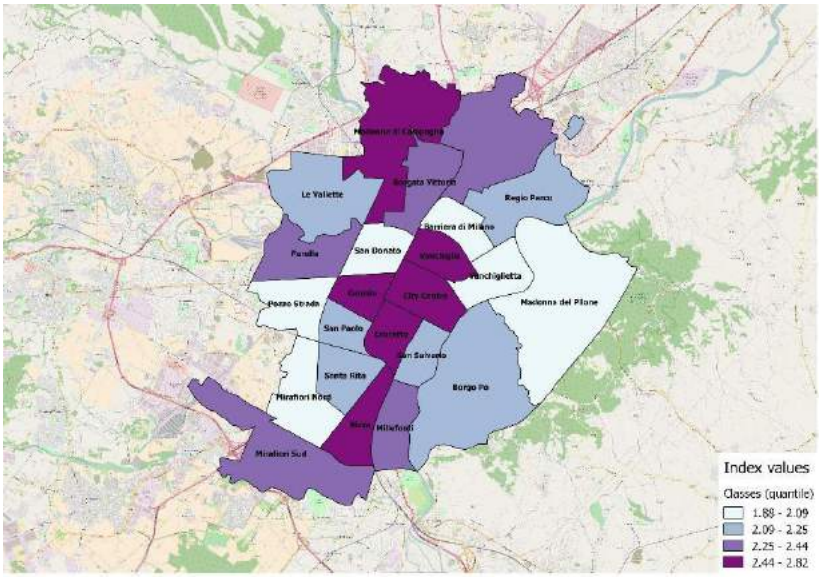


Figure 9

6 CONCLUSIONS

Youth geographies have shown the city as an archipelago of places where young people live following their own rules and needs. It has resulted the importance of open spaces for young people and their need to have places where gathering and playing. Institutional places (i.e. youth centers), planned to be for teenagers, have not been mapped by them. Therefore, the gap between the city for teenagers and the city of teenagers has emerged clearly.

Looking at their geographies we have seen that on the one hand, except for the city centre only which has almost the 40% on the POI total, POIs are rather evenly distributed over the city. They appear to be much more related to the presence of noteworthy places such as stadium, squares or park rather than on the centre-periphery relation. On the other hand we have classified neighborhood that have more diverse or highly specialized uses in the perspective of teenagers daily life in the city.

In conclusion, we strongly believe in the potential of using VGI in order to give voice to teenagers, enabling them to play an active role in supporting youth policies decision making.

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ID 1720 | DEMOCRATIC PLATAFORMS: FROM MUNICIPALIST APPROACH TO DEMO-CRATIC SPATIAL AGENCIES

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1 INTRODUCTION

Since 2008 financial and economical melt down that became a democratic and political crisis with repercussions all over the world due liberal management attempt to profit in a general crisis landscape, a new political context has reemerged. In Spain, for example, the reappearance of the Municipalist Movement due the 15M experience in Madrid`s occupied square remembered the municipalist Spanish heritage of the XIXth century, for example (Cf. OBSERVATORIO METROPOLITANO, 2014, CAVA, BELTRAN, 2015). In this 2008 context, new forms of experience politics and this return to the political emerged and are emerging in a world where virtual platforms are a media that is central to this insurrectional and social movements. The use of twitter and other social media platforms gained centrality to the democratic debate because real time is a possibility that was never envision in democratic processes. New forms of cartography processes with the help of internet allowed new visibilities to emerge, new people to appear and new forms of struggle to be (re)invented.

The use of a social media network (from twitter to crowdmaps) to organize the movement was the first step. Since the protests have a local and temporary effect, the next challenge was how to take such energy and knowledge and transfer it to a possibility of domination of politics, i.e., the state. The question appear as how to use the social media apparatus to mobilize a take over of the state, of political representations in order to exercise direct democracy in everyday life space.

Since 2015 cities elections in Spain and victories in Barcelona, Madrid and other cities, these municipalist movements are beginning to aim the potentiality of these media through the creation of their own virtual platforms. Creating sites that amplifies the voices of groups and people and mapping the city regarding the impacts of public policies, such platforms are experiments of make visible public policies, the people's power and help them to consider the state as a partner as well.

This presentation intends to discuss these virtual democratic plataforms build by the spanish cities administrations, in special Barcelona. Having as a critic parameter the idea of democracy and its paradox as portrayed by political scientist Chantal Mouffe, and Jacques Ranciere critique of Democracy as well, opposing it to the term demo-cracy (power to the demo, i.e., the people), the present text aims to point out the spatial limits of the plataforms in order to achieve power to intervene in planning operations in the city with or without the state.