universität wien

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

Testing Path dependence in regional planning. Change agents in the Albufera de Valencia case study.

verfasst von / submitted by

Rafael del Peral Pedrero

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Science (MSc)

Wien, 2021 / Vienna, 2021

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt / degree programme code as it appears on the student record sheet:	UA 066 664
Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt / degree programme as it appears on the student record sheet:	Masterstudium DDP Urban Studies
Betreut von / Supervisor:	Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Alois Humer

Abstract (DE)

Interessen der Akteure prägen die Realität. Sie verändern Institutionen und setzen Urbanisierungspolitiken um, aber der soziokulturelle Kontext und vergangene Entscheidungen schränken die Veränderungen in der Planungspolitik ein. Diese Interaktion wirft für Planungswissenschaftler eine Frage auf: Können Akteure Stadtpolitik von Pfadabhängigkeitsmechanismen lösen?

Diese Masterarbeit versucht, Theorien über institutionellen Wandel, Change Agents und Pfadabhängigkeit in die Stadtplanung einzubringen. Diese Forschung zielt darauf ab, die Kluft zwischen dem Verständnis von Planungssystemen als stabiles, soziokulturelles Element und als kontingente Akteursvereinbarung zu verringern. Dazu kombiniert es verschiedene Kategorisierungen von Akteuren und Akteursaktionen, institutionellen Veränderungen und einem breiteren kulturellen diskursiven Kontext. Das Endprodukt ist eine replizierbare Methodik, das Embedded Gradual Change Framework (EGCF), das auf ein Beispiel in Spanien angewendet wird.

Die ausgewählte Fallstudie ist die Lähmung der Straße CV-500 durch informelle Akteure. Seine Umwandlung in einen Boulevard ist Teil des Landschaftsprogramms der Regionalregierung Albufera (ALP) im Stadtrand von Valencia. Die Schlussfolgerungen sind, dass sich die EGCF-Methodik als zuverlässiger Analyserahmen mit einem mehrschichtigen institutionellen Wandel erwiesen hat. Der Einfluss informeller Akteure auf Pfadabhängigkeiten zeigt, dass pfadabhängige sesshafte Dynamiken den institutionellen Wandel stürzen können, wenn sie nicht neue gemeinsame Bedeutungen mit Schlüsselakteuren hervorbringen.

Abstract (ENG)

Actors' interests shape reality. They change institutions and implement urbanization policies, but socio-cultural context and past decisions constrain the changes in planning policies. This interaction raises a question for planning scholars: can actors detach urban policies from path dependence mechanisms?

This paper seeks to land theories on institutional change, change agents, and path dependency into urban planning. The research aims to reduce the gap between understanding planning systems as a stable, socio-cultural element and as a contingent actors' agreement. To do so, it combines different categorizations of actors & actors' actions, institutional change, and broader cultural discursive context. Its final product is a replicable methodology, the Embedded Gradual Change Framework (EGCF), applied to an example in Spain.

The selected case study is the paralyzation by informal actors of the CV-500 road. Its conversion into a boulevard is part of the Regional Government Albufera Landscape Program (ALP) in the Valencian rural-urban fringe. Conclusions are that EGCF methodology is proven as a reliable analysis framework with a layering institutional change. Regarding informal actors' influence on path dependencies, it shows that path dependent settled dynamics can topple down institutional change if it does not raise new shared meanings with key stakeholders.

Keywords: stadtplanung; regionalplanung; soziologischer neoinstitutionalismus; pfadabhängigkeit; change agents; Valencia; Albufera; planning; regional planning; neo-institutionalism; path dependency; change agents; Valencia; Albufera

TESTING PATH DEPENDENCE IN REGIONAL PLANNING. CHANGE AGENTS IN THE ALBUFERA DE VALENCIA CASE STUDY.

Rafael del Peral Pedrero
Supervisor: Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Alois Humer
Second reader: Dr. José Antonio Rodríguez Esteban
Erasmus Mundus Master Course in Urban Studies [4Cities]
Submission date: 04/09/2021

XAVET
OHCS

DISCLAIMER: all images used in this thesis are self-made, public domain, have the authors' permission, are cited, or/and fulfill the EU copyright requirements for Belgium, Austria, Denmark, and Spain, according to EUIPO (Geiger & Schönherr, 2017). This document has a non-commercial, research and educational purpose only.

Image 1 Xauet graffiti painted on Sueca, southern Albufera. Image included with Author's permission (Sancho, 2021)

INDEX

Abstract (DE) 1
Abstract (ENG) 1
1. Abstract 11
2. New spatial planning: the cultural & actor's turn 11
2.A. What is spatial planning – what are we doing here 11
2.B. What has been done until now? 12
2.C. Research question – what adds this research? 14
3. Planning as a contingent, long-term process 15
3.A. The role of context, culture & history 17
4. What characterizes path dependence 18
4.A. Origin and definition of path dependence 18
4.B. Change by critical junctures? 18
4.C. A self-reinforcing mechanism 19
4.D. Path dependence in urban planning 20
5. Institutions and change agents 20
5.A. Landing change in institutions 20
5.B. Institutional change 21
5.C. Actors and rule interpretation 21
6. Neo-institutionalism 22
6.A. What is Institutionalism? 22
6.B. Rational choice institutionalism 23
6.C. Historical institutionalism 23
6.D. Sociological institutionalism 24
6.E. Discursive institutionalism 25
6.F. Institutional change and maintenance 26
7. Actors as change agents 27
7.A. Agency, Structure, Institutions, and Discourse (ASID) model 27
7.B. Types of institutional change 27
7.C. Veto and interpretation powers 28
7.D. Categories of change agents 29
8. Actions, agency, and coalitions 31
8.A. Actions and interactions with space 31
8.B. Actors' coalitions & agency 33

9. Methodology 34
9.A. Onwards to operationalization 34
9.B. Actors and Gradual Change Framework (GCF) 35
9.C. An Embedded Gradual Change Framework (EGCF) 37
9.D. Analysis tools and data collection 39
10. Case study: delving into the Valencian context 41
10.A. EU & State: A frame of a frame 41
10.B. Comunitat Valenciana - History, economy, and politics 43
10.C. Comunitat Valenciana – Spatial dimension 44
10.C.1. Green Infrastructure 44
10.C.2. Landscape Programs 46
10.C.3. Territorial Strategy of the Comunitat Valenciana (ETCV) 46
10.C.4. Valencian Metropolitan Territorial Action Plan (PATEVAL) 48
10.C.5. Territorial Action Plan for the Green Coastal Infrastructure (PATIVEL) 49
10.D. Valencia – History, economy, and politics 50
10.D.1. A city public planning full of path dependencies 50
10.D.2. The great transformation (1957-1979) 53
10.D.3. From the Right to the City to local priority redefinition (1979-1991) 57
10.D.4. Crisis and change in the Valencian political hegemony (1991-1995) 58
10.D.5. Valencian globalization. Urban mega-projects & mega-events (1995-2007) 59
10.D.6. Economic crisis and corruption: the end of an era (2007-2015) 62
10.D.7. The rise of municipalism and cities for the people (2015-2021) 63
10.E. Valencia – Spatial dimension 65
10.E.1. Blasco Ibañez Avenue and the Cabanyal neighborhood 65
10.E.2. The Turia River basin change & the Ciutat de les Artes i les Ciències 66
10.E.3. RIVA plan for the urban rehabilitation of the city center 68
10.E.4. Evolution of the Metropolitan model 69
10.E.5. The relation of the city with its orchards: L'Horta Sud 70
10.F. Context conclusions 76

11. Analysis section 77
11.A. The Albufera Coastal Lagoon 77
11.A.1. History, geography, and culture of the area 77
11.A.2. Urbanization vs. protection 82
11.B. Albufera Landscape Program (ALP) 92
11.B.1. Area of Intervention and structure 92
11.B.2. Objectives and proposed solutions 96
11.B.3. Timeline 97
11.C. The Program under the lens of EGCF 100
11.D. Area 1 – Vía Parque De L'Albufera & Tremolar Road refurbishment 105
11.D.1. Intervention and Actors (A; S) 105
11.D.2. Path dependencies (I; D) 115
11.D.3. Resolution 116
11.E. Results 117
12. Conclusions 118
12.A. Path dependence influence on change agents 118
12.B. Limitations of the Study 120
12.C. Further research & final remarks 120
13. Bibliography 121
13.A. Academic Bibliography 121
13.B. Official documents 127
13.C. Non-academic bibliography 132
13.D. List of figures 139
14. Annexes 143
14.A. Annex I: EGCF handbook for Layering 143
14.B. Annex II: Selection of self-taken photographs in case study area 148

1. Abstract

Actors' interests shape reality. They change institutions and implement urbanization policies, but socio-cultural context and past decisions constrain the changes in planning policies. This interaction raises a question for planning scholars: can actors detach urban policies from path dependence mechanisms?

This paper seeks to land theories on institutional change, change agents, and path dependency into urban planning. This research aims to reduce the gap between understanding planning systems as a stable, socio-cultural element and as a contingent actors' agreement. To do so, it combines different categorizations of actors & actors' actions, institutional change, and broader cultural discursive context. Its final product is a replicable methodology, the Embedded Gradual Change Framework (EGCF), applied to an example in Spain.

The selected case study is the paralyzation by informal actors of the CV-500 road. Its conversion into a boulevard is part of the Regional Government Albufera Landscape Program (ALP) in the Valencian rural-urban fringe. Conclusions are that EGCF methodology is proven as a reliable analysis framework with a layering institutional change. Regarding informal actors' influence on path dependencies, it shows that path dependent settled dynamics can topple down institutional change if it does not raise new shared meanings with key stakeholders.

2. New spatial planning: the cultural & actor's turn

2.A. What is spatial planning – what are we doing here

Spatial planning combines multiple processes to distribute resources across space. It pursues objectives using a given rationale. An overly technical conception of planning leaves aside socio-economic and cultural aspects and informal actors that are the key to successful governance & efficient long-term planning (Peters & Pierre, 2012, p.81).

Ultimately, planning often refers to a system of rules, a government activity that seeks to implement a specific set of policies and practices in a territory (Servillo & Van Den Broeck, 2012, p.44) (Othengrafen & Reimer, 2013, p.1269).It searches for a prospect in the "*distribution of people, activities, and resources in cities and regions in response to the demands of society or specific interests*" (Othengrafen & Reimer, 2013, p.1269). Land-use planning relates to 13 of the 17 UN Sustainable Development Goals. It affects collective wellbeing and is responsible for 1/3 of all human-made CO_2 emissions since 1850 (Getimis, 2012, p.4,6).

Land-use planning has tried to develop new instruments to preserve environmentally worth of protection areas from the logic of spatial fixes (Harvey, 2001). Fiscal policy instruments create incentives to use land in specific ways, but non-institutional actors are usually too few and weak to influence land use. The underlying assumptions of who benefits usually leave the weak & disadvantaged out of the equation (Getimis, 2012, p.3).

Including unheard actors is not a minor issue: despite urban land is less than 10% of the total mass of OECD countries, its growth rates vary enormously amongst its members. Spain (17.7%), Iceland (16.1%), and Ireland (11.5%) grew the most during the first XXI Century decade (Getimis, 2012, p.20). The construction bubbles those countries suffered show how planning policies can bring different interpretations of similar rules, such as EU ones (Getimis, 2012, p.28).

National and regional governments are usually responsible for strategic spatial planning and policy guidelines. Local governments take care of small policy regulations, enforcement, and city planning (Getimis, 2012, p.8). In EU countries, planning is a public task. Public agents' control, restrict or activate activities and developments (Knieling & Othengrafen, p.2141).

In the last 30 years, planning has started to be seen embedded in a culture and environment (Knieling & Othengrafen, 2009, p.42). Accordingly, civil society & economic actors' role is now considered part of the decision-making process (Ernste, 2012, p.87). Actors are in charge of interpreting and implementing planning, conditioned by context and previous planning policies. When these spaces are at the border of metropolitan areas, such as this thesis rural-urban fringe case study, rigid understandings fade and actors multiply (Gallent & Shaw, 2007, p.620).

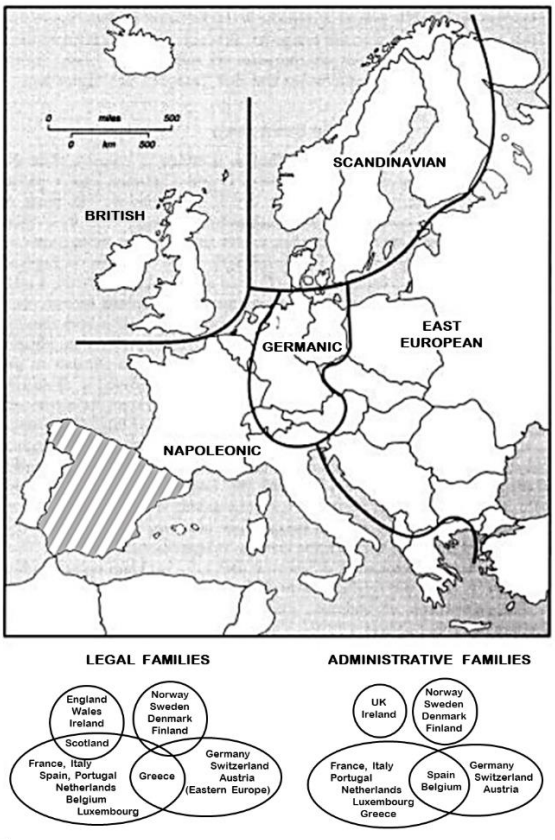
Whether a city, a region, or multi-national spaces, cultural framing has become essential to understand the urbanization process (Sanyal, 2005; Friedman, 2005a as cited in Taylor, 2013, p.689). Other scholars focus on understanding the worldviews of planners as actors instead (Huxley, 2000, p.369 as cited in Knieling & Othengrafen, 2009, p.42). Either way, the actor's interplay with context & culture must be present in spatial research to understand planning.

2.B. What has been done until now?

Discussing spatial planning changes and culture inevitable refers to the *Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies* (Haughton et al., 2010, p.1). Done by European Commission's DG REGIO (1997), it analyzes similitudes & divergences of the National traditions, typologies, and ideal types across Europe (Getimis, 2012, p.27). It also helped to create the European Spatial Development Perspective (1999), which addresses common EU objectives such as sustainability, economic, and social cohesion in territorial developments (European Commission, 1999, p.7).

Despite its importance, the Compendium has been heavily criticized. It is the culmination of the understanding of planning through a classic, static view, focused on legislation and technical view on national planning systems power and competencies (Servillo & Van Den Broeck, 2012, p.42) (Getimis, 2012, p.28). As Faludi (2004) & Taylor (2013, p.688) point, this categorization does not tackle the positions that professionals and other actors take when implementing planning or the different contexts amongst regions.

The Compendium followed Newman & Thornley's (1996) identification of five planning families: Napoleonic, Germanic, Nordic, British, and East European (Taylor, 2013, p.686). This distinction is based on whether the public control is discretionary or regulatory, whether the authority in planning is centralized or not. Similar early 2000s categorizations include Larsson (2006; Stead & Nadin, 2009 as cited in Taylor, 2013, p.686), relating European planning systems through governance capabilities; welfare State social models (Peters & Pierre, 2012, p.81); or public-private relationships (Healey & Williams, 1993).



Map 1 The legal and administrative families of Europe with the case study country remarked Modified from (Newman & Thornley, 1996, p.26)

Analytical categorizations outline the need to understand why and how planning diverges when implemented. Planning is embedded in broad cultural and contextual power structures composed of actors (Taylor, 2013, p.685). Scholars should consider time, scale, and spatial peculiarities when researching planning policies.

Dynamic considerations of planning are not a 90s novelty. Back in the 60s, Friedmann (1967) suggested that "*distinctive styles of national planning are associated with different combinations of system variables including the level of economic development attained, the form of political organizations, and historical tradition*" (Taylor, 2013, p.685). Albers (1993; Keller et al., 1996 as cited in Othengrafen & Reimer, 2013, p.1278) emphasized the relevance of incrementalism in planning, but without including why change happens or its relationship with cultural context.

Following the introduction of context and cultural elements, Sandercock (1998a, p.30 as cited in Knieling & Othengrafen, 2009, p.46-47) suggested including planners' grounded, experiential, and intuitive knowledge as a way of combining actors and context. Other post-Compendium suggestions include the role of cultural values, semiotic, semantics, and regional and micro-scales (Farinós Dasí & Milder, 2006 as cited in Knieling & Othengrafen, 2009, p.46-47)(Getimis, 2012, p.29). In the OECD countries, half of the planning systems were established before 1979, three even before 1940. (Getimis, 2012, p.11). Planning has changed its interpretations, even if laws have remained the same. Actual lines of thought mainly follow:

- The (Re)production of Planning Systems that study how actors and planning cultures shape one another (Servillo & Van Den Broeck, 2012, p.44-45)(Taylor, 2013, p.690).
- Institutionalist planning theories that research institutions' role and actors' behavior in planning policies (Haughton et al., 2010, p.10).

This thesis stands that both are intertwined and complementary: Neo-institutionalism and path dependence theories maps the nexus between culture and land use resistances, while Change-Agents Theory gives a base to understand actors' agenda (Othengrafen & Reimer, 2013, p.1280)(Servillo & Van Den Broeck, 2012, p.47, 53). Deepen into actors, practices, and how change is embedded in long-term processes goes beyond normative institutional understandings, potentially tracing mistakes in policy implementation (Gallent & Shaw, 2007 p.625)(Taylor, 2013, p.683).

2.C. Research question – what adds this research?

This thesis wants to provide a replicable methodology landed in solid theories: the Embedded Gradual Change Framework (EGCF). Internal contradictions pack spatial planning systems as conflicting worldviews, institutional frames, and opposing rationales that operate within them (Servillo & Van Den Broeck, 2012, p.55-58). National comparative studies do not reflect those tensions as they tend to omit regional and local characteristics (Othengrafen & Reimer, 2013, p.1281). Introducing a dynamic vision of institutional change via context allows mapping and tracing the hidden potential reactions in the sphere of planning policy implementation.

Few spatial planning works embed planning practices in local contexts (Ernste, 2012, p.93). Some examples are Aalborg (Getimis, 2012, p.34), Accra (Morrison, 2017, p.2558), Cologne-Bonn Region (Othengrafen & Reimer, 2013, p.1276), Curitiba (Follador et al., 2018, p.2), Mezzogiorno (Moulaert et al., 2016, p.180) and Kotka-Hamina (Granqvist et al., 2020). An actor's relational and embedded perspective on planning can help understand their agenda based on spatial context and cultural values, bringing coherence to fragmented systems of governance (Haughton et al., 2010, p.18)(Flyvbjerg, 1998, p.226 as cited in Getimis, 2012, p.34)(Haughton et al., 2010, p.11)(Servillo & Van Den Broeck, 2012, p.58).

To prove how EGCF helps understanding planning, this thesis tries to build on the theories used to develop its framework to test its affirmations, resulting in the following research question:

Under what conditions can informal actors influence path dependence dynamics?

This thesis is structured as follows: Chapters II-VIII unfolds the theoretical framework that sustains this research. Chapter IX develops the methodology of the research, including the Embedded Gradual Change Framework (EGCF). Chapter X delves into the case study context of Valencia, Spain, its region, and the city's most prominent spatial struggles. Chapter XI analyzes the Albufera Landscape Program and its intervention on the CV-500 road. Finally, Chapter XII proposes the conclusions, limitations of the study, and further research lines.

3. Planning as a contingent, long-term process

Planning goes beyond the immediate physical space changes: it is also about the broader long-term picture (Ernste, 2012, p.88). Static understandings of it fail to consider the hidden reality that policy changes trigger. It is necessary to observe what "*define the problems to be solved by such policies, the issues to be considered, the goals to be achieved, the norms, methods, and instruments to be applied, and the ideas that frame the more immediate policy ideas proposed to solve any given problem*" (Othengrafen & Reimer, 2013, p.1276).

Landing spatial planning into reality makes it fluid, opening to actors' contestation. Normative attempts such as (Albrechts et al. 2003; Healey 2004a as cited in Haughton et al., 2010, p.2) fall short to see this, as they do not consider actors agency. As Mahoney & Thelen (2010, p.18-19) argue, rule implementation has interpretation flexibility and veto restrictions in its applicability.

This way, power, practices, and past become crucial to observe planning policies. Stoker explained it with a simple message: "local politics matters" (Orr, 2005 as cited in Davies & Trounstine, 2012, p.63). Despite this, the mediation of agency and context has been overly theorized but poorly operationalized (Sorensen, 2020, p.48-49)(Booth, 2011, p.13)(Servillo & Van Den Broeck, 2012, p.43). An actor-centered method in planning requires the sociopolitical context, institutional and cultural environment, and who benefits from whose agenda.

Actor-centered institutionalism describes the culture of spatial planning as "*the way in which actors reconcile the difference between each other's positions and organize their cooperative relationships*" (Naegler, 2003, p.23 as cited in Ernste, 2012, p.89). Based on Giddens (1986) structuration, Scharpf (1997, 2000a,b as cited in Ernste, 2012, p.89, 90) operationalize actors' ideas + context with the following elements:

1. Actors include their interests, beliefs, and values.
2. Constellation and situations are power relations between actors, their competencies, and capabilities at the policy implementation time.
3. The interaction types are the cooperation/competition between actors.
4. The institutional context refers to the organizational framework, including norms, routines, inter and intra-administrative relations.
5. The non-institutional factors describe context beyond institutions.

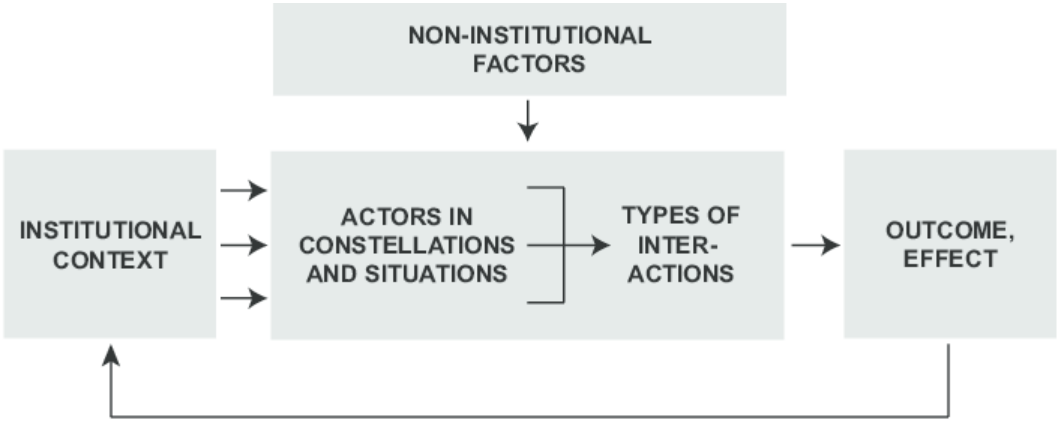


Figure 1 Actor-centered institutionalism (Mayntz & Scharpf, 1995, p.45).

Building on the above scheme, policy implementation turns to be contingent and context-bound. It uses existing arrangements, Layering, Converting, Displacing, or Drifting them, as Neo-institutionalism and change agents ideas theorize (Sorensen, 2015, p.19)(Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.20-21)(Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.37), but how this connects to context?

Historical institutionalism uses the concept of "path dependence" to describe the importance of prior decisions and contextual shifts to explain changes. This thesis explores these ideas to go beyond the debate of structure vs. action as competing explanations. To do so, it uses Mahoney and Thelen (2010) definition of "path dependence" as self-reinforcing, sunken cost sequences, and "critical junctures" as the primary way of provoking substantial changes (Davies & Trounstine, 2012, p.67)(Booth, 2011, p.20-21).

It is important to mention that planning institutions are not entirely bound to path dependence mechanisms, nor do they depend on critical junctures for change. Change is a long-term process where power and ruling paradigms vary over time. While critical junctures facilitate a change in planning policies, they can also reinforce existing spatial arrangements (Morrison, 2017, p.2560, 2561).

3.A. The role of context, culture & history

Before delving into the path dependence mechanism, it is important to remark on the relevance of historic planning decisions and the settled institutional culture among actors. Culture plays a relevant role in framing mindsets and can determine discourse and actors' actions (Ernste, 2012, p.87). Local practices adapt spatial planning national or regional level rules, producing what can be described as a sub-cultural urban policy differentiation (Knieling & Othengrafen, 2009, p.39) (Healey and Williams, 1993, p.717; Meyerson and Martin, 1987, p.634 as cited in Othengrafen & Reimer, 2013, p.1269-1270, 1279). This raises two questions: How does local context shape planning implementation? What is an adequate methodology to analyze its impacts?

Getimis (2012, p.32) suggests analyzing planning cultures from different entry points to solve these questions. There is no correct scale of analysis: national, regional, and local arenas are socially constructed, not spatially fixed but highly malleable and contingent. A suitable methodology will have to see both the wider picture of multiple institutional arenas and seek the motivation of present policies in multiple, colliding past dependences.

As studies evolve, it becomes more evident that urban policies are shaped by exogenous "critical junctures", but also by endogenous, long-term factors (Mahoney and Thelen, 2010; Pierson, 2004, 2005; and Hacker, 2004 as cited in Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.37)(Morrison, 2017, p.2560, 2561). The latter might remain undetected, reinforcing cultural paradigms, policy styles, and implementation over the years (Getimis, 2012, p.35). The following section will explore under what conditions can actors influence path dependence dynamics.

4. What characterizes path dependence

4.A. Origin and definition of path dependence

Path dependence concept can be traced down P. David and B. Arthur's 1985-1990 articles on VHS video vs. Betamax and the QWERTY keyboard vs. Dvorak setup (Zhan et al., 2017, p.74-75). This origin contributed to see path dependence as a suboptimal market failure. Later, authors such as D.C. North or P. Pierson refined the idea, opening it to other social sciences by including "critical junctures" as a triggering moment for a chain of events (Melosi, 2005, p.263-264). Nowadays, path dependence is seen:

- As a self-reinforcing mechanism: where sunken costs increase the returns of a long-term run of ways of making while making change more difficult (Taylor, 2013, p.691).
- As a causal chain of events: that limits future decisions based on the past ones, unless critical junctures disturb those patterns (Follador et al., 2018, p.4).

Institutionalism was particularly fond to include these ideas to explain why actors did not limit themselves to the rationality of rules in their organizational behavior. Liebowitz and Margolis developed a three-degree categorization of path dependence: a first-degree, where there is *durability* in decisions taken in the past: a second-degree, where past decisions are *costly* to change; and a third-degree one, where past decisions are considered an *avoidable error* (Melosi, 2005, p.267). For the urban policies field, these explanations show why actors can implement decisions influenced by framing perspectives forged in the past not foreseeable in the present, creating long-term problems (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1979 as cited in Follador et al., 2018, p.4).

Long-term cultural and historical processes are elements of path dependency, but they do not explain the intrinsic logic of it in ongoing changes per se. Avoiding the "locality trap" and subsume all aspects of urban policies under broader cultural and historical patterns is crucial (Jessop et al., 2008, p.392-393 as cited in Getimis, 2012, p.32). Gradual change mechanisms are not easy to identify, as they provide fewer observable implications (King et al., 1994 as cited in Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.36). This difficulty could explain why the notion of "critical junctures" was created for path dependence to structure explanations of change.

4.B. Change by critical junctures?

The inclusion of path dependence into urban policies explains stability but not for contestation and change. Historical Neo-institutionalism uses the concept of "critical junctures" to refer to several factors that lead an institutional course to vary.

Neoinstitutionalists identify four factors of change and stability: transaction costs, institutional complementarities, exogenous factors, and policy feedback/adaptative expectations (Zhan et al., 2017, p.74-75)(Taylor, 2013, p.690-691). Newer strands like discursive institutionalism show how when narrative or ideological articulations accumulate enough contradictions, they enter in crisis and opens to broader criticism (Davies & Trounstine, 2012, p.61).

Both approaches are insufficient to explain "change". Critical junctures in historical sequences fail to explain how contestation is built (Imran and Pearce, 2016, p.106). Narrative contradictions are not enough to justify triggering institutional change: Olson (1965) *Logic of Collective Action,* Hirschman (1972) *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty,* or Festinger (1957) *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* show that stability rather than change is more prone to happen, even when contradictions dominate a discourse.

Change does happen, but mono-causal explanations always fall short. Gains et al. (2005 as cited in Booth, 2011, p.21) studied the institutional change in the British local government through a path dependence lens, showing that diminishing returns on actors' agenda was a crucial element. So, while path dependence is an increasing-return self-reinforcing mechanism, causality chains of events and sunken-costs ideas might show less institutional resistance to change than a desire to reproduce and survive. Exogenous events might trigger "critical junctures", but policy feedback and endogenous factors decide whether an institution might change. Change can also be a self-reinforcing mechanism within planning institutions.

4.C. A self-reinforcing mechanism

Stability through time also depends on coordination among institutional levels of government and with non-institutional actors. The transaction costs from standardized, settled procedures towards another should help actors coordinate. As rational choice Neo-institutionalism suggests, this eases inter-institutional arrangements compromise on foreseeable outcomes (Taylor, 2013, p.691, 694).

As institutions thrive to survive, the sunken cost of leaving a settled policy might not be enough to deter change when change benefits the institutional ruling actors' idea of stability and replicability (Reinalda, 2013 as cited in Morrison, 2017, p.2559, 2560). Consequently, contingent decisions made by dominant actors within institutions keep "path dependence" ongoing if it benefits the relevant actors enough not to seek alternatives. Instead, when marginalized actors are strong enough to seek change and do not have the means to achieve a consensus within the institutional arrangement, contestation might happen (Harty, 2005 as cited in Morrison, 2017, p.2559, 2560).

4.D. Path dependence in urban planning

Path dependence and critical junctures are valuable to understand planning policy changes, but it requires interiorizing that both elements are historically contingent and socially constructed (Hughes, 1994; Unruh, 2000; Hommels, 2005 as cited in Sorensen, 2020, p.51). Even with socio-political and cultural environments influencing actors (Othengrafen & Reimer, 2013, p.1273), path dependence and critical junctures can still maintain or change spatial institutions depending on actors' agenda and their relative contextual power.

As power is contingent, urban planning implementation could be defined as "*how cooperatively generate the 'power to 'act' rather than the struggle to achieve 'power over', or domination of some actors by others*" (Stone, 1989 as cited in Davies & Trounstine, 2012, p.58). However, this post-political approach can lead to a dominant actors' coalition "cooperation" displaces marginal actors' interests (Imran and Pearce, 2016, p.104). Urban institutions' density and complexity of actors, the role of citizen participation, power asymmetries, and coercive enforcement help to reduce ruling coalitions' dominance (Pierson, 2004 as cited in Sorensen, 2020, p.51).

Seeing change as a process of implementation fostered by and not opposed to "critical junctures" works exceptionally well in the regional meso level of planning. As the path dependent institutional urban setting shapes space incrementally, new spatial planning policies implementation will have limits. However, actors will permanently seek ways to maximize their agenda, either promoting or blocking change, and using contextual factors in their favor.

5. Institutions and change agents

5.A. Landing change in institutions

Socio-economic and historical path dependent factors mediate planning, but institutions and actors' agendas shape the process. Defined intra-group, their worldview rationale sets specific necessities and restrains actors' and institutions' course of action (Servillo & Van Den Broeck, 2012, p.55-58)(Hall & Taylor, 1996, p.939). Coordinating actors to satisfy various interest groups instead of others sets the institutional outcome (Gallent, 2006, p.385)(Sorensen, 2015, p.23).

Streeck & Thelen (2005, p.9) define institutions as "*collectively enforced expectations with respect to the behavior of specific categories of actors or to the performance of certain activities*". Therefore, a planning institution is an actor's dominant coalition agreement on using, managing, and developing an urban space and its policies (Sorensen, 2015, p.21).

Change in planning institutions is guided by expectations that remain contested in the codification and enforcement phases (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.10-11). Power distribution is key to understand who start changes and how actors react to them, but a "losers vs. winners" notion oversimplifies change agents' motivation. Differentiating between long-run and short-run behaviors is as essential as understanding context (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.22-23).

5.B. Institutional change

The lack of a common framework to theorize planning changes makes it difficult to compare how or why implementation sometimes fails (Sorensen, 2015, p.18). Cultural planning models usually claim that planning cultures are simply resistant to change. From an institutionalist perspective, informal and formal actors have a say in policy changes (Knieling & Othengrafen, 2009).

Institutions tend to be change-reluctant, so actors' narrow expectations and modify their behavior concerning the expected costs of specific actions regarding their acceptance or non-compliance of institutional equilibrium (North, 1990, 1993 as cited in Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.10). Historical institutionalism studies suggest that rules compliance is closely related to the actor's interpretation capabilities and reality complexities. Processing rule implementation information led institutions to make assumptions over actors' behavior that might not sustain over time. Sociological institutionalism also suggests that if the context change, the culturally shared beliefs on planning rules or actors' coalitions might fall apart (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.11-13)(Moulaert et al., 2016, p.169-170).

These dynamics show how institutions gradually shift or stabilize over time (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.1, 9). Both processes depend on the endogenous mobilization of resources by the actors or exogenous changes in the system where institutions operate (Knight, 1992, p.145, 184; Thelen, 1999 as cited in Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p. 9).

5.C. Actors and rule interpretation

Rule ambiguity gives actors the chance to interpret their implementation according to their agency preferences. Agency adjusts accordingly to the current groups' power, reaching compromises or forming coalitions. Thus, nothing is automatically self-perpetuating or self-reinforcing about institutions (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.8, 11). Actors' resistance and interdependence amongst institutional orders prevent ruling actors from totalizing everyday practices (Moulaert et al., 2016, p.173). Those who benefit from existing arrangements will mobilize resources to solve interpretational ambiguities in their favor (Thelen, 2004 as cited in Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.9). Actors shape shared beliefs while changing them.

Institutions like planning organize around cultural logic and shared beliefs, carrying dominant and non-dominant actors' ideas (Davies & Trounstine, 2012, p.56)(Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.42)(Moulaert et al., 2016, p.173, 180)(Schmidt, 2009, p.134). While not pre-given nor necessarily self-evident, norms bound actors and are the origin of institutional stability, but both actors and socio-cultural context change. Actors adjust their practices following their expectations of others' behavior. Gaps and interpretational collective action conflicts can arise when rule enforcement happens, like winner-take-all, free-rider issues, startup costs, or coordination problems (Sorensen, 2015, p.24). Despite this, institutional evolution tends to follow incremental path dependency patterns (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.13-14). To sum up, planning institutions are nothing but a tensioned equilibrium, where internal struggles constantly defy actors' dominant coalitions and agreements.

6. Neo-institutionalism

6.A. What is Institutionalism?

Neo-institutionalism has its origin in Meyer & Rowan's 1977 paper *"Institutionalized organizations: Formal structure as myth and ceremony*" (Schmidt, 2009, p.127). It deflects the traditional Weberian approach focused on bureaucracy, rules, and formal procedures to investigate the day-to-day activities (Meyer & Rowan, 1977, p.342). Similar to Streeck and Thelen, Neo-institutionalism defines formal and informal institutions as "*relatively enduring features of political and social life that structure behavior and that cannot be changed easily or instantaneously*" (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.4).

The term first appears in March & Olsen's 1984 paper, "*The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life*". Hall & Taylor (1996) will elaborate on its three main branches. Rational, Historical, Sociological, and the recent Discursive neo-institutionalism strands have many connections. Its debates focus on the drivers of change and what triggers institutional change (Schmidt, 2009, p.127).

Neo-institutionalism searches to explain institutional stability or change processes. To explain changes, it focuses on exogenous shocks or formal/informal rules and constraints such as customs or codes (Taylor, 2013, p.684). This vision often overlooks incremental endogenous movements, especially relevant to analyze planning policies implementation (North, 1991, p.97)(Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.2). All neo-institutionalism strands present explanation problems such as economic, historical, or cultural determinism. Discursive institutionalism tries to overcome this, yet it is still proven to be more efficient.

	Rational choice institutionalism	*Historical institutionalism*	*Sociological institutionalism*	*Discursive institutionalism*
Object of explanation	Rational behavior and interests	Historical rules and regularities	Cultural norms and frames	Ideas and discourse
Logic of explanation	Calculation	Path dependency	Appropriateness	Communication
Ability to explain change	Static continuity through fixed preferences, stable institutions	Static continuity through path dependence (except where incremental change)	Static continuity through cultural norms, ideational frames	Dynamic change and continuity through ideas and discursive interaction
Problems of explanation	Economic determinism	Historical determinism	Cultural determinism or relativism	Ideational determinism or relativism

Table 1 The four new institutionalisms. Modified from (Schmidt, 2009, p.138)

6.B. Rational choice institutionalism

Rational choice institutionalism premise is that individual logic is preference maximization. This "logic of calculation" operates within the institutions, presuming that cooperation between actors repeats through time, and actors have information about other's actions (Schmidt, 2009, p.127-128)(North, 1991, p.97). Institutions need to be stable, their operations repeatable, and information complete and reliable for this system to function (Ernste, 2012, p.90-91).

Problems with rational choice are how to explain changes and predicting institutional behavior when many actors' interests are at play (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.6). The actor's definition of rationality needs to be broad, ground, and time-based to cover the range of actions beyond immediate power gains (Schmidt, 2009, p.128-129). Without those elements, institutions are mere self-reinforcing, increased returns mechanisms with best-behaved, economically driven actors that only need to cope with exogenous factors (Taylor, 2013, p.692). Greif & Laitin (2004 as cited in Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.6) tried to include endogenous change explanations through feedback effects that shrink or expand institutional equilibrium.

Including collective actions problems such as "the prisoners' dilemma" or the "tragedy of the commons" can explain sub-optimal decisions in rational choice institutionalism. Ultimately, these fixes do not fade the principal-agent problems (Schmidt, 2009, p.128). Rent-seeking extraction, property rights, and transaction costs are not enough to understand actor's behavior.

6.C. Historical institutionalism

This interpretation argues that inertia inherited from the past mediate decisions (Hall & Taylor, 1996, p.941). Major exogenous forces can alter path dependent processes, but institutions are relatively stable otherwise.

Historical institutionalism is aware of the environmental macro-structures in which institutions operate, putting in perspective not just power asymmetries but resources and capabilities resulting from previous decisions (Schmidt, 2009, p.129)(Sorensen, 2015, p.19).

Explanations of change in historical institutionalism are based on critical junctures, moments in which the usual stability mechanisms of institutions are eased, opening a window of opportunity to defy the established equilibriums (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.7)(Schmidt, 2009, p.130)(North, 1991, p.109). Institutions are a continuum of policies and political struggles in which actors seek increasing power returns for their group (Hall & Taylor, 1996, p.941)(Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.6-7). This institutional theory acknowledges cultural and historical context as part of shared decision rules and codes, such as city building regulations in planning (Sorensen, 2015, p.20,21).

To cope with critical junctures, historical neo-institutionalism mechanics relies on positive feedbacks to sustain a sub-optimum performance of institutions. Therefore, re-arranging institutions after a critical juncture can reinforce the previous institutional setting. Understanding events' timing is crucial because the impact of certain events determines ulterior configurations (Sorensen, 2015, p.23, 25)(Schmidt, 2009, p.130).

Through the historical institutionalism lens, institutions become increasingly difficult to change, creating a self-reinforced "punctuated equilibrium" (Krasner, 1988 as cited in Schmidt, 2009, p.130-131)(Sorensen, 2015, p.22). For this institutionalism, change only seem to happen abruptly and due to exogenous factors. This approach does not fit endogenous change from institutional drift or actors' shifting preferences. Additionally, urban processes tend to be multi-faceted, multi-causal, and complex, which does not fit narrow definitions of causality (Sorensen, 2015, p.19,21).

6.D. Sociological institutionalism

Sociological Neo-institutionalism sees institutions as shared cultural meanings and frames. The organizational procedures and its outcomes are settled not through rational, self-interest-individuals nor path dependent structures, but through embedded symbols from a specific culture and time (Hall & Taylor, 1996, p.953)(Ernste, 2012, p.93)(Knieling & Othengrafen, p.2135)(Taylor, 2013, p.692). Institutions here are self-reproductive, cultural, and historically contingent (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.5). They cover a wide range of informal elements, such as conventions and non-codified conducts to understand what is imaginable and what settles identities, interests, and preferences (Schmidt, 2009, p.132)(Getimis, 2012, p.26)(Othengrafen & Reimer, 2013, p.1272).

Actors operating in this framework follow a "logic of appropriateness" (Schmidt, 2009, p.127). Its strategic calculations respond to their identity and what they believe corresponds best with that self-image and socially constructed worldview (Hall & Taylor, 1996, p.948)(Servillo & Van Den Broeck, 2012, p.46). Sociological institutionalism argues that actors and institutions construct and shape each other as actors follow an internalized logic, thus reinforcing an institution.

Change for Sociological institutionalism is mediated through institutions and actors. They can shape reality because reproductive isomorphism is not automatic but through interactions with other institutions and different social agencies (Moulaert et al., 2016, p.173). Conjunctions and disjunctions coordinate actors with different institutional cultures, refraining or facilitating changes. This conceptual framework presents several problems:

1. As rule-following can only be defied in specific and narrow windows of opportunity, Sociological institutionalism can be accused of cultural determinism, too focused on static equilibriums (Schmidt, 2009, p.136).
2. While explaining continuity quite well, it does not explain medium or long-term actors' positions shifts that result in endogenous changes (Moulaert et al., 2016, p.174).
3. Based on a profoundly culturally embedded explanation of actors and institutions' rationales, it has limitations when explaining further extrapolations and comparisons (Schmidt, 2009, p.132-133).

6.E. Discursive institutionalism

Discursive institutionalism pays attention to creating meanings (Katzenstein, 1996; Kjaer & Pederson, 2001; Hay, 2006 as cited in Schmidt, 2009, p.132-133). Where sociological institutionalism focuses on cultural norms, discursive institutionalism turns into short-term contextual meanings. Through a combination of historical, sociological, and rational choice Neo-institutionalisms, institutions are historically evolving, socially constituted, and with interest-based interactions between actors. Discursive institutionalism has also been named "ideational institutionalism", "economic constructivism", or "constructivist institutionalism" (Schmidt, 2009, p.132-134).

Focusing on discourse allows a dynamic conceptualization of how actors work, as it enables or disables actors' coalitions that carry actions within institutional settings. Power-distribution shifts are the drivers of change in Neo-institutionalism strands, and it can manifest in rule interpretation, enforcement, or veto powers (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.4).

Discursive institutionalism focuses on actors' mechanisms of legitimization, creation, and persuasion of ideas and their adoption to strengthen or weaken such institutional practices (Schmidt, 2009, p.127-128, 136). This "Logic of communication" diverges from historical institutionalism in its less path dependency-driven logic and the inclusion of exogenous and endogenous factors of change (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.7-8). The main challenge for discursive institutionalism is when discourse matters and how. As it presents causality problems, it must be carefully contextualized to be interpreted (Schmidt, 2009, p.137).

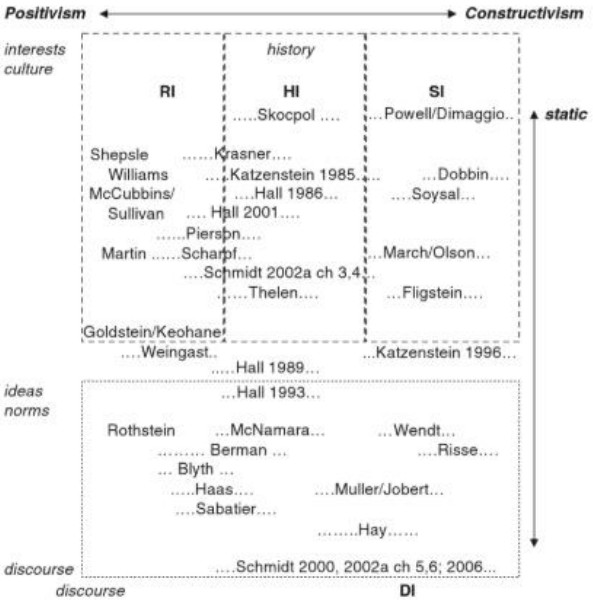


Figure 2 Scholars' use of the four neo-institutionalisms: Rational (RI), Historical (HI), Sociological (SI), and Discursive (DI) (Schmidt, 2009, p.139)

6.F. Institutional change and maintenance

Neo-institutionalisms explain change and stability mainly through environmental causes, whereas Change Agents theory provides a framework to understand endogenous actors' behavior. Planning policies' arrangements can generate incentives for change because dominant actors' coalitions put pressure through the institutional setting (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.9-10)(Sorensen, 2015, p.24). Compliance depends too on the different cultural spheres that converge over specific settings, adding conditioning factors that contest how rules are enforced and interpreted (Knieling & Othengrafen, 2009).

This uncertainty compensates for certain actors' lack of power in the decision-making processes or during policy implementation. The institutional setting makes actors choose some actions over others following an opportunity criterion (Moulaert et al., 2016, p.174). The wider the uncertainty or the number of stakeholders, the lesser rule compliance, and the more incentives to coordinate discourse around coalitions (Schmidt, 2009, p.139)

7. Actors as change agents

7.A. Agency, Structure, Institutions, and Discourse (ASID) model

Actors are essential to observe changes in planning institutions. Both formal and informal ones have spatial and temporal limits framing their strategies. The Agency, Structure, Institutions, and Discourse (ASID) model by Moulaert et al. (2016) combines such elements with neo institutionalism mechanisms to explain changes:

- Agency (A) is the individual or collective interests of actors to shape a specific space in a certain way, using institutions & other tools.
- Structure (S) is short to a medium-run context where actions take place. It comprehends a wider area than the micro-local scale and determines actors' interaction possibilities, resources, and capabilities (Moulaert et al., 2016, p.170).
- Institutions (I) are the "enduring socialized structure", a similar definition to Streeck & Thelen or Mahoney & Thelen ones.
- Discourse (D) creates imaginaries and meanings that provide narratives to mobilize or de-mobilize specific agencies or actors (Moulaert et al., 2016, p.170-171).

ASID model shows that planning changes relate actors successfully timed strategies (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.15). In places as this research case study, in the Valencian rural-urban fringe, the strategies also depend on actors' coalitions to defy discursive hegemonic and counter-hegemonic understandings of space (Gallent, 2006, p.393).

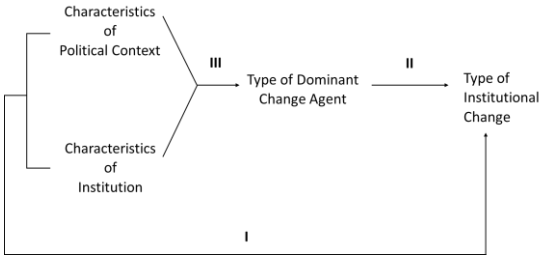


Figure 3 Input model for a theory of gradual institutional change. Modified from (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.15)

7.B. Types of institutional change

According to Mahoney & Thelen (2010), change depends on which actors have strong or weak veto and interpretation capabilities. Institutions may change in four ways: Displacement, Layering, Drift, or Conversion (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.15-18). These are not absolute categories, as one change might apply to different rules. These do not require a critical juncture, as institutional changes usually are incremental or gradual (Schmidt, 2009, p.130).

- Displacement implies the removal of previous rules or policies for new ones. It is the renounce of previous institutional settings. New settings are usually introduced by losers of the previous institutional sphere, provoking a complete renewal of the institutional setting. It is usually a fast process and comes with deep systemic changes (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.16).
- Layering seeks a reform that comes with new rules without eliminating the former ones. It involves additions, amendments, or reforms. If deep enough, layering can alter institutional embedded dynamics. This change type is usual where actors in charge lack the resources to enact displacement (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.16-17).
- Drift is a process of decay where no new rules are enacted. Effectivity and enforcement of old rules no longer work because the environmental setting has changed. This process can be intentional or a result of actors' neglect (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.17).
- Conversion happens when existing rules are interpreted in a substantially different one than the previous one. Actors disadvantaged by an institution might force this type of institutional change but with enough power to bend its ambiguities in their favor (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.17-18).

	Displacement	**Layering**	**Drift**	**Conversion**
Removal of old rules	Yes	No	No	No
Neglect of old rules	-	No	Yes	No
Changed impact/enactment of old rules	-	No	Yes	Yes
Introduction of new rules	Yes	Yes	No	No

Table 2 Types of Gradual Change (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.16)

7.C. Veto and interpretation powers

Actors have veto capabilities and interpretation powers to push their agendas through institutions. Depending on who controls rule enactment and enforcement and their relative position within the rest of the actors, they can veto rule changes or interpret the existing norms (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.18-19). Veto and interpretation possibilities condition institutional change types.

Displacement is less likely to happen when many actors have strong veto powers and weak interpretation capabilities. Strong veto powers make more likely modest changes such as Drift or Layering, depending on if actors have strong or weak interpretations capabilities. Conversion occurs when institutions allow discretionary interpretations, transforming institutions without substituting them (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.19-20).

System complexity and resource mobilization are crucial for actors' agendas. Usually, veto powers are exercised by the strongest actors, where actors in the "opposition" or losing side will rely more on the interpretation capabilities. Interpretation modifies the law's applicability, while veto directly abides new rules from happening. Elements as the administrative capabilities and institutional power share become crucial to apply or stop a planning policy change (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.20-21).

Characteristics of the political context	Characteristics of the targeted institution: Low levels of discretion in Interpretation/Enforcement	Characteristics of the targeted institution: High levels of discretion in Interpretation/Enforcement
Strong Veto Possibilities	**Layering** *(Creation of new policy without elimination of old)* Examples: Most constitutional revisions, new planning laws and policies that build on prior system, incremental revisions to Official Plans, adding new measures such as Environmental Impact Assessments to existing development control regimes	**Drift** *(Transforming of stable policy due to changing circumstances)* Examples: Failure to reform welfare policies to respond to economic and social changes, failure to revise municipal boundaries in growing city-regions.
Weak Veto Possibilities	**Displacement** *(Formal reform, replacement, or elimination of existing policy)* Example: Normal policy changes	**Conversion** *(Internal adaptation of existing policy through changes in implementation)* Example: non-enforcement of existing policies such as pollution regulations by EPA under Republican administrations in U.S.

Table 3 Examples of Institutional Change (Sorensen, 2015, p.19)

7.D. Categories of change agents

Olson (1965) defines Actors (or agents) as groups voluntarily formed to pursue common goals. Wallis (2010, p.221,223) uses this definition to distinguish between individuals, organizations, and Government, being the latter a third-party enforcer. Instead, this paper will use Olson (1965) definition and Rye et al. (2018, p.196) distinction between formal and informal actors. Informal actors are those whose governance is not established in law. They participate in the institutional setting, but they are not part of the public sector as formal agents do.

Despite this, they can influence formal agents' balance of power and push for their agency (González & Healey, 2005 as cited in Rye et al., 2018, p.197). Both actors' types can be categorized through Mahoney & Thelen (2010) types of change agents: Insurrectionaries, Symbionts (parasitic or mutualistic), Subversives, and Opportunists (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.23).

	Seeks to Preserve Institution	**Follows Rules of Institution**
Insurrectionaries	No	No
Symbionts (Parasitic/Mutualistic)	Yes	No
Subversives	No	Yes
Opportunists	Yes/No	Yes/No

Table 4 Types of Change agents. Modified from (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.23)

Insurrectionaries do not follow the rules of institutions nor want to preserve them. This actor is usual when several institutions reinforce one another and create broad limitations for certain actors to pursue their agenda. If it succeeds, it produces Displacement changes (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.23-24).

Symbionts can be parasitic or mutualistic. Group self-interest feeds their behavior, obtained by not respecting institutional organization rules. Parasitic affect the institution negatively in the long run, while Mutualistic contribute institutional equilibrium by expanding coalition's support while not being loyal to institutional rules. When symbionts are the dominant change agent, the outcome depends on whether if they are interested in institutional survival (mutualists-Conversion) or not (parasites-Drift) (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.24-25).

Subversives are not interested in institutions' permanence, but to topple them down, they do not break its organizational rules. This actor promotes internal changes forming institutional reform coalitions. In the institutional context where subversive actors are dominant, change requires slow coalition-building processes. This institutional environment is ideal for Layering processes adding reforms to old rules (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.25).

Opportunists adjust their behavior towards rule compliance and institution persistence depending on their agenda. They tend to be conformist and submissive to the dominant status-quo, making change more difficult. When they are favorable to change, they support Conversion, opening old rules to new interpretations (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.26-27).

A coherent methodology to explain planning changes must address that, as far as they shape one another, actors' behavior to implement their agenda depends on the contingent context and institutional and cultural environment. As previously said, institutional change is a tensioned equilibrium filled with uncertainty between supporters and challengers.

	Allies with Institutional Supporters	**Allies with Institutional Challengers**
Insurrectionaries	No	Yes
Symbionts (Parasitic/Mutualistic)	Yes	No
Subversives	No	No
Opportunists	Yes/No	Yes/No

Table 5 Coalitional alignments of change agents' types (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.30)

		Characteristics of the Targeted Institution	
		Low levels of discretion in Interpretation/Enforcement	High levels of discretion in Interpretation/Enforcement
Characteristics of the Political Context	Strong Veto Possibilities	Subversives (Layering)	Parasitic Symbionts (Drift)
	Weak Veto Possibilities	Insurrectionaries (Displacement)	Opportunists (Conversion)

Table 6 Contextual and institutional sources of Change Agents (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.28)

8. Actions, agency, and coalitions

8.A. Actions and interactions with space

Mahoney & Thelen (2010) change agents' systematization helps understanding how institutional change and change agents operate, but it does not show which actions are taken to pursue an agenda. Bork-Hüffer et al. (2016), *Modes of Interaction of Agents, Agency, and Space in the Socio-Spatial Dialectic* categorize actions allows listing soft actions that work simultaneously with more institutionalized, normative behaviors (Bork-Hüffer et al., 2016, p.141).

MODES OF INTERACTION IN THE SOCIO-SPATIAL DIALECTIC		
Social (re)production of space	(Re)production of agency	(Re)production of power geometries
Maintenance… *Modification…* *Molding…* *Making…* … of space	*Suppression…* *Structuring…* *Support…* *Stimulation…* … of agency	*Resilience…* *Reworking…* *Resistance…* *Revolutionary…* … acts

Table 7 Modes of Interaction of Agents, Agency, and Space. Modified from (Bork-Hüffer et al., 2016, p.136)

Social (Re)production of Space are actions effects that directly intervene in the physical environment and its interactions with the urban fabric (Bork-Hüffer et al., 2016, p.137):

- Maintenance keeps, reinforces, and adapts the existing activities in space to a specific context. They do not change the existing power geometries nor intend to do so.
- Modification happens when informal actors unintentionally, slow, and gradually change the space while working with the existing institutional rules.
- Molding is like Modification, but its changes are intentional.
- Making creates a space, structuring new socio-spatial relations amongst agents. Its results may differ from the expected objective.

The (Re)production of Agency speaks of agents' capabilities to enable an agenda. It can promote, frame, restrict, or hinder agents' practices in the pre-existing institutional power setting (Bork-Hüffer et al., 2016, p.138):

- Suppression impedes or deactivates other actors' agencies.
- Structuring conditions agency capabilities, determining possible actions through socio-cultural or material space restrictions.
- Support are spatial actions that facilitate agents' purposes.
- Stimulation significantly fosters specific policies or agendas.

The (Re)production of Power Geometries refers to how actors' different positionalities interact in the urban sphere (Bork-Hüffer et al., 2016, p.140-141). Contestation over the urban space results in a constant negotiation on how the environment is shaped:

- Resilience happens when agents adapt to power structures.
- Reworking are actions designed to reduce systemic inequities or inefficiencies without openly defying institutional order.
- Resistance seeks to mobilize actors' resources when space is contested.
- Revolutionary acts seek to rework institutional power balances completely.

Bork-Hüffer et al. (2016) ground the Change Agents model, heavily theoretical and normative when applied to specific cases (Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.38). These ideas speak of agenda actions and institutional behaviors, but how does agency form? When do actors mobilize?

8.B. Actors' coalitions & agency

As almost any public policy, spatial planning relies heavily on compromise. Based on contingent power relations, dominant actors define planning instruments and introduce change (Servillo & Van Den Broeck, 2012, p.56). Institutional reproduction and survival deal with actors' agency maximization, which might induce change or maintain the path dependent status quo (Morrison, 2017, p.2558).

The ruling formal institutional actors usually lead change, but they need alliances with other actors to avoid serious contestation. Sharing a frame of problematization, cultural values, or rule-understanding ease cooperation (Servillo & Van Den Broeck, 2012, p.48). Dominant change actors need to set a Discourse that maximizes ruling coalition gains over other actors' worldviews and interests (Imran and Pearce, 2016, p.104). Effective governance builds legitimization among relevant formal and informal actors (Benford & Snow, 2000; Ansell & Gash, 2007; O'Brien, 2012; Souto-Maior & Gondim, 1992 as cited in Follador et al., 2018, p.11,12).

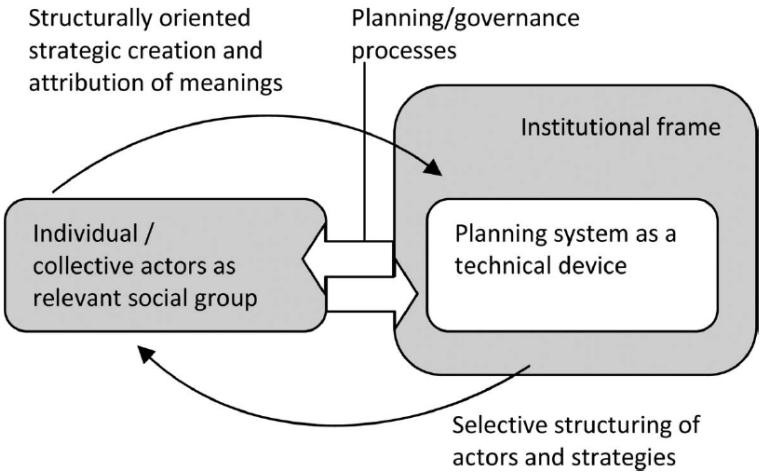


Figure 4 The strategic-relational perspective of the Social Construction of Planning Systems (Servillo & Van Den Broeck, 2012, p.47)

Urban planning fosters this logic as it operates in a limited space, with limited resources and with change-resistant policies once they are enacted. Even with the need for cooperation, influential coalitions' power will displace other interests. Inside the contingent nature of power and the constraints that path dependencies provoke, some identifiable elements can ease actors to mobilize for or against change:

- The prevalence of powerful stakeholders: ruling actors might seek to remain in power by widening ruling coalitions or coercing change mechanisms by limiting participation. Institutional survival and effectiveness, which might depend on change, could be put in second place for ruling actors to preserve the status quo (Morrison, 2017, p.2574).
- The means of marginalized actors: if actors not included in the ruling coalition or decision-making procedures have enough means for contestation. When coordination within existing institutional arrangements fails, change contestation or mobilization is more likely to happen (Harty, 2005 as cited in Morrison, 2017, p.2559, 2560)(Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.44).
- The absence of solid accounting procedures (Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.56).
- The existence of multiple fora: opening participation in collaborative governance without coordination mechanisms may weaken the unity of institutional arrangements, debilitating implementation processes (Ansell & Gash, 2007; O'Brien, 2012 as cited in Follador et al., 2018, p.17).
- The perception of inclusion in the process: rather than the actual inclusion or even the quantity of participation processes, the quality of interactions among actors is critical in triggering actors against planning changes (Follador et al., 2018, p.18).

9. Methodology

9.A. Onwards to operationalization

Complex institutional systems such as urban planning usually rely on historical Neo-institutionalism concepts of sudden exogenous drivers of change (Sorensen, 2015, p.25-26, 29). This methodology incorporates endogenous, short, and mid-term actors' actions and roles to complement path dependence explanations. It aims to be a reliable, replicable, qualitative tool that can successfully explain change and resistances in planning.

To answer the question "*Under what conditions can informal actors influence path dependence dynamics*" in spatial planning policy changes, we must look at who has the power and what are the limits of its implementation (Taylor, 2013, p.697). A framework to work through multi-scalar planning layers needs to shed light on invisible mechanisms that have visible implications (Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.39)(Moulaert et al., 2016, p.181-182).

9.B. Actors and Gradual Change Framework (GCF)

In previous sections, this paper has developed path dependence, neo-institutionalism, and change agents' ideas. Path dependence reinforces existing frameworks and practices, but institutions may overcome them when ruling actors change, opening paradigms for contestation (Follador et al., 2018, p.18). Actors' strategies consider structural architecture (structurally inscribed strategic selectivities) and critical junctures (structurally oriented strategic calculation)to select their actions (Servillo & Van Den Broeck, 2012, p.47).

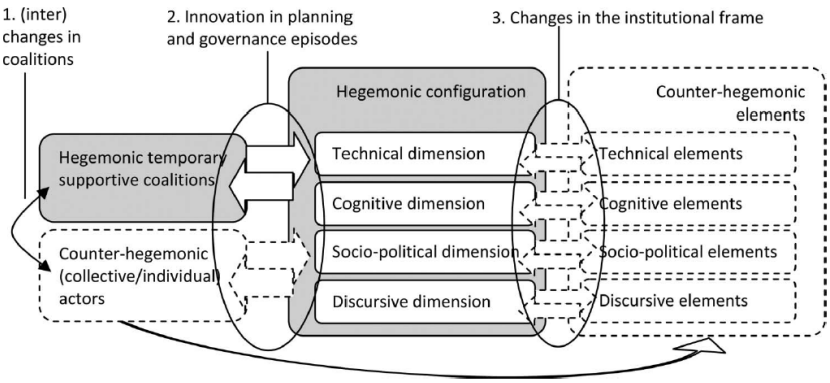


Figure 5 Hegemonic & counter-hegemonic coalitions and their interaction (Servillo & Van Den Broeck, 2012, p.52)

One of the few attempts to operationalize these ideas is the Gradual Change Framework (GCF). GCF considers both actors' actions and structure in a socially constructed, historically contingent when institutional change happens. This scheme uses Mahoney and Thelen (2010) categories of Drift, Conversion, and Layering with the initial institutional setting and change agents' actions to understand its outcome (Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.39).

	Drift	**Conversion**	**Layering**
Initial institutional ambiguity or malleability:	Low	High	High
Institutional structures induce change through:	Path dependence, creating *status quo* bias	Granting actors discretionary capacities to alter institutional meanings	Coupling of multiple institutions; differential growth
Change agents must have access to discretionary, intellectual, or material capacities to:	Keep institutional updating off the policy agenda	Manipulate interpretation of institutional rules	Sponsor and carry out modest changes or propose marginal amendments
Final institutional outcome	Institution must not change, but institutional outcome post-drift must not be similar to institutional outcomes pre-drift	Institution post-conversion must be functionally different than institution pre-conversion	Initial institution must change and should become similar to the institution that was layered on top of it

Table 8 Empirical indicators for processes of GCF (Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.40)

This scheme leaves room for socio-cultural elements together with the institutional setting and actors' agenda motivations. In GCF, the leading endogenous elements are how institutional structures induce changes gradually, creating a differential margin of action among actors for resource allocation (Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.43). Both elements combined produce a change-type outcome that defends or defies the previous status quo.

- Drift in GCF is the result of inaction in willful change. Due to a lack of interest coordination, actors cannot change the institutional setting due to strong veto powers and high discretion in rule implementation (Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.43-44). As institutions are not malleable, change depends on exogenous contextual shifts, varying institutional performance. Here, Change Agents are Parasitic Symbionts that try to block institutional reform, mobilizing resources to keep it off the agenda (Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.45, 47, 54).
- Conversion in GCF allows high malleability. Weak veto possibilities and high interpretation powers determine how the institution implements its processes (Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.43-44). Change agents operate as Opportunists that reluctantly remake institutions. They change institutional interpretation by making modest changes, such as changing policy definitions, goals, or resource allocation (Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.46-48). Distinguishing this process from Drift depends on change actors' active role (Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.52).
- Layering in GCF occurs willingly in environments with solid veto possibilities and low interpretation capabilities. According to Schickler (2001 as cited in Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.43-44), this process happens when institutions defy previous or parallel institutions, offering an alternative setting. Layering might happen due to changes in public support for previous arrangements or its lack of adaptability for new circumstances (Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.48). As this change of public support opens a window for change, conflicts may arise between supporters of the previous arrangement and Subversives change agents. That is why Layering requires marginal amends and advocacy (Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.50, 51).

9.C. An Embedded Gradual Change Framework (EGCF)

In a broad sense, this research seeks who and how can influence planning policies and change path dependencies patterns. After revisiting institutional change, change agents, actors' actions in space, through the gradual change framework lens, this thesis proposes an *Embedded* Gradual Change Framework (EGCF) methodology. EGCF incorporates a broad definition of path dependency to emphasize environmental elements' relevance when analyzing spatial planning changes implementation.

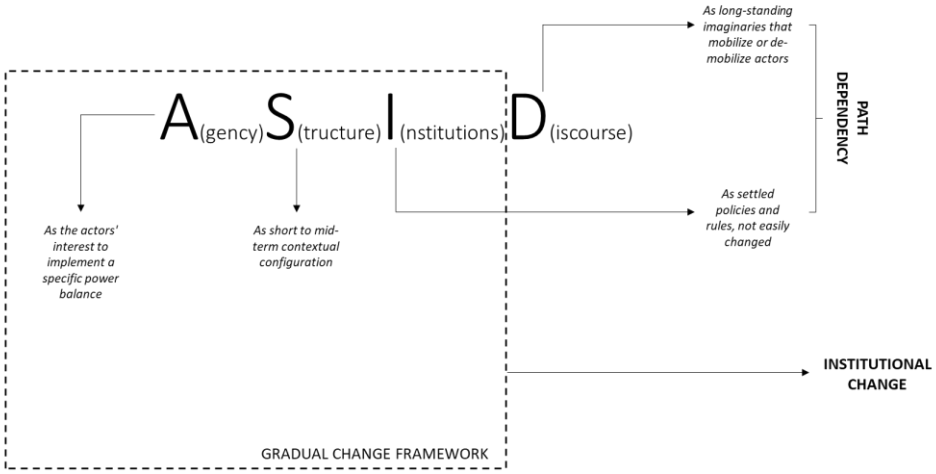


Figure 6 Embedded Gradual Change Framework. Self-made

Here, Agency refers to the actors' interest to implement a specific power balance. Structure to the short to the mid-term contextual configuration. Institutions as settled policies and rules which are not easily changed. Discourse provides the long-standing imaginaries that mobilize or de-mobilize actors. Taking as a base the ASID model (Moulaert et al., 2016) in combination with GCF (Rocco & Thurston, 2013), EGCF provides a complete unit of analysis:

- Agency and Structure allow room for Mahoney & Thelen (2010) Types of Change Agents and Bork-Hüffer et al. (2016) actors' actions and modes of interaction with space.
- Institutions and Discourse set the path dependencies and long-term environmental phenomena. Institutions introduce past actions and policies that create resistance to change with neoinstitutional theories (Taylor, 2013)(Follador et al., 2018). Discourse adds the cultural element of actors' worldviews (Servillo & Van Den Broeck, 2012)(Othengrafen & Reimer, 2013).

The ANNEX I provides a short explanation on how to embed theories into a handbook to better navigate the EGCF methodology.

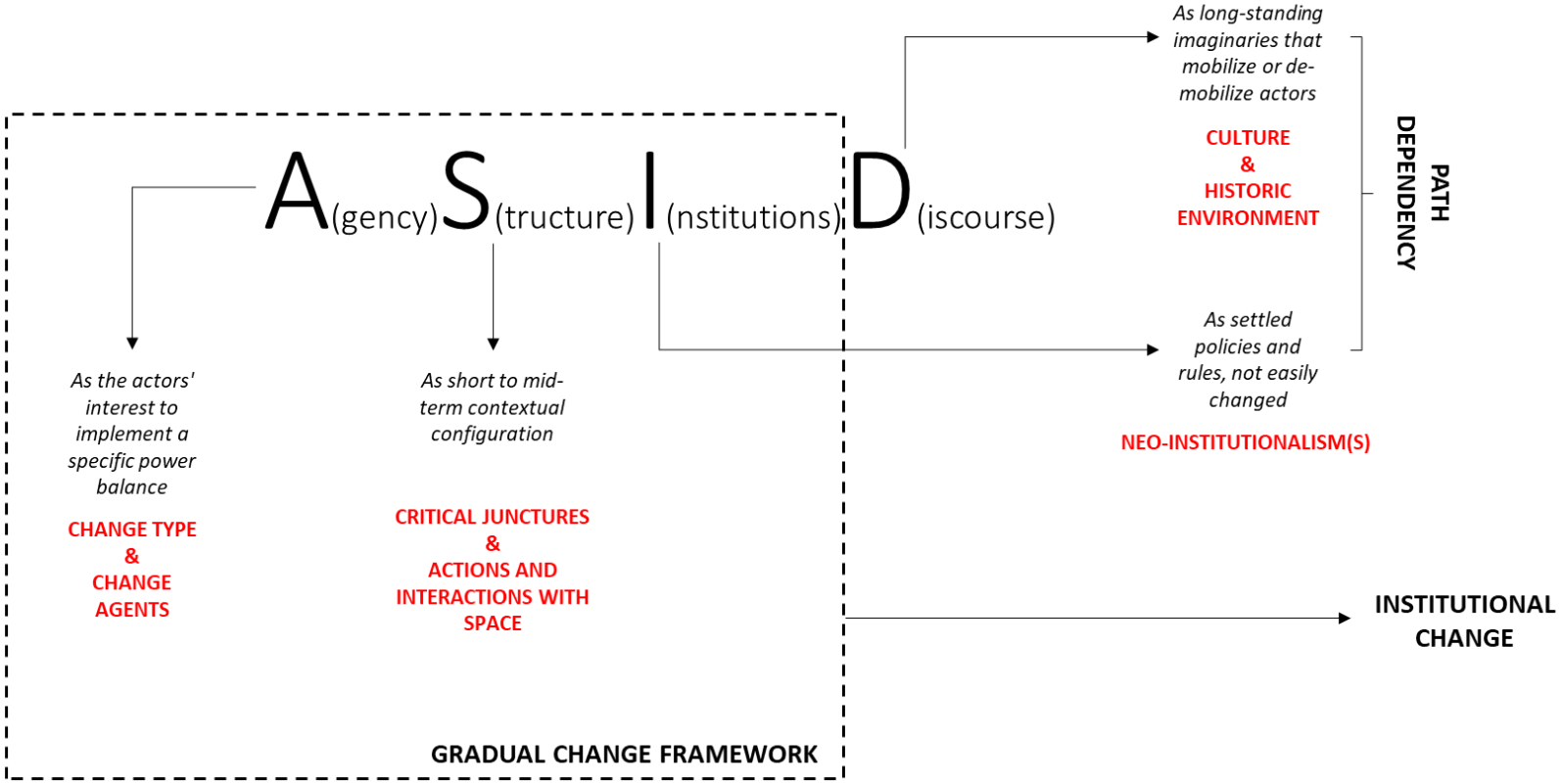


Figure 7 Embedded Gradual Change Framework & Theories Source: self-made

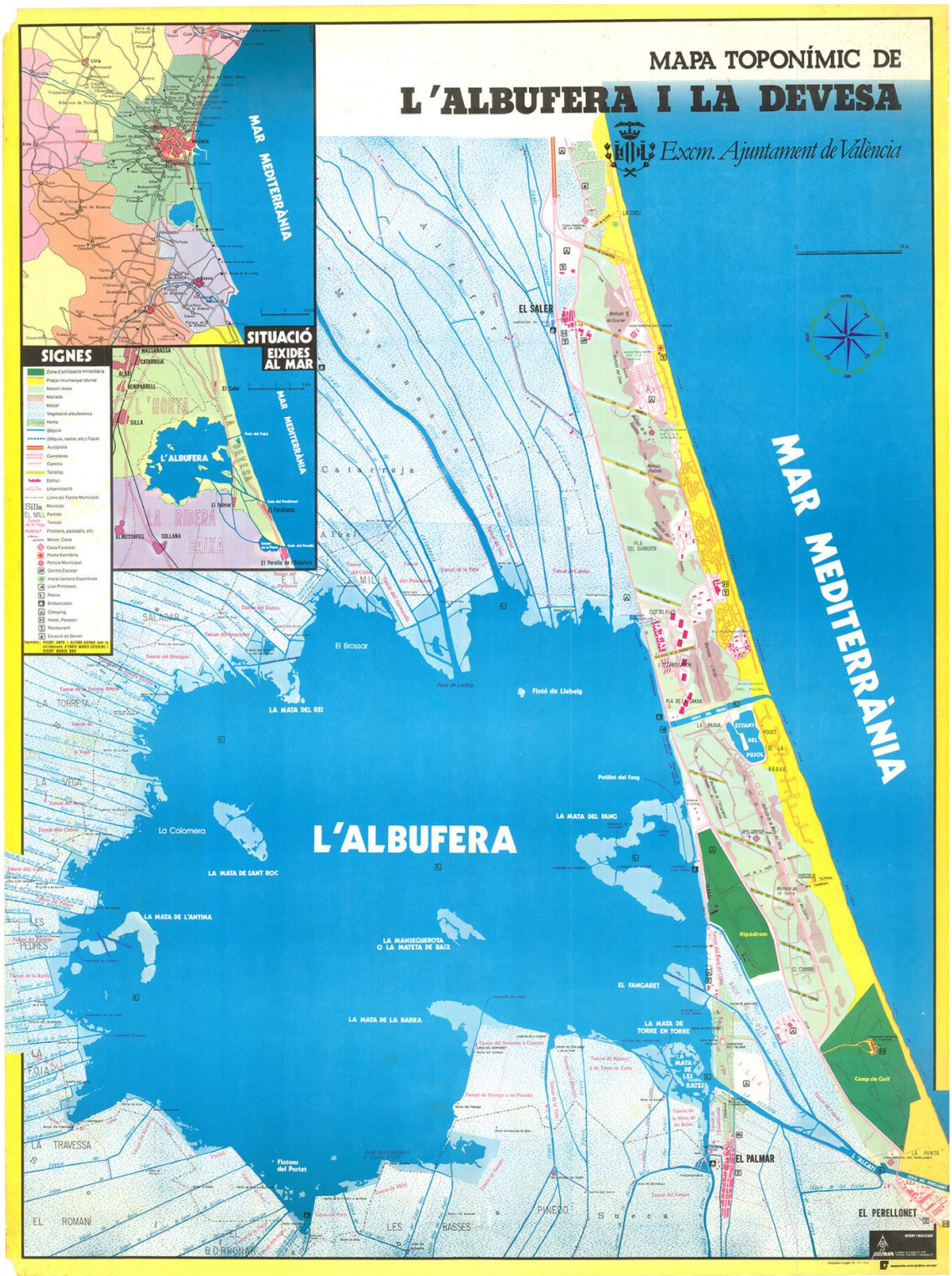
9.D. Analysis tools and data collection

The selected case study shows informal actors' resistance when implementing a planning change. The change is the CV-500 road reduction from a 4-lane road to a 2-lane road, as part of the Regional planning Albufera Landscape Program (*Programa Paisaje Albufera*). This research uses the following methods:

- Historical narration to understand path dependencies and Valencian cultural and institutional environment (Abbott & Alexander, 2004, p.8-9). Additionally, a timeline will detail the analysis of the interventions of *Programa Paisaje Albufera*.
- Formalization through *Embedded* Gradual Change Framework (EGCF) methodology built upon several theories fixes an analysis structure (Abbott & Alexander, 2004, p.12-13). This will be structured upon a table and an actors' map.
- Document analysis.

The Analysis section will refer to the historical and cultural path dependencies, actors' behavior, and the spatial planning changes proposed by the Albufera Landscape Program. The information will be extracted from multiple sources:

- The Albufera Landscape Program (*ALP*): focusing on its interventions (i1, i2) in Area 1.
- Public documents: Spatial planning-related Laws, programs, reports, and policy documents, as well as Regional Parliamentary sessions. These will be extracted from the Regional Government (gva.es) and Parliament (cortsvalencianes.es) official websites and through a request of public documents regarding the ALP. Additional sources may include National and EU reports.
- Academic papers: that will provide quality and contrasted information about the case study and the studied institutions.
- Local, Regional, and National media: newspapers, conferences, and radio programs add sources to interpret public documents and provide structural and discursive context.
- Graphic materials: maps, figures, images, and photographs to better illustrate the spatial uniqueness of the case-study area.
- Primary sources of information including 1970s propaganda leaflets, photographs, and projects from the urbanization proposal and actual on-site photographs.
- Quantitative longitudinal and cartographic data: extracted from the *Institut Cartogràfic Valencià* (icv.gva.es)*, ARGOS.gva, the Instituto Nacional de Estadística* (INE), and the Valencia city hall (valencia.es) (Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 2020) official websites to reinforce affirmations and support other information sources.



Map 2 First toponymic map of the Albufera de Valencia (1982), the case study area. (Martínez Llorens, 2019, p.66)

10. Case study: delving into the Valencian context

10.A. EU & State: A frame of a frame

Spanish central government and EU planning and environmental legislation affect planning even without direct urban competencies. This lack of competencies was settled by the Constitutional Court judgments (STC 61/1977; 164/2001; 141/2014) other than provide a general subsidiary categorization and sectorial competencies framework that affect planning (García Rubio, 2015, p.190). According to the art. 25.2 of the *Law 7/1985, of the 2nd of April, Regulating the Bases of the Local Regime* (LBRL) (Jefatura del Estado, 1985), the execution and planning of urban competencies in Spain belong to the municipal level, and its legislation, to the regions.

Municipalities have more independence in managing and competencies from the State depending on how big they are (art. 26 LBRL). The central government exercises its authority in the municipalities collaborating through the *Diputaciones*, who coordinate the Province smaller municipalities, advising in economic policies, distributing and funding some developments in the Province. Regional Governments rule over the *Comunidades Autónomas* (CC.AA.) and have competencies in spatial planning legislation and ordination and supra-municipal plans. The complex and tight public-led planning process, sectorial legislation, and multi-level competencies affect planning clarity and limit change impacts (Galera Rodrigo, 2016).

The *Law of the Land of the 12th of May 1956* (LS56) (Jefatura del Estado, 1956) urban legislation basic premises were a strong public-led and highly regulated zoning and land usage. The current State legislation is the *Royal Legislative Decree 7/2015, of the 30th of October, which approves the consolidated text of the Urban Land and Rehabilitation Law* (TRLS15) (Jefatura del Estado, 2015). This Law which fills the potential gaps of autonomic legislation, adds fundamental rights and catalogs land types (Galera Rodrigo, 2016, p. 490). It also seeks to amend the separation between urban planning (*Planeamiento Urbano*) depending on municipalities, and Spatial Planning (*Planeamiento Territorial*), which depends on the Regions.

Despite improvements, abuses and corruption have always found their way to bend plans and impoverish the territory in Spain, even before Francoism (Gherghina & Volintiru, 2017, p.117)(Rosas et al., 2013)(Criado, 2016). Urban policies accountability becomes complex when processes dilute in time and have shared responsibilities. Many authors suggest that open citizen participation could result in a more representative, fair urban policies (Lago-Peñas & Martínez Vázquez, 2013 as cited in Farinós Dasí & Gomis Fons, 2018, p.471) (Stokes, 2005).

Urbanistic corruption is a problem in Spain, as pointed out by the "2006 UN Special Rapporteur about the right to an adequate living standard":

> *"Problems of corruption in the country derived, fundamentally, from the possibilities provided by the Land Law to requalify land, which has come to suppose that the requalification of land was used as a source of financing for political parties. It has also been stated that some politicians and officials took advantage of this situation for their benefit […] that they occupy positions of importance […] have access to confidential information in relation to urban planning and management […] thus such as the ability to influence urban planning; and it is that according to independent estimates, 26% of the town councils' income comes from urban speculation"* (Manero Salvador, 2015, p.348).

In the 60s, coastal tourism and Francoist boosterism policies merged in the 1963 Law of Centers and Zones of National Touristic Interest, enlarging coastal land and urban speculation (Farinós Dasí & Cortés Tovar, 2010, p.148)(Galiana Martín & Barrado Timón, 2006, p.81). Nowadays, urbanistic corruption manifests mainly through adjudication contracts, megaprojects, and minor modifications of the General Urban Ordination Plan *(Plan General de Ordenación Urbana)*.

Map 3 Centers of Touristic National Touristic Interest (1963) remarking Valencia city and province. Modified from (Tudela & Delgado, 2018, p. 30)

In 1986, Spain entered the European Economic Community (EEC), passing vital environmental legislation that affected planning. Later, urban methodologies (LEADER; ISUDS; MAREMED), and pacts such as the EU 2020 Territorial Agenda (European Commission, 2014), the Amsterdam Pact, the Leipzig Charter, and others started to slowly shape multi-level Spanish governance in planning (Farinós Dasí & Cortés Tovar, 2010, 161)(Farinós Dasí & Gomis Fons, 2018, p.466-468)(Peters & Pierre, 2012, p.76). Despite this, the *Law 27/2013, of the 27th of December, on Rationalization and Sustainability of the Local Administration* (LRSAL) (Jefatura del Estado, 2013), limits local autonomy in favor of the *Diputaciones*, going against territorial cohesion and integrated management of the environment (Galera Rodrigo, 2016, p.493).

10.B. Comunitat Valenciana - History, economy, and politics

Valencian Regional Government (the *Generalitat Valenciana*) regulates all the processes, the times, the actors involved, and the strategic principles for spatial coordination. It builds upon the recently approved *Legislative Decree 1/2021, of the 18th of June, of the Council for the approval of the consolidated text of the Law on spatial planning, urban planning, and landscape* (LOTUP) (Generalitat Valenciana, 2021c) that substitutes the *Law 5/2014, of July 25, of the Generalitat, of Spatial Planning, Urban Planning, and Landscape, of the Valencian Community*. Before 2004, no cohesive law regulated planning in the Region (the *Comunitat Valenciana*).

The Valencian Region has had a strong regional identity since the early decentralization project of the 2nd Spanish Republic (1931-1939). After Francoism (1939-1978) and right after the 1978 Constitution, regions were reinstated over the Provinces system (Prytherch, 2006). Valencian self-identity is built in opposition to Catalan identity and Madrid centralism (Hernández i Martí, 2006 as cited in Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.209-210). In their first Regional elections (1983), the social-democratic candidate Juan Lerma (PSOE-PSPV) won and started improving commercial connections of Valencia through the Mediterranean arch with EU funds (Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.213). This will deepen the deindustrialization of the northern industrial area of Valencia (Sagunto), pushing the Region towards tourism and a third sector economy.

The PSOE Regional Government approved the *Law 6/1994, of the 15th of November, Regulatory Law of Urban Activity* (LRAU) (Generalitat Valenciana, 1994) opened the door to private-public partnerships in urban planning (Nogués Galdón, 2007). Driven away from the Regional Government in 1995 by the center-right absolute majority of the Partido Popular (PP), the LRAU was used to develop an environmentally unsustainable territorial model, profoundly indebted and based on mega-projects for tourism promotion (Lloret Gual & Farinós Dasí, 2018a, p.85)(Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.216, 220).

The PP governed in Valencia and the Region until 2015, when a tri-partite leftist coalition won the Municipal and Regional elections. Revalidated in 2019, the actual Tri-partite Government has 52 out of 99 regional parliament seats. Ximo Puig presides (PSOE-PSPV, 27 seats), supported by Compromís (17 seats), and Unides Podem (8) (ARGOS, 2019)(Farinós Dasí & Gomis Fons, 2018, p.472). This institutional configuration has created a complex environment to manage. Regional spatial planning is trying to solve this with plans such as the PATIVEL, which affects 63% of all Valencian natural spaces, wetlands, and other environmentally fragile areas (Farinós Dasí & Cortés Tovar, 2010, 141, 155). Previous projects and plans were either delayed in approval or never had the normative strength to force its compliance.

10.C. Comunitat Valenciana – Spatial dimension

The LOTUP is the touchstone of the long tail of territorial figures of planning and guiding principles that spatially order the Valencian Region. General Urban Ordination Plan (PGOU) that depends on the municipal decisions is divided in Valencian legislation as Structural Ordination, for a general view on areas, & Detailed Ordination, which presents cohesive, comprehensive planning (art. 19 LOTUP). Other infra local tools (Partial Plans, Inner Reform Plans, and Detail Studios) add detail to those figures.

The LOTUP also refers to three principles and several supra-municipal tools that depend on the Region: the green infrastructure, the landscape, & the rational use of land (arts. 4-13 LOTUP). Supra-municipal tools such as the Territorial Strategy of the Comunitat Valenciana (*Estrategia Territorial de la Comunitat Valenciana, ETCV*), or Territorial Action Plans (*Planes de Acción Territorial, PAT*), like PATIVEL & PATEVAL develop these principles.

10.C.1. Green Infrastructure

The green infrastructure is the basic territorial system of areas and places of most relevant environmental, cultural, agricultural, and landscape value (art 4.1 LOTUP). This concept appears with the ETCV in January 2011 during the last PP Government. It aims to connect the coastal and inland environmental reservoirs and improve urban coastal zones itineraries & green zones (art. 4.2 LOTUP). The coastal landscape fulfills a dual function: sewing the territory and facilitating productive and reproductive activities (Farinós Dasí et al., 2018, p.290).

This principle is particularly relevant for our case study. As early as 2011, it puts in value spaces such as the Albufera de Valencia and connects it with the transportation network. The green infrastructure seeks to create a 1,000m protected open space in front of the coastal landscapes and open a soft track (*Vía Litoral*) that connects all the natural spaces of the coast. Just as the Albufera Landscape Program intends to do so (Farinós Dasí & Cortés Tovar, 2010, p.154).

Map 4 Green Infrastructure Territorial Corridors & Albufera Landscape Program area (ICV, n.d.-a)

10.C.2. Landscape Programs

LOTUP defines landscape in the following way: "*Landscape is any part of the territory, as it is perceived by those who inhabit it, whose character results from the interaction of natural and human factors*" (art 6.1 LOTUP). Interventions in these spaces are of "regional importance" are framed by the *European Landscape Convention* (Council of Europe, 2000), which will lead its actions according to quality management and public participation (art. 6.2 LOTUP). The landscape will also condition land usage, activities, and infrastructures (art. 6.3 LOTUP).

This set of directions determines how programs such as the Albufera Landscape Program (ALP) should operate. Landscape Programs are specific areas requiring specialized and integrated interventions (art.6.4 c) LOTUP). Together with the Landscape Studies and Landscape Integration Studies, they are the tools that develop this LOTUP principle. Annex III of LOTUP determines its contents, adding public participation and information as conditions for these plans (art. 6.5 LOTUP). However, the Law does not set public institutions to apply citizens' demands, turning participation and consultation into an unreliable mechanism.

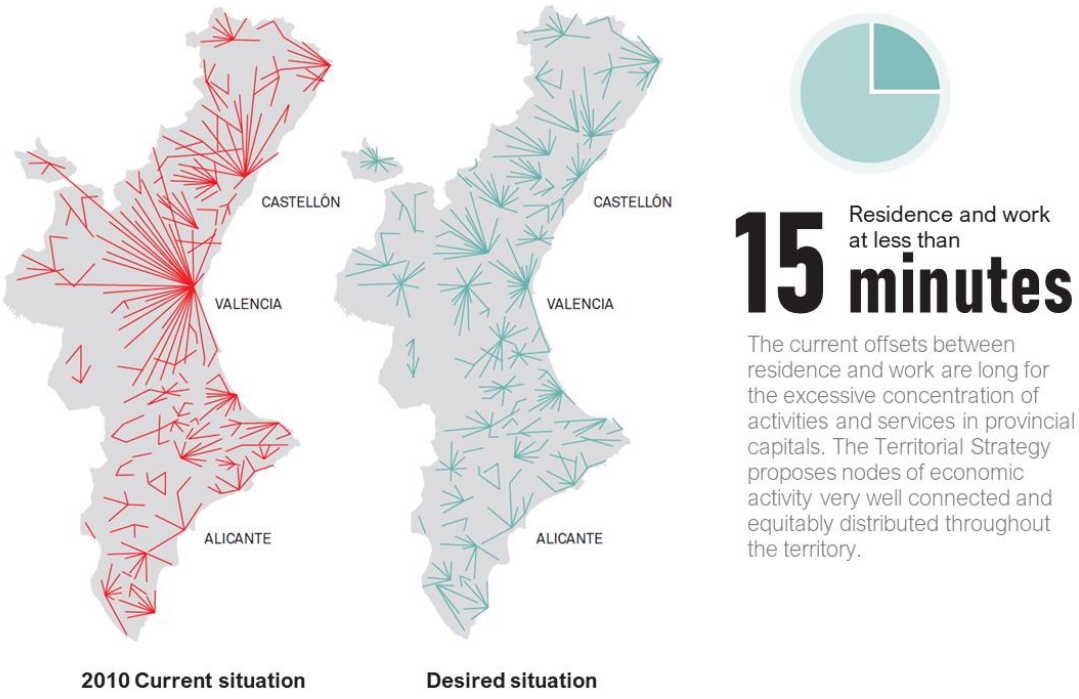
10.C.3. Territorial Strategy of the Comunitat Valenciana (ETCV)

The Territorial Strategy of the Comunitat Valenciana (ETCV) is a legally binding, long-term strategic plan that defines objectives by area for 2010-2030 (Generalitat Valenciana, 2011). ECTV aims to identify regional opportunities and pursue them through its objectives rationally and sustainably (art. 15.2 LOTUP). The relevance of this document concerning the ALP lies in its functional area division and its representation of day-to-day displacements in the Region (Generalitat Valenciana, 2011, p. 64, 117).

ETCV territorial division of the territory sets fifteen functional areas following criteria of territorial polarity (work-related mobility, consumption, leisure, provision of administrative services, and provision of advanced services to companies). This territorial model promotes poly-centricity and equilibrium in the city system, diving Valencian territory in three areas: the coastal area (Height 100); the intermediate fringe, and the rural system (Farinós Dasí & Gomis Fons, 2018, p.473, 475)(Farinós Dasí & Cortés Tovar, 2010, p.153). Regarding the Albufera Landscape Program, ECTV's primary interest is how its spatial division situates the population nuclei of Perellonet, south of Albufera coastal sleeve, in the southern border between Valencia functional region and the *Rivera del Xúquer* area one as shown in the MAP 4. Additionally, the Objective 19 of the ETCV, focused on mobility, does not refer to the specificities of displacements through the CV-500. These two weaknesses might contribute to the invisibilization of inhabitants of Perellonet.

Map 5 Functional Areas of ETCV. Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana, 2011, p.117)

ETCV's main criticism is its land-use restrictions, enacted but not correctly implemented unless Territorial Action Plans (PATs) are developed (Farinós Dasí & Cortés Tovar, 2010, p.161). Until then, the role of territorial coordination is held by the *Mancomunidades*, voluntary associations of several municipalities to share services (Farinós Dasí & Gomis Fons, 2018, p.473). The ETCV contemplated compensatory measures to reduce land usage limits impacts, such as the Territorial Equity Fund. Foreseen in the *Law 4/2004, of 30th of June, of Territorial Ordination and Landscape Protection* (LOTPP) (Generalitat Valenciana, 2004), but LOTUP eliminated this possibility.



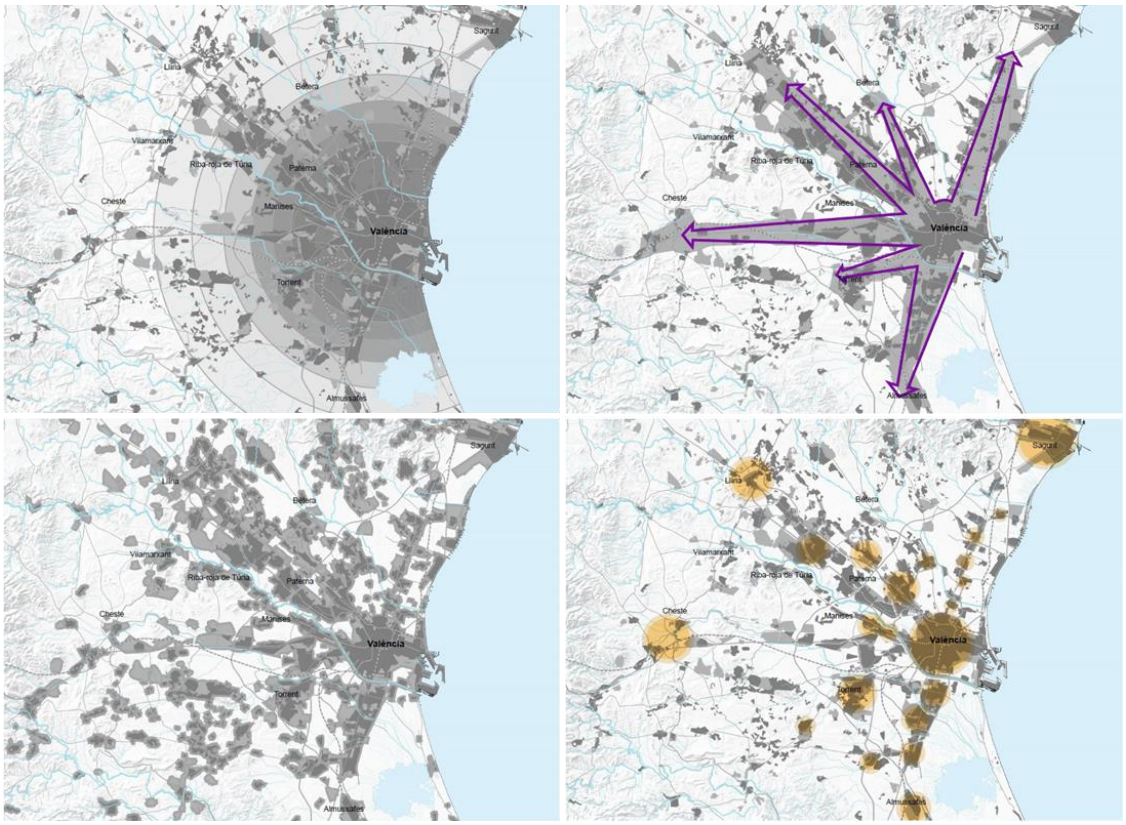
Map 6 ECTV Mobility in the Valencian Region. Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana, 2011, p.64)

10.C.4. Valencian Metropolitan Territorial Action Plan (PATEVAL)

Territorial Action Plans (PATs) are the instrument that develops the ETCV objectives, principles, and criteria in specific territories or sectors. Its scope can include several municipal terms (art. 16.1 LOTUP). PATs can even deviate from the ETCV to adapt it to the specificities of the area, reserve certain terrains for supra-municipal infrastructure, change zoning and land uses, and modify municipal plans (art. 16.4 LOTUP).

PATs are a powerful territorial tool where the Regional Government can pull its institutional weight over municipalities. The 2015 Valencia Metropolitan Territorial Action Plan (PATEVAL) is an excellent example of a relevant PAT for our case study, as the Albufera Landscape Program happens in the metropolitan area. It includes four alternatives to the city growth, strongly suggesting the Polycentric city model of Nodal Growth as the most sustainable alternative (Farinós Dasí et al., 2018, p.293)(Generalitat Valenciana, 2016, p.97):

1. Concentric Growth.
2. Axial Growth around central road infrastructure.
3. Disperse Growth.
4. Nodal Growth around compact city functional areas.



Map 7 Concentric (top-left), Axial (top-right), Disperse (bottom-left), and Nodal (bottom-right) modes of growth of the city of Valencia. Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana, 2016, p.97-100)

The PATEVAL comes to relevance for our case study for a similar reason as the ETCV: it does not contemplate any specific section for the populations located south of the Albufera of Valencia, nor it mentions the CV-500 problematic further beyond the ecologic relevance of the Albufera. This shows that a systemic, integrated comprehension of the territory is yet to be reached (Farinós Dasí et al., 2018, p.298-299).

10.C.5. Territorial Action Plan for the Green Coastal Infrastructure (PATIVEL)

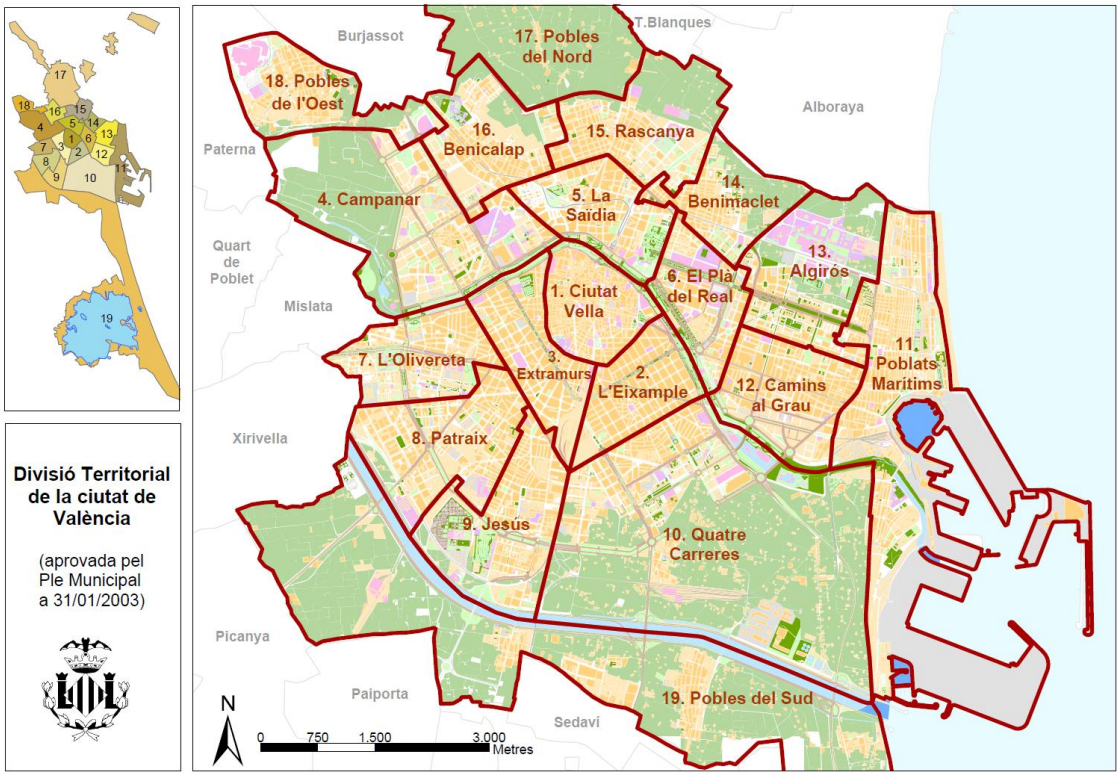
The Territorial Action Plan for the Green Coastal Infrastructure (PATIVEL) has considerable relevance for the Albufera Landscape Plan. Following art. 17 of the *Decree 58/2018, of May 4, of the Consell, by which the Territorial Action Plan of the Green Infrastructure of the Coastal Region of the Valencian Community and the Catalog of Beaches of the Valencian Community*, (Generalitat Valenciana, 2018a) It develops the green infrastructure *Via Litoral* plan. It seeks to protect all coastal natural areas in the Valencian Region, deteriorated in favor of constructive elements like touristic high-rise apartments, waterfronts, or parking lots (Farinós Dasí & Cortés Tovar, 2010, p.153). PATIVEL includes three areas of interest: Settlement System, Green Infrastructure, and Mobility. It is the most ambitious documents of the current approved PATs. Based on the concepts of Integrated Coastal Zone Management (ICZM), it searches for a better Governance of the coastal areas (European Environment Agency, 2000).

Approved in May 2018, PATIVEL has been taken to court by the *Partido Popular* (PP) and an Alicante Real Estate development company *Torreviñas SLU*. On the 11th of February 2021, the Superior Court of Justice of Valencia annulated PATIVEL (Sanchis, 2021)(Alicante Plaza, 2021). According to the Tribunal, this verdict happened due to the lack of accessory documents in PATIVEL, like a Gender Impact Study, a detailed enough Economic Impacts assessment, and a proper Environmental Evaluation (STSJ CV 161/2021). The Plan will have to be refurbished to pass the Regional Parliament, or the judgment be repealed in court and won. This leaves 7,500Ha of land, 10% of the Region, in an unclear legal situation, affecting the *Albufera Landscape Plan* in the long run.

10.D. Valencia – History, economy, and politics

10.D.1. A city public planning full of path dependencies

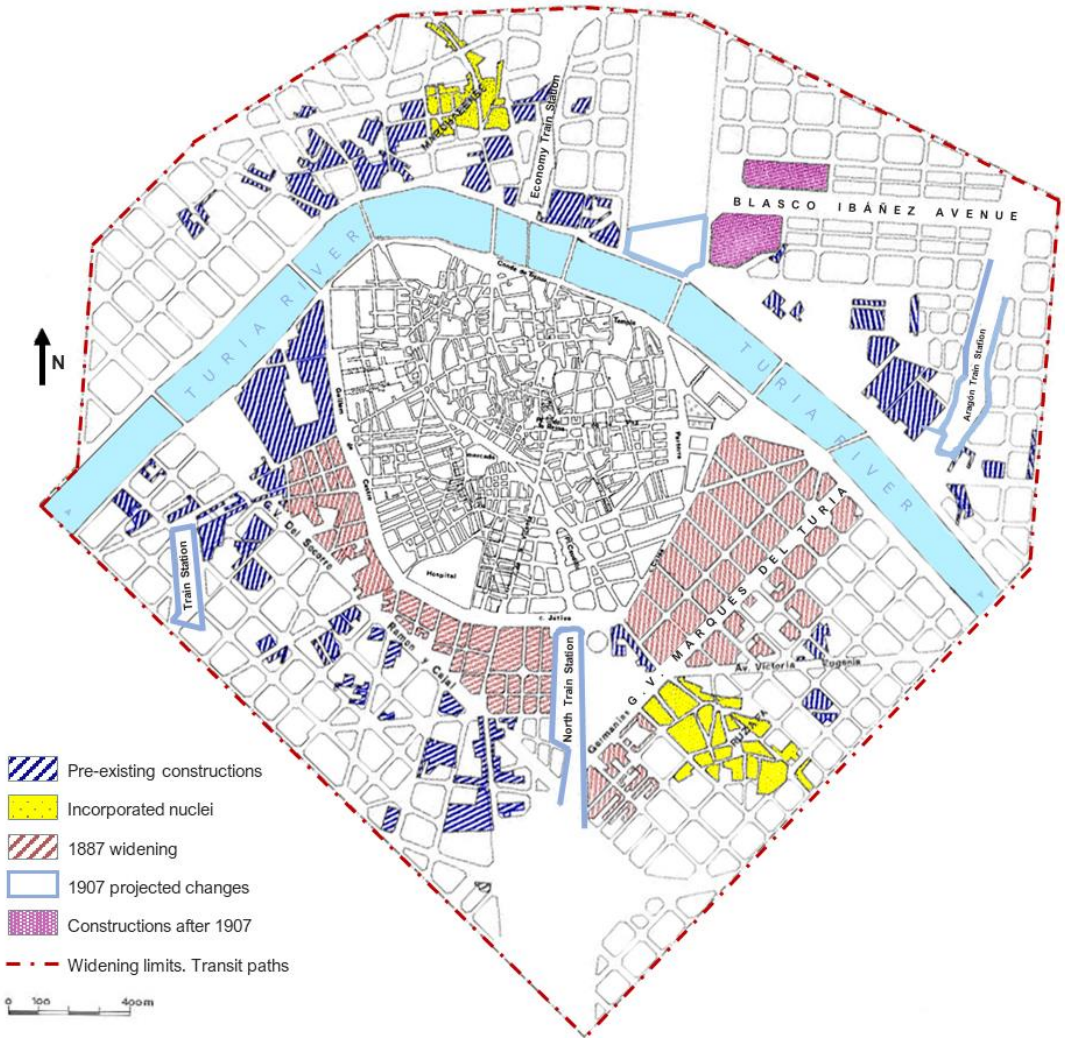
Valencian urban conflicts have been historically three: the city's relationship with its coast, the Albufera de Valencia lagoon and its usages, and the fertile traditional Valencian orchards that surrounded the city (González Móstoles, 2002, p.289). Valencian public policies profoundly changed these spaces' uses and occupation, showing how vital it is to consider historical and cultural environments to understand spatial policies.



Map 8 Valencia districts layout. (Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 2021)

As Cassimiro Messeguer's 1883 project *De Valencia al mar* shows, path dependencies started shaping the urban pattern early on. The proposal of the *Vicente Blasco Ibañez* Boulevard (back then *Paseo al mar*) will cut the traditional low-income fishermen area of Cabanyal in two. Until 2001, the completion of the project was still contested by the neighbors, a symbol of how social activism can resist a "path dependent" urban project (*valenciaalmar*, n.d)(Tiempo Muerto en el Cabanyal, 2009).

Modernist urban reforms started in 1865 with the demolition of the city walls and the Widening Plans of 1859 & 1887 (Teixidor, 1976, p.75). The Hygiene movement promoted the ideas of the Garden city and promenades, such as *Marqués del Turia*, *Avenida Real*, *Calle de Serranos*, amongst others. These reforms show connections between Valencia, Barcelona, and Madrid as an entrance point for European urban reforms (Tomás Llavedor & Vicens Salort, 2010, p.214).



Map 9 Late XIX Century urban pattern in Valencia. Modified from (Teixidor, 1976)

European ties were visible through the municipal urbanists and their consecutive plans. Federico Aymamí Faura (1850-1926), the municipal architect in Valencia (1900-1920), traveled around Europe and studied in Barcelona a few years after Ildefons Cerdà i Sunyer (1815-1876) proposed the famous Barcelona's 1860s Urban Plan. Aymamí Faura made the Valencia reform project of 1907 (Museu d'història de València, 2019). His successor was Francisco Javier Goerlich (1886-1972), son of the Austro-Hungarian consul in Spain and author of the 1928 Urbanistic plan (Torreño Calatayud, 2005, p.80, 114, 124).

After the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), Valencia shifted from a rural city economy to a service-based metropolis. According to Alcalá-Santaella et al., (2011, p.202), the city experienced four stages:

1. The great transformation (1957-1979)
2. From the Right to the city to local priority redefinition (1979-1991)
3. Crisis and change in the Valencian political hegemony (1991-1995)
4. Valencian globalization. Urban mega-projects & mega-events (1995-2007)

Economic and demographic growth kept determining the Valencian landscape as exogenous forces until the mid-70s (Teixidor, 2002, p.284). Later, the city spatiality changed via Spain's entrance in the European Economic Union (1986) and the 80s regionalization of urban competencies (González Móstoles, 2002, p.288). Growth-oriented policies had a prominent role in urban policies until the 2015 Government change, but citizen mobilization shaped urban public policies in all related periods. Some of the most prominent examples are the uses for the Turia riverbed (1958-1969), turned into a park and not a highway; and the 1970s contestation over the preservation of the Albufera coastal lagoon surroundings as a Natural Park (1986) instead of turning the area into a high-class tourism resort (Farinós Dasí & Cortés Tovar, 2010, p.142).

The following sections will use Alcalá-Santaella et al., (2011) periodization, adding an economic crisis period (2007-2015) and a municipalism resurgence one (2015-2021). Afterwards, the spatial dimension will detail relevant path dependencies and cultural myths in the city's urban milieu and relevant spatial struggles that show a pattern of institutional behavior and neighbor resistances dynamics.

10.D.2. The great transformation (1957-1979)

In 1956, when the Franco regime approved the Urbanization Law, almost no municipality in the Valencia Region had an approved urban plan (Merlo Fuertes, 2014, p.66). This Law was meant to fight land speculation, but it had moderate success due to the deep connections and rampant corruption clientelist networks among politicians and businessmen (Tavits, 2009, p. 105)(Zapata Osorno, 2016, p.167).

Map 10 Valencia 1956 zenith view. Orthophoto RGB. It can be appreciated that the new river basin still does not exist, as well as Vicente Blasco Ibáñez Boulevard (in red), parallel to the Port Avenue, only has its initial phase built. Modified from (ICV, n.d.-b)

Planning and public-led intervention improved roads, enforced industrial zoning, and created cheap social housing to ordain the city (Torreño Calatayud, 2005, p.131-136). These are an excellent example of how Francoism misused some of Valencia's II Republic's urban ideas. For instance, Valencian garden cities sprawl cheap housing and worsened traffic congestion. The absence of a proper commute system kept the bourgeoise in the historic city center and XIX widenings (Blat Pizarro, 2002, p.267)(Sorribes Monrabal, 2015 p.177)(Tomás, 2019).

Until 1950, Valencia was essentially a commercial and administrative center formed by the late XIX widenings and incorporated former surrounding villages (Teixidor, 2002). The industrial sector grew around the communication network north (towards Barcelona) and west (towards Madrid). Traffic congestion started to be a problem (Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.207).

Image 2 New Turia river basin view from the Mediterranean Sea right after its construction (1969). (Náutica Mare Nostrum, 2020)

Image 3 New Turia river basin. View from the road connection of V-30, V-15 & CV-500 road (1979). (Náutica Mare Nostrum, 2020)

In 1957, the River Turia periodic flooding left 81 deaths in Valencia (Galera Rodrigo, 2016, p.115). The Regime proposed the controversial South Solution (1958) to solve periodic flooding. Started in 1965 and finished in 1969-1973, the future use for the now-empty river basin made the local and the central government clash, forcing the renounce of three different majors. The central Government wanted to build a mega highway to ease traffic congestion, but citizen, academia and local elites refusal of the project stopped it. Finally, in 1986 Bofill's project for an urban park was built in the old riverbed (Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.207-208).

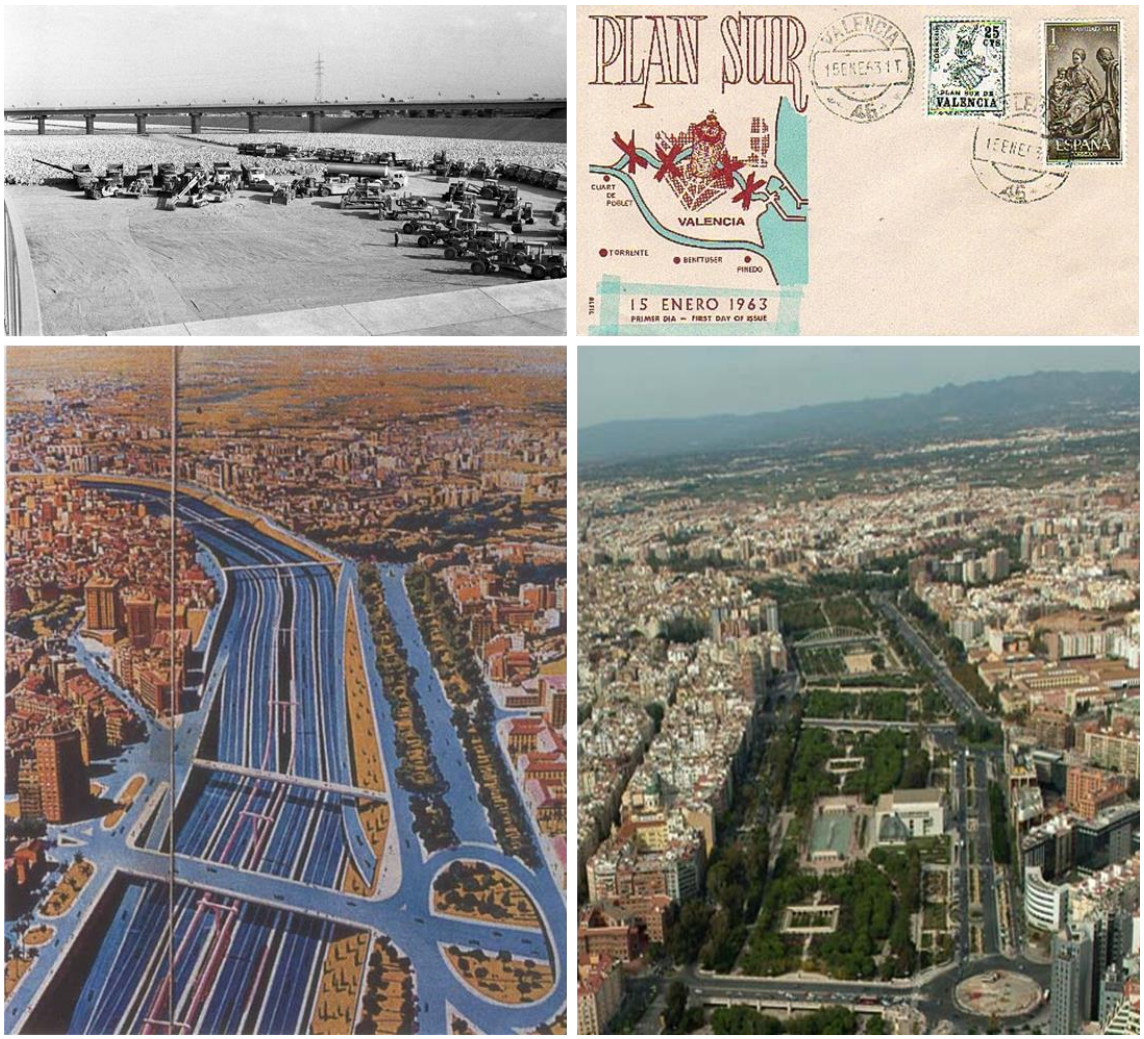


Image 4 Excavators on the Turia new River Basin & envelope commemorating the South Solution (1969, top). Comparison between Francoist proposal for the old Turia river basin and actual park based on Bofill' 1986 design (bottom). Modified from (Náutica Mare Nostrum, 2020) (Blasco, 2016)

In the 60s, Francoist economic policies provoked massive migration flows towards the cities. Valencia shifted its economy from the primary sector and developed its industry to embrace tourism later and turn into a service city. The Valencian farmers and its fertile orchards (*L'Horta*) kept their cultural relevance in the city margins and metropolitan area (Sorribes, 2007 as cited in Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.205-206).

10.D.3. From the Right to the City to local priority redefinition (1979-1991)

When democracy was reinstated in 1978, Valencia was experiencing massive changes. The Levantine coast was a major tourist destination. If in the 50s, the city had 30,800 housing units, by 1970, it had 203,511 (Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.207). In the late years of Francoism, some neighborhood associations fostered by leftist clandestine party members like the Spanish Communist Party (PCE), started denouncing the lack of urban facilities and poor general conditions in the cities (Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.203)(Galera Rodrigo, 2016, p.115). One of the most critical struggles in Valencia was against the urbanization of the coastal sleeve of the Albufera, with early environmentalist and social movements like "*El Saler per al Poble*" (1974). (Dolç et al., 2017)(Dolç, 2021, p.66).

Image 5 "El Saler per al Poble" decal (top-left, 1974); Architecture college exhibit poster about the 60s urbanization plan of the Albufera (top-right, 1974); demonstration announcement posters (bottom, 1977, 1978). (Martínez Llorens, 2019, p. 79, 159, 164, 16)

1979 municipal elections brought back to power a center-left coalition between the Spanish *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE-PSPV) and the *Partido Comunista Españo*l (PCE) (Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.203). Social movements and neighborhood associations were very active in the urban policies field, promoting social policies, a Valencian Metropolitan Council (1986), new urban infrastructure like the metro (1988), and protecting the historic buildings in the city center (Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.210).

When economic and demographic Growth stagnated, Valencian policies started to orient towards urban mega-projects with the 1988 Urban Plan (PGOU). This created frictions between the Local Government, the neighbors, and even inside the ruling party. Fernando Martínez Castellanos (PSOE) and Ricard Pérez Casado (PSOE), the first democratically elected majors since the II Republic, were pressed from both the Regional and Central Governments (PSOE) to force their renounce (Enguix, 2020)(Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.210-214).

1988 Urban Plan projected, amongst others, S. Calatrava's *Ciutat de les Ciències* south of the Turia empty river basin, but also decimated urban budgets and reduced citizens' participation, limited political participation to co-opted associations, and favored urban expansionism (Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.214-215)(Stokes, 2005). These controversies will end with giving Local (1991) and Regional (1995) Governments to center-right Partido Popular (PP), Rita Barberá (PP), and Eduardo Zaplana (PP) respectively (Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.210).

These decades were crucial for Spain. It made the Valencian Region a top destination for inner tourism, keeping the 60s Francoist economic model of sun + beach (Miralles i Garcia, 2015). Fostered by real estate and the construction of tourism residences, urban policies in the city kept away the attempts to reconcile Valencia with its water masses. In the coastline, with the port expansion avoiding connecting the city center and its beaches. In the river and the Albufera, with the orchards' destruction, the basin change, and the urban sprawl. Both fights followed an economic logic of displacement of impoverished populations, a geographical one, within the axis West-East towards the sea, and North-South in its historical evolution.

10.D.4. Crisis and change in the Valencian political hegemony (1991-1995)

The internal crisis of the PSOE social-democrats, combined with the effects of economic crisis and corruption cases, ousted them from local, regional, and central Governments in 1991, 1995, and 1996 in favor of the center-right (PP). In Valencia, city identity branding became the vehicle for mega-projects and mega-events. On the national and regional scales, urban laws significantly liberalize construction (Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.203-204). Back in the 90s, the turn into "entrepreneurial urbanism" was standard in Spain.

Some Valencian examples of costly events with limited social return on investments were the *Ciutat de les Arts i les Ciències*; the attempt to make an urban Formula 1 Championship circuit, or America's Cup (Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011a; Gaja, 2006, 2013; Cucó, 2013a, 2013b; Rausell, 2010 as cited in Camacho Gutiérrez et al., 2015, p.17). These expansionist practices provoked widespread institutional corruption of the politicians in charge. Valencia officials tried to develop towards Europe through business while reducing social expenditures, fostering neighborhood inequalities. This impacted population growth: while during the 1960-1981 period, the city grew from 501,777 to 744,748 inhabitants, while in 1991-1995 decreased from 752,909 to 746,683 inhabitants (INE, 1960; 1981; 1991; 1995 as cited in Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.205).

The first Valencian Strategic Plan (1993) consolidated the public-private partnership that will root and rot Valencia. Universities, Commerce Chambers, Port Authority, business, unions, and some entities from the third sector were supposed to legitimize public action through dialogue and consensus. Forum meetings never had regularity, continuity, or veto powers, so their impact focused on giving legitimacy to elite consensus focused on boosting growth and urban sprawl. (Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.217-218). Citizens' opposition to the 1993 Plan revitalized neighbor associations to preserve specific spaces, such as *Salvem el Botànic* (1994), and other historical buildings (Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, 218-219). In the long run, corruption cases and these seeds of municipalism will end center-right political hegemony in the city and the Region in 2015.

10.D.5. Valencian globalization. Urban mega-projects & mega-events (1995-2007)

Valencian turn into a M.I.C.E. (Meetings, Incentives, Conventions, and Exhibitions) city (International Congress and Convention Association, 2007), under the center-right *Partido Popular*. Both the Region & city completed its transition into a third sector city. The *Feria de Valencia* events balanced the loss of prominence of industry. Even so, the main economic boost was in the real estate and construction sectors, which created an inflationary bubble in the Spanish economy (Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.219)(Lloret Gual & Farinós Dasí, 2018a, p.84).

The *Generalitat* Valenciana regional Government modified the *Ciutat de les Arts i les Ciències* project to allow the *Palau de les Arts Reina Sofía*, *l'Hemisfèric*, the *Museu de les Ciències Príncipe Felipe*, *l'Oceanogràfic*, and *l'Agora*. Construction companies developed mega-projects and their surrounding areas, such as the Francia Avenue. Urban plans were intermediated by private-public agencies, such as *CEYD, FTVCB,* or *Fivec*, used to funnel payments in campaign money and a share of benefits in a clear case of clientelism (Peñalosa & Borràs, 2019).

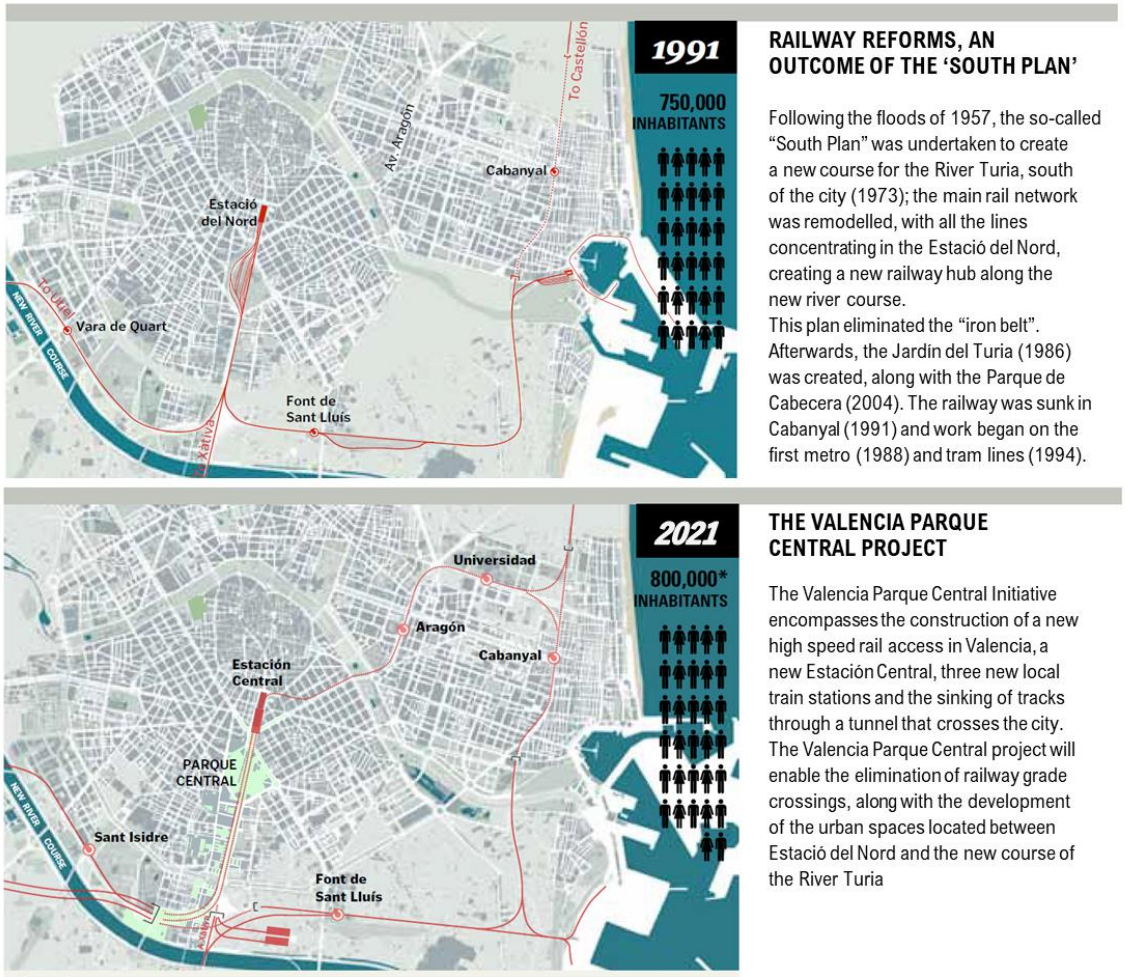
Attempts to control land speculation and complete the city never succeeded in this period, leaving empty and unfinished plots of land in the middle of the city, such as:

- The Plan de Acción Integrada (PAI) Grau, a private-public urban instrument meant to prolong the Francia Avenue towards the port and complete the Turia river basin park, including a part of La Punta quarter. This project is still in court in 2021 (Plaza, 2021b).
- Parque Central, a 2003 agreement with the Ministry of Development to modify the train entrance to Valencia central station and build a park. Unblocked after 2015, this is the biggest current urban operation in the city (Valencia Parque Central, 2015).
- Sociópolis, a pilot project to integrate the city developments south of the city and the traditional orchards (Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.221-222)

Map 11 Aerial view of North train station pre-2015 (Valencia Parque Central, 2015, p.6)

Urban sprawl resistances were systematically erased. In 1999, the Metropolitan Council was eliminated under the excuse of allowing for more flexibility in Territorial Planning. In doing so, Regional Government silenced the social-democratic local governments that participated in the Council and complained about the new Valencian policies (Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.220-221). Social policies situation worsened, generating massive infrastructure lacks such as twenty-six public schools made of construction-site barracks, a stark contrast with the money spent on the city mega-events (Durà, 2021)(Camacho Gutiérrez et al., 2015, p.19)(Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.223).

These policies did not help the opposition parties, with fewer votes in the 2007 election. Citizens movements such as *Salvem el Pouet, Defensem la Punta, Salvem l'Horta, Salvem el Cabanyal, Salvem el Botànic*, and many others organize themselves as an extra-institutional opposition to defend against urban speculative processes (Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.222-224).



Map 12 Train lines projected changes in the 2015 Parque Central project (Valencia Parque Central, 2015, p.23)

10.D.6. Economic crisis and corruption: the end of an era (2007-2015)

The reduced electoral impact of these policies was by both the 5% restrictive electoral barrier to gain seats in the Valencian municipalities and the lack of a mobilizing left alternative. According to fifteen key interviews made by Camacho Gutiérrez et al., 2015 to actors of the business, political, academic, unions, and social movements in 2013, this attitude is the Valencian way of "meninfotisme" (*me n'hi fot*), meaning "I do not care" (Camacho Gutiérrez et al., 2015, p.23). However, this is unfair for the informal actors that articulated a neighborhood resistance against austerity policies or speculative urbanistic operations before the 2008 financial crisis & the 2011 *Indignados* protests.

Social movements increased significantly after the 2007 local elections (Pineda, 2009; Ganuza & Francés, 2012 as cited in Lloret Gual & Farinós Dasí, 2018b, p.42). They demanded to reduce the gap between public institutions and citizens or to solve specific problems. Governance, participatory budgeting, and commons started to resonate. By 2013, the Generalitat Valenciana region had the second-most municipalities with participatory budgeting (18%) right after Andalucía (43%) (Farinós, 2014 as cited in Lloret Gual & Farinós Dasí, 2018b, p.42).

Camacho Gutiérrez et al. (2015, p.16) defines the public policies of Valencian urbanism with a simile of the popular regional party: the *Fallas,* that consist of burning monumental effigies that require huge loads of money in its creation. During the 1995-2007 period, the construction bubble ravaged the traditional orchards that surrounded the city. The construction bubble burst provoked a profound impact on tourism mega-projects and the real estate sector (Camacho Gutiérrez et al., 2015, p.21). If new registered housing in 2006 was 5,007, by 2014, this number decreased to 696,3. Real estate transactions lowered in the same period from 12,824 to 6,474, and the construction sector reduced from 33,462 workers and 3,061 businesses to 12,694 & 1,653, respectively. On the contrary, the port experienced an activity rise of 47% in the same period. Valencia lost its prominence as M.I.C.E destination in favor of other cities, like Barcelona (Camacho Gutiérrez et al., 2015, p.18).

The city model breakdown left behind an elevated land occupation and a shortage of public facilities in low-income neighborhoods like Nazaret, Malvarrosa, or Cabanyal. Highly permissive legislation allowed constant modifications of the urban plan (PGOU). Changing land usage constantly and expanding the city radially around its central nuclei gave the city an incomplete, spatially segregated, unfinished look (Camacho Gutiérrez et al., 2015, p.23)(Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011b, p.225 as cited in Camacho Gutiérrez et al., 2015, p.17).

Map 13 Valencia among the old Turia basin (north), the new one (south), the city center (west) and port (east), showing some conflicts of the city. Modified from (ICV, n.d.-c)

The 2008 crisis blew the clientelist network created to support Valencian mega-events and construction. Corruption cases such as Gürtel, Emarsa, Imelsa, and others started to pop up, affecting the center-right *Partido Popular* at a city, region, and national scale. This culminated with left parties of the spectrum: PSOE-PSPV (center-left, social democrats), Comprimís (Valencian regionalist left) forming a coalition with municipalism movements (*València en Comú*, later *Unides Podem*) (Xambó & Ginés, 2012 as cited in Camacho Gutiérrez et al., 2015, p.24). The movement was successful and allowed center-left parties to come back to power in the Region and Valencia in 2015 with the "Pacts of the Botanic", based on accountability, social facilities reinvestment, and citizen participation in decision-making.

10.D.7. The rise of municipalism and cities for the people (2015-2021)

The 2015's municipal elections took the Major's office from Rita Barberá (PP) and gave it to Joan Ribó (*Compromís*) that got 9 out of 33 seats in the city. With a tripartite coalition between PSOE (5 seats) and *València en Comú* (3), these parties replicated this formula in the Regional Government, where Ximo Puig (PSOE) won the most seats ousting Alberto Fabra (PP) from power. These "Botanic Pacts" were replicated after the 2019 elections, with *València en Comú* not getting any seats in the city council but had assigned Government areas (Compromís, 2019)

The Governmental coalition organizes as a "zipper" structure, where the responsible positions in every area are distributed amongst the tri-partite partners. As the Botanic Pacts stand, the main focus of this pact was to open up the public institutions towards citizenship and change the productive model of the city and Region. Participatory budgeting was spread, revitalized, and applied in all neighborhoods. AUMSA S.A., created in 1986 to facilitate urban projects at the municipal scale, started taking an approach closer to Scandinavian or Anglo-Saxon "community planning" (Lloret Gual & Farinós Dasí, 2018b, p.41). Urban quality, gentrification, and social inequalities are now prioritized (Lloret Gual & Farinós Dasí, 2018a, p.91).

The new local and regional governments are inspired by new EU trends such as the Integrated Sustainable Urban Development Strategies (ISUDS, or EDUSI in Spanish). One example of this is the Urban intervention in the *Cabanyal-Canyamelar* neighborhood (Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 2018c). This turn into the "micro" scale will require persistence as new processes are meant to be inclusive, just, and sustainable (Healey, 1997 as cited in Lloret Gual & Farinós Dasí, 2018b, p.51).

Renewed citizen public and institutional participation also generates hard-to-handle expectations. There is yet little academic literature on this new period. Some early weakness points by Lloret Gual & Farinós Dasí (2018b, p.41) are overlaps in the institutional actions planned by the tri-partite governments that create vertical and horizontal coordination problems among Government levels and areas. There is no coordination mechanism for functionally dependent councils or a detailed agreement over the city model (Lloret Gual & Farinós Dasí, 2018a, p.90-91).

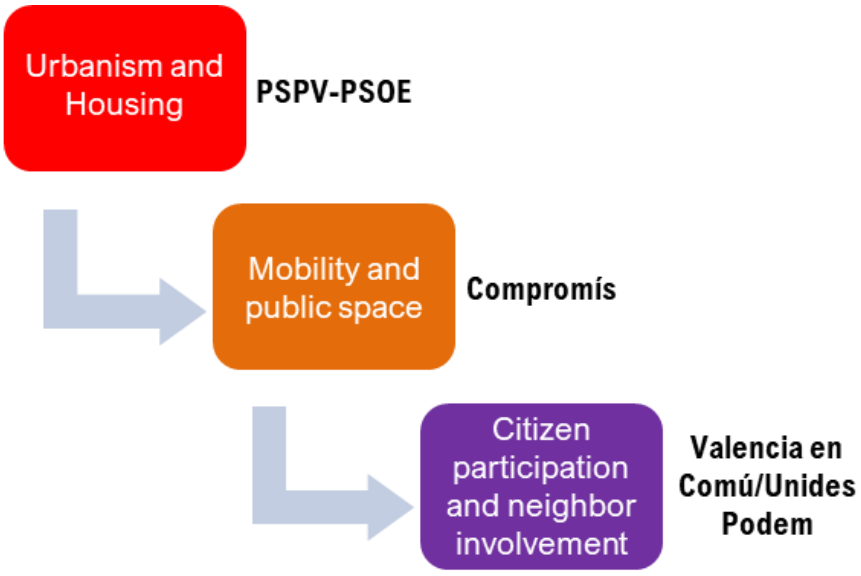


Figure 8 Urban departments distribution among Valencia city hall coalition partners before 2019. Modified from (Lloret Gual & Farinós Dasí, 2018a, p.90)

10.E. Valencia – Spatial dimension

10.E.1. Blasco Ibañez Avenue and the Cabanyal neighborhood

The earliest case of a spatial conflict in modern Valencia is the Blasco Ibañez Avenue and the Cabanyal neighborhood. This 3.3km boulevard project, designed by Cassimiro Messeguer and named "*De Valencia al mar*" will run parallel to the Grau, starting from the *Jardín del Real* and ending at the Cabanyal beach, the Malvarrosa (Tiempo muerto en el Cabanyal, 2009). Conceived as a linear garden for the Valencian bourgeoisie like Arturo Soria's Madrilenian *Ciudad Lineal*, its completion would have required to destroy most of the traditional fishermen of Cabanyal (Blat Pizarro, 2002, p.262, 265)(Tomás Llavedor & Vicens Salort, 2010, p.219)(Lita, 2019).

Image 6 View of the Cabanyal-Canyamelar traditional facades. (Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 2018b)

Abandoned due to its high cost, the boulevard stops right before the neighborhood (Torreño Calatayud, 2005, p.115). Ever since, the low-income Cabanyal-Canyamelar neighborhood, now part of the Valencia Poblats Maritims District, has been subject to several speculative processes. In the early 2000s, a public-private initiative tool named Special Plan for Protection and Interior Reform (PEPRI) tried to intervene in this historical, two flat fisherman housing area (EFE, 2010).This started a legal battle against the city hall plans to widen the Marina Real Complex up north of the port, which contradicted its 1993 given protection as a Cultural Interest Asset (BIC) (Hermosilla Pla, 2007)(Herrero García & Soldevilla Liaño, 2015, p.107-110).

Neighbors' associations as *Salvem el Cabanyal* claimed that the central Government had the competence to protect the unique physiognomy of Cabanyal against local plans. After 2010, the Constitutional Court determined that the Ministry of Culture had the right and obligation to protect the area (Santamarina Campos, 2014, p.312). Afterwards, neighbor's associations' projects like *Cabanyal Portes Obertes* or *Escoltem el Cabanyal* have tried to create a sense of community (Santamarina Campos, 2009, p.928). These initiatives have helped the 2015 tri-partite coalition to link EU Integrated Sustainable Urban Development Strategy (ISUD) for Cabanyal-Canyamelar: a linear garden that will go through the neighborhood (Lloret Gual & Farinós Dasí, 2018a, p.85-86; 2018b, p.47)(Plaza, 2020a).

Image 7 "No to the prolongation" graffiti in Cabanyal neighborhood (Tiempo muerto en el Cabanyal, 2009)

10.E.2. The Turia River basin change & the Ciutat de les Artes i les Ciències

The Turia river basin park comes from the deviation of the River Turia towards an artificial basin south of Valencia. After the 1973 South Solution completion, the city had a huge empty plot of land separating the historical city and its XX Century quarters. The civil Government, Valencian neighbors, and academics opposed "Madrid's Government" plans to develop a 12-lane highway connecting Manises Airport and the Port (Desfilis, 2019). The project sparked civic resistances such as "*el riu és nostre i el volem verd*" (the river is ours and we want it green). In 1976, during the dictatorship late years, King Juan Carlos I in representation of the Regime, gave the river basin ownership to Valencia, developed as a park in 1986 (Valencia Culture Magazine, 2020).

Together with the paralyzation of the project for the Albufera coastal sleeve, this urban struggle was one of the few projects paralyzed in Valencia during Francoism (Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.207-208). The 12km of Turia River basin park has turned into a green lung for the city and a cultural hub for Valencia. It hosts Calatrava's City of the Art and Sciences and many other cultural and sports installations. Ricardo Bofill 1986 project was executed area-by-area by different architecture studios, modifying the original project and losing a bit of coherence in favor of monumentality (Portalés Manañós et al., 2020, p.19).

Nowadays, associations like the *Associació de Veïns i Veïnes de Natzaret,* warn against the greenification of the park. Nazaret is a low-income neighborhood at the end of the old river basin that has suffered the infrastructural changes of the city: the new River Turia basin cuts its connection with the orchards, the port expansion destroyed their beach in 1986, and the PAI of Grau that will connect Nazaret with the city center is yet to be developed (Soria Domínguez, 2017). The park is also sunk in the basin and surrounded by major city streets, limiting its accessibility (Rausell Köster et al., 2006, p.25).

Calatrava's *Ciutat de les Artes i les Ciències* intial goal was to imitate Parisian *Cité des sciences et de l'industrie*. After the 1995 local elections, the new city hall searched for a "Guggenheim effect", expanding it into a mega-project (Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.217). Inaugurated in 1998, its high costs and the projected image of public spaces as monetization areas followed Valencian city branding policies (Rausell Köster, 2006, p.22).

Image 8 Aerial view facing southeast Ciutat de les Arts I les Ciències, showing Penya-Roja neighborhood (2008).The unfinished Francia Avenue & PAI Grau are on the left, reaching the port. Modified from (Rubio Pérez, n.d.)

Following the river basin, south of *Ciutat de les Artes i les Ciències* is the unfinished area of PAI of Grau. Briefly projected as the failed Formula 1 urban circuit (Romero, 2018), this unfinished area south of the city is still unresolved. The city hall wants to bury the Serrería train tracks that separate Penya-Roja from Grau and La Punta, west of Nazaret, which depends on the Ministry of Development. This has created friction between PSOE and Compromís (Castelló, 2018). Associations such as *Litoral per al Poble*, *Camins al Grau*, and the Neighborhood Association of Grau-Port have suggested using Next-Gen EU funds for the bury (Plaza, 2021a).

10.E.3. RIVA plan for the urban rehabilitation of the city center

The city center has had several interventions since 1992 inside the denominated Integral Plan for Housing Rehabilitation (*Plan RIVA*) to revert its abandonment. Its objectives included revitalizing the city center, keeping the original inhabitants and attracting new ones, preserving and enhancing areas in close cooperation with the neighbors (Lloret Gual & Farinós Dasí, 2018a, p.92-93). The Regional Government signed an agreement with the city hall to channel funds from the EU URBAN initiative, inspired by the 1969 Bolonia experience in historical preservation (Blasco, 2014)(Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.216-217). Citizens demanded urban facilities, preservation, and pedestrianization, but the city hall failed to communicate and consider bottom-up initiatives. The Office *Riva-Ciutat Vella,* created ad-hoc to channel neighbors demands, was focused on promoting private-public Special Plans for Protection and Interior Reform (PEPRI) (García Zarco & Jiménez Alcañíz, 1998)(Generalitat Valenciana, 2008, p.94-95).

Image 9 Central, Colon and Round Square refurbished markets in the city center. (Fundació Visit València, n.d.)

Since the new left tri-partite government came to power in 2015, the demands of the neighbors (expressed in the manifesto "*La Ciutat que volem*", the city we want) of more participation have been tried to be funneled. Several associations (*Plataforma de la Muralla, Asociación de vecinos del Barrio del Carmen, Assn. de veïns i comerciants Amics del Carme, Assn. de veïns Velluters, Assn. Cultural Atzucat, Assn. de Artesanos Laborart, Germania del barri del Mercat, Assn. de Vecinos Afectados por la modificación del PEPRI en el barrio del Carmen*) have made a coordination platform, the *Coordinadora de Asociaciones de Vecinos de Ciutat Vella* (Lloret Gual & Farinós Dasí, 2018a, p.93). The main concern now is that new coordination mechanisms overcome path dependent negative practices (Lloret Gual & Farinós Dasí, 2018a, p.95, 96).

10.E.4. Evolution of the Metropolitan model

Most of the Valencian Region population (5,057,353 by 2020) concentrates on its coast. The Region has a density of 217.47 inhabitants per km², the fourth in Spain. Valencia city has 800,215; inhabitants, and 1,581,057 in its metropolitan area (2020) (INE, 2020a; 2020b). The city is not just its municipal city limits but its immediate surroundings. With 45 municipalities and an extension of 629 square km, Valencia metropolitan area represents the third biggest Spanish urban agglomeration after Madrid and Barcelona (Ministerio de Fomento, 2018, p.27).

Valencian metropolitan coordination has undergone several transformations in the last 70 years. First, *Corporación Administrativa Gran Valencia* (1949) tried to make a coherent city's urban surroundings. Substituted by the "*Consell Metropolità de l'Horta*" (1986), its lack of means and its critiques of being Valencia-centric ended up with the organism being disbanded in 1999 (Burriel, 2009; Gaja & Boira, 1994 as cited in Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.206). Since then, Valencia lacks any metropolitan coordination mechanism until the 2015 PATEVAL.

Valencia's current urban plan (1988) favored an uncontrolled growth that fostered urban sprawl, orchards destruction, and disconnected urban nuclei in the metropolitan area (Farinós Dasí et al., 2018, p.299)(Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.211, 226). Since PATEVAL, the Local and Regional governments are revisiting urban policies to cohesion and coordinate Valencia edges. Urban Integrated Plans (PAIs) public-private cooperation tools have been limited (EL MUNDO, 2019).

Map 14 Valencian functional area according to ECTV (Generalitat Valenciana, 2011, p.98) PATEVAL (Generalitat Valenciana, 2016, p.9). Self-made

Despite the irreversibility of several actions of the previous governments, PATEVAL opens the space to coordinate spatial planning and urban policies. This whole new approach to land use planning is similar to the Anglo-Saxon community planning (or "smart planning") (Lloret Gual & Farinós Dasí, 2018a, p.83-84), but with a Mediterranean element that keeps a top-down, public-led approach alive. To reinforce a collaborative vision of the space in the metropolitan area, institutions need to address territorial inequalities (Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.222).

Negotiation rather than imposition is necessary to set agreements. Improving public transportation means in Valencian metropolitan car-dependent road infrastructure is vital (Farinós Dasí et al., 2018, p.288). A polycentric city model that PATEVAL suggests requires revisiting rural-urban relations and enabling proximity cooperation mechanisms (Humer, 2017, p. 645)(Gallent, 2006). Some of these concerns co-exist with PATIVEL rehabilitation of the historic paths along the coastline and orchards. Reducing a car-mobility path dependent infrastructure can potentially trigger neighbors' protests unless stakeholders are heard, as seen in the Albufera Landscape Program analysis section.

10.E.5. The relation of the city with its orchards: L'Horta Sud

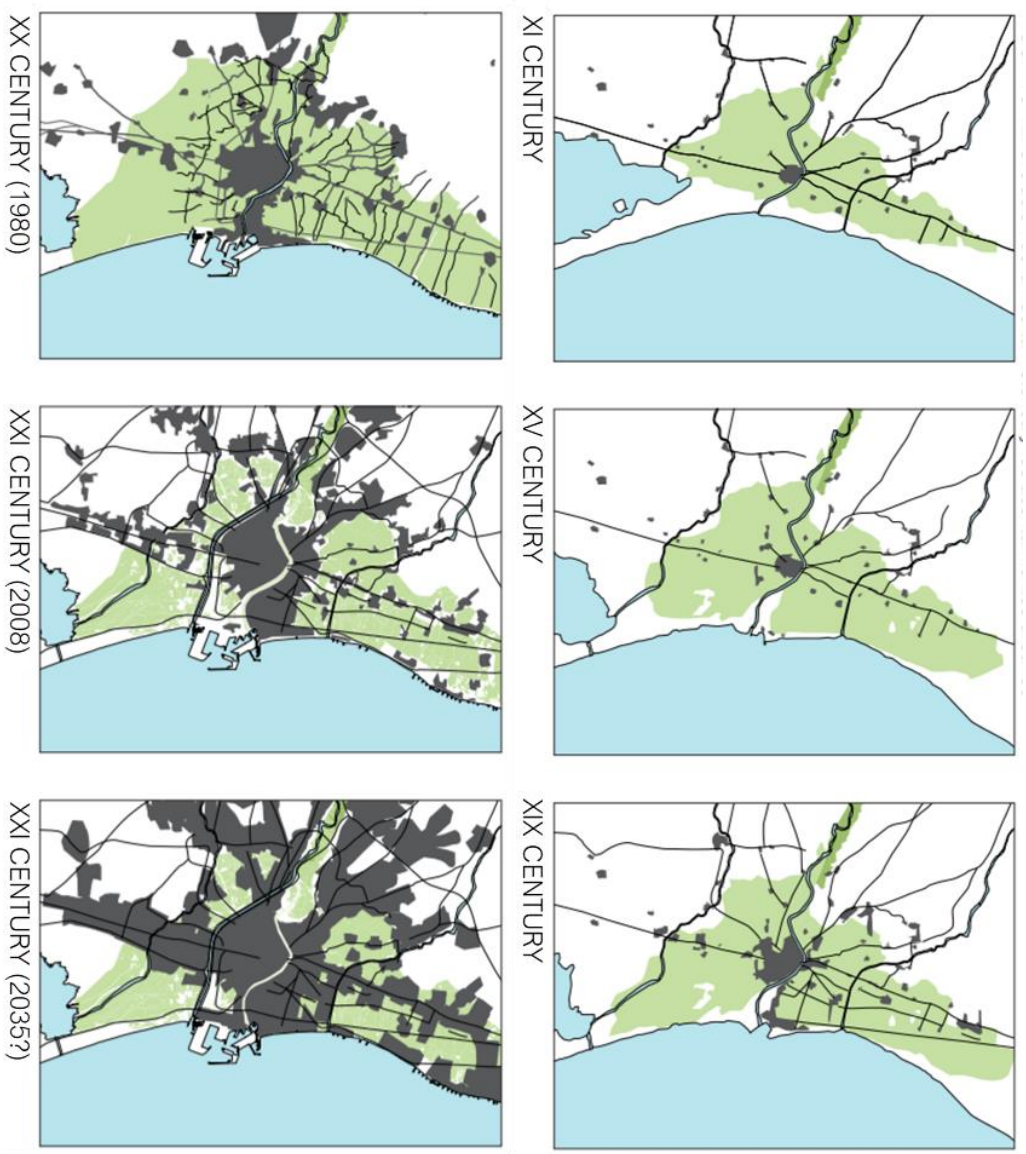
The traditional Valencian orchards surround the city since the city exists. The fertility of its soil determined the main productive activity of the city until the 50s, when the productive model turned into developmentalism and later into tourism and services (Cabrejas, 1999, p.87)(Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.204-205). This paper will focus on the southern areas of the Valencian Horta (L'Horta Sud), although its relevant to mention other urban conflicts in the north like the PAI Benimaclet among many other rural-urban conflicts (Andrés Durà, 2021).

Image 10 Orchards of Favara, enclosed (top) & Meliana, opened (down). Generalitat Valenciana. (2018f, p.25)

L'Horta has been the subject of significant spatial interventions that has modified its appearance. If by 1970 the area had lost 22% of its original watering surface, 87% by 2003 (Sanchis, 2004 as cited in Farinós Dasí et al., 2018, p.292)(Cabrejas, 1999, p.87). The Horta is a unique ecosystem that has cultural, historical, and productive value. Valencia growth in a radial way or alongside its road infrastructure has generated significant tensions in the orchards area, raising questions about its integration with the city (Farinós Dasí et al., 2018, p.288, 291) This rural-urban fringe area is environmentally fragile, with polar opposites colliding interests and actors (Humer, 2017, p. 636)(Gallent & Shaw, 2007).

Limiting to the South with the Albufera coastal lagoon and East with Nazaret neighborhood, the Horta Sud includes neighborhoods from *Quatre Carrers* and *Poblats del Sud* Districts. It hosts several city infrastructures such as the new Turia river basin, the merchant train station *Fuente San Luis*, and Pinedo's water treatment plant. La Punta neighborhood is one of the areas that has suffered the most. One of the most invasive projects is a new 70 Ha for the port's new Logistic Activities Zone (ZAL). The ZAL depends on the Central Government and Valencia city, which allowed the expropriation of 204 houses from La Punta (Cabrejas, 1999, p.83-84).). Thanks to platforms such as *Horta és Futur, No a la ZAL*, *Associació Per l'Horta,* or the *Fundació Assut* legal actions, the ZAL has been ruled against in Court 2013 & 2015 because it breaches the Regional special protection of the area (Farinós Dasí et al., 2018, p.294)(Navarro Castelló, 2019). After 2015, the Regional Governments developed a new Territorial Action Plan (PAT) for the Valencian Orchards, the 2018 PATHV (Generalitat Valenciana, 2018c), and a new ZAL agreement (Farinós Dasí et al., 2018, p.294). Associations propose to create a green corridor instead of the ZAL (Vázquez, 2018).

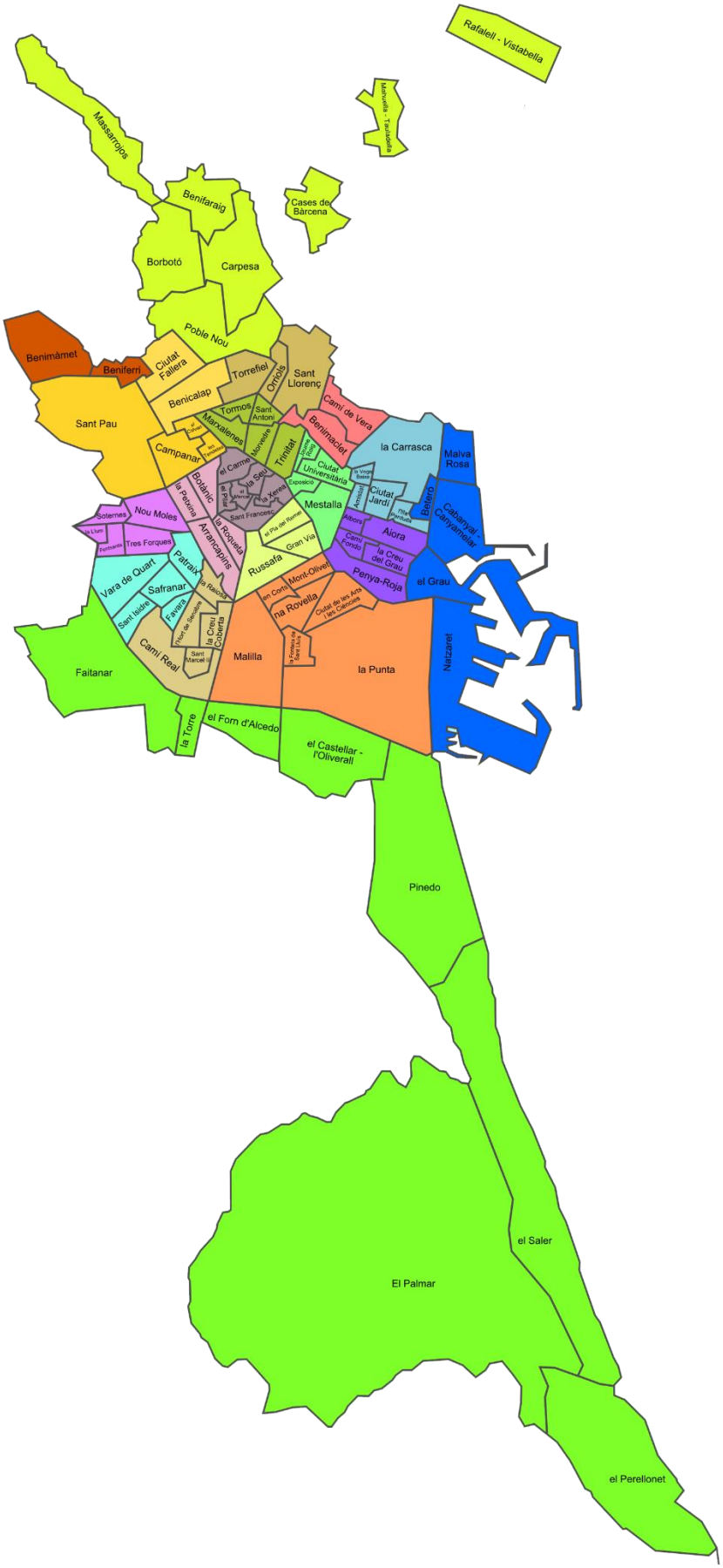
Image 11 Banner saying "From Albufera till the Sea, let's estimate our environment" in the El Saler school. Photo taken by author (Aug. 2021)



Map 15 Historical evolution of the Valencian Horta (orchards). Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana, 2018c, p.175)

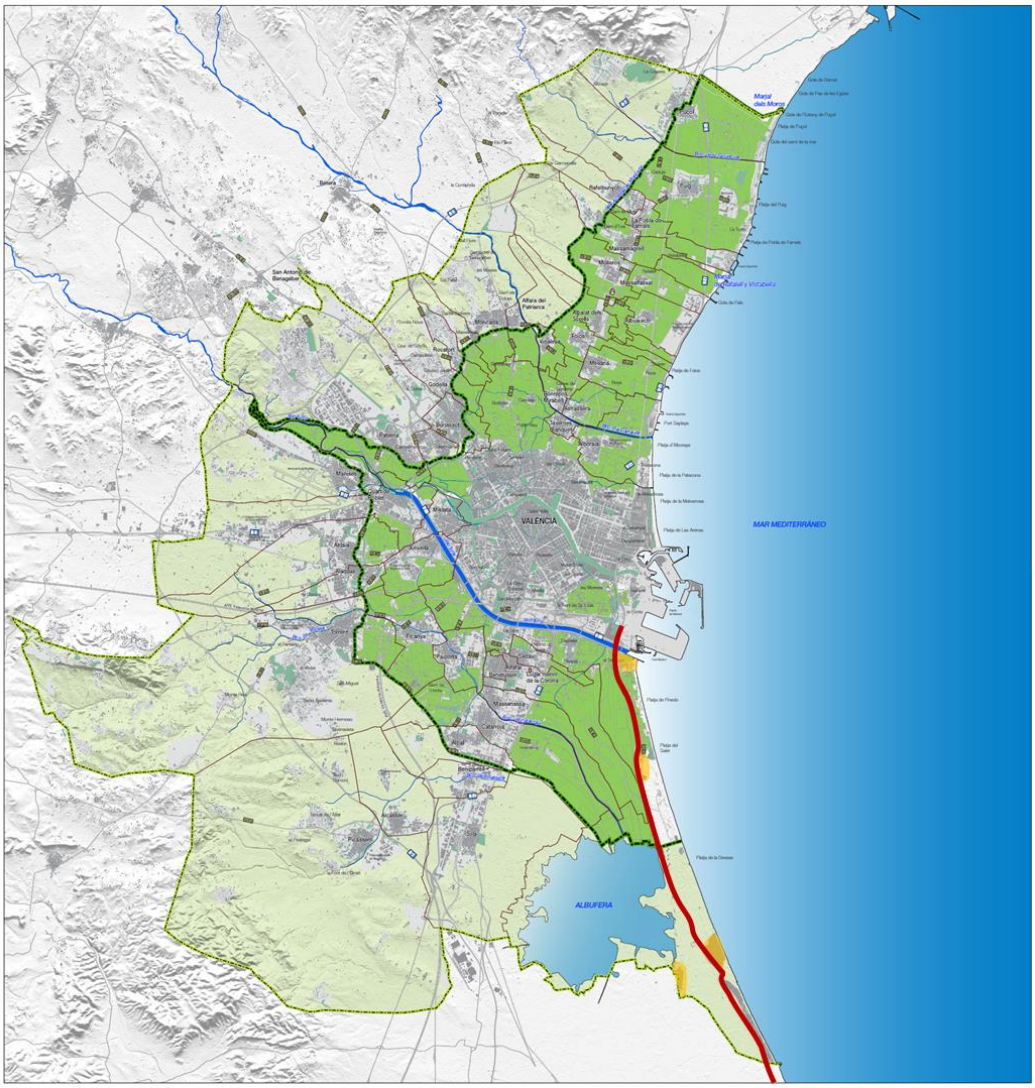
PATHV affects 40 municipalities, and yet again, it is making the same mistakes as the PATEVAL and the PATIVEL. Their oversimplification of the territory to solve complex, multi-scalar problems does not achieve proper coordination between different sectorial visions. On the one hand, the new PATHV contemplates the rehabilitation of the orchards, incardinates itself in the Green Infrastructure of the Region, and proposes agri-food councils for the farmers. Despite not mentioning the Metropolitan plan (PATEVAL) it foresees a relation with the Green Infrastructure, the *Vía Litoral* and ulterior mobility plans (Farinós Dasí et al., 2018, p.287-295).

L'Horta Sud is the southern entrance of Valencia and connects with the Albufera Landscape Plan. The community planning spatial approach taken since 2015 by Valencian institutions requires a commitment for coordination among different public institutions and citizens (Lloret Gual & Farinós Dasí, 2018a, p.88).



Map 16 Valencian neighborhoods colored by district (Íñiguez Rodríguez, 2010)

Monte Picayo
Altinach
el Paradis
Els Plans
Els Germanells
la Contienda
Bétera
Rafelbunyol
Puçol
Gola de Bernat
Gola de Pas de les Egües
Gola de Fartany de Puçol
Platja de Puçol
Gola del camí de la mar
Marjal del Moros
Bco. de la Calderona
El Puig de Santa Maria
Platja del Puig
La Pobla de Farnals
Platja de Pobla de Farnals
Massamagrell
Museros
Vistabella
Massalfassar
Rafalell
El Marjal de Rafalell y Vistabella
Gola de Pas
Albuixech
Alfara del Patriarca
Albalat dels Sorells
Moncada
Foios
Vinalesa
Meliana
Cuper
Platja de Foios
Roca
Noya
Cases de Barca
Borrepós i Mirambell
Almassora
Port Saplaya
Tavernes Blanques
Bco. del Carro
Alboraia
Platja d'Alboraya
Patacona
Platja de la Patacona
Platja de la Malvarrosa
Platja de Las Arenas
Platja de Pinedo
Platja del Saler
El Saler
Platja de la Devesa
MAR MEDITERRÁNEO
PARQUE NATURAL DE LA ALBUFERA
ALBUFERA
PARQUE NATURAL DE LA CALDERONA
San Antonio de Benagéber
Tos Pelat
Santa Barbara
l'Ermita Nova
Cruz de Gràcia
Rocafort
Campolivar
Ciudad Jardín
la Coma
Godella
Burjassot
Paterna
Campamento
Benimamet
Benicalap
Manises
Quart de Poblet
Mislata
València
Aldaia
Xirivella
Alaquàs
el Bovalar
Torrent
el Vedat
Picanya
Paiporta
Alfafar
Benetússer
Sedaví
Massanassa
Catarroja
Albal
Beniparrell
San Ramon
Tancat de l'Alter
Alcàsser
el Pedregal
Picassent
Silla
la Font de l'Omet
Rio Turia
Rio Turia
Rio Turia



Proyecto
PLAN DE ACCIÓN TERRITORIAL DE ORDENACIÓN Y DINAMIZACIÓN DE LA HUERTA DE VALENCIA
2018

Documento
PLANOS DE INFORMACIÓN

Plano
PI 01 SITUACIÓN: ÁMBITOS DEL PATHV

0 750 1500 3000 4500 m

N

E. 1/75.000

Leyenda

- Roads
- Rural roads
- Railway
- AVE running
- Surface meter
- Edification
- Hydrology
- Mother ditches
- Strict scope
- Extended scope
- Municipal boundaries
- Amplified Area
- Strict Area
- Main urban nuclei affected by the Albufera Landscape Program (ALP)
- CV-500 road

Map 18 PATHV Area, marking the Albufera Landscape Program area and the CV-500 road. Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana, 2018e, p. 7)

10.F. Context conclusions

Spatial struggles in the city of Valencia show path dependence patterns over time. Most of the geographical conflicts in Valencia since the last one hundred years have had a lot to do with poor people displacements due to infrastructure changes and the Valencia relation with its seashore, its orchards, and the Albufera. These spatial conflicts show how cultural identity works as a successful crystallizer of contestation against public institutions, and how actors in charge of planning implementation tend to react to citizens contestation rather than include them all throughout the planning process.

Recent urban conflicts have arisen not because of their core measures but their application without citizen participation (Lloret Gual & Farinós Dasí, 2018a, p.89-90). For instance, mobility has been a problem already in the city center (Bartual, 2020) (Moreno, 2021). The following section will go deeper into these ideas, as Albufera Landscape Program (ALP) analysis shows how these institutional changes, if not well implemented, can activate path dependent resistances among unheard actors.

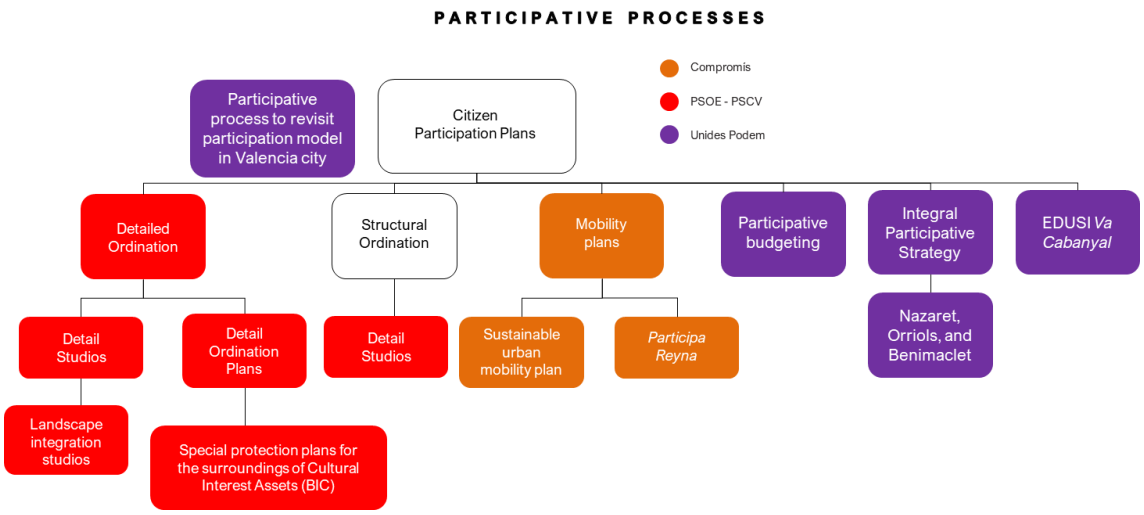


Figure 9 Ongoing municipal processes in Valencia which have citizen participation in policy design and which party oversees them. Modified from (Lloret Gual & Farinós Dasí, 2018b, p.42)

11. Analysis section

11.A. The Albufera Coastal Lagoon

11.A.1. History, geography, and culture of the area

The Albufera coastal lagoon is a thin water layer separated by a 14km, 800Ha sleeve (the *restinga*), going from the Turia new basin to the Perellonet *Gola* from the Mediterranean Sea. Thanks to its peculiar location, its natural conditions make the Albufera a refuge for pasture (the *Devesa* or *Dehesa*) and coastal dunes biodiversity only 10 km away from the Valencia city center (García Suikkanen, 2011, p.16). The extension of the Natural Park (lake, coastal sleeve, and wetlands) covers 21,120Ha, 30km of coast, and it affects 13 Valencian municipalities.

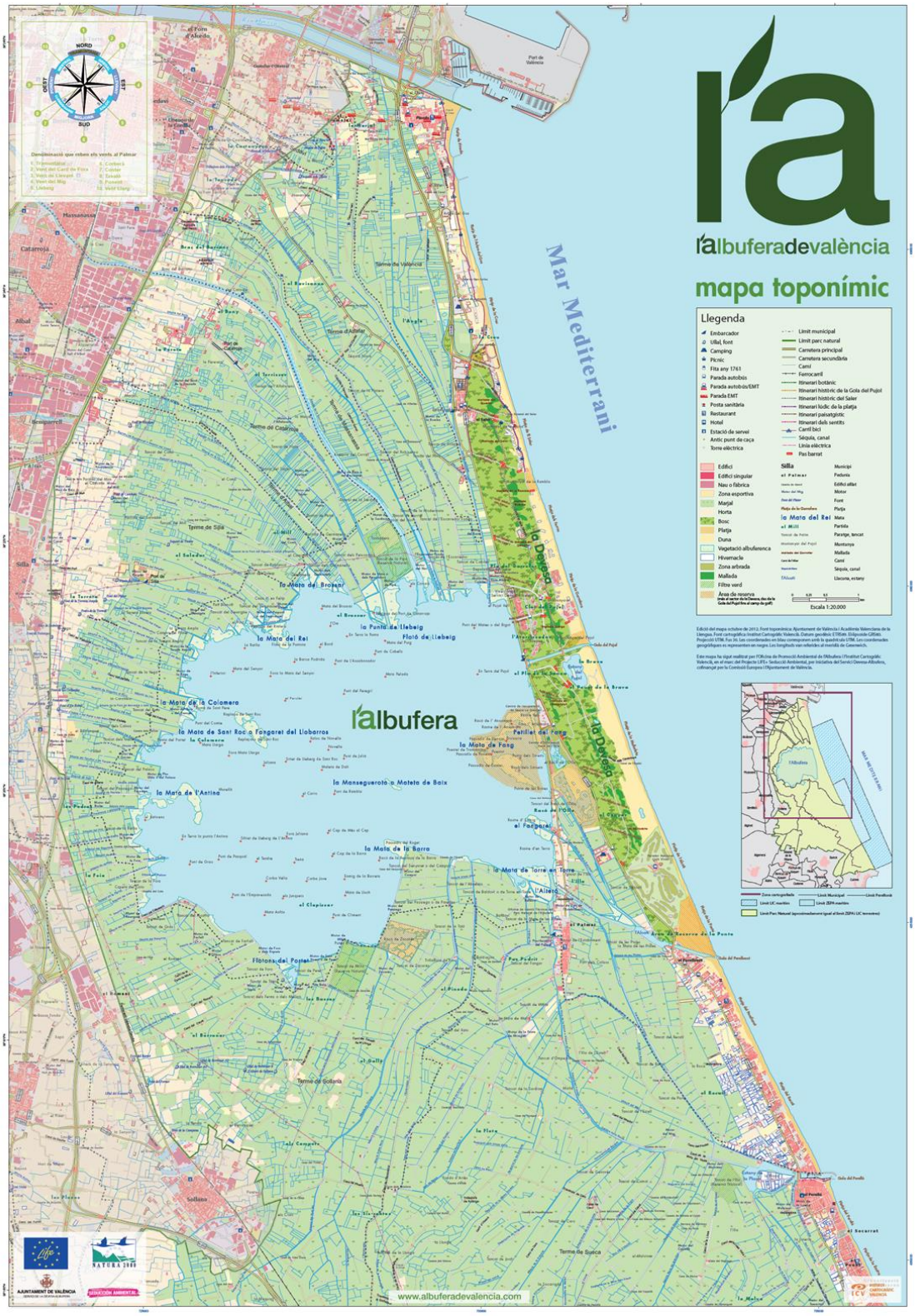
Map 19 Natural formation of the Albufera d'Valencia. (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.5)

The lagoon and its surroundings were the exclusive property of the Crown since Jaume I (1208-1276), who forbade activities other than fisheries and royal hunting. Crown's veto on entrance and lagoon uses (except limitations on hunting) ended in 1865 when the lake property passed towards the State (SEO BirdLife, 2018, p.4)(Tortosa Pastor, 2011, p.69-71). The XVIII Century saw the hydric regime of the lake fully controlled through the *Golas*, a series of canals with sluice water gates, ending a human-made transformation that started in the XIV Century. Flooding control and water enclosures, canals, and tree planting allowed the extension of rice cultivation, as seawater did not enter the lagoon anymore (Cabrejas, 1999, p.84).

In the XX Century, the State sold in 1911 the Albufera to the Municipality of Valencia and engine introduction to desiccate the lake shores for agriculture (the *tancats*) (SEO BirdLife, 2018, p.8)(Tortosa Pastor, 2011, p.69-71). The city gave free access to the beach, attracting popular classes weekenders to *El Saler*. At the same time, in the lagoon, conflicts were usual between agriculture and fishers, represented in Vicente Blasco Ibáñez novel, *Cañas y Barro* (1901) (SEO BirdLife, 2018, p.5)(Dolç, 2021, p.46).

The fishers had a solid institutionalized system since Jaume I: "El Palmar Fishers' Community" (1250) that assigned fisheries of the lagoon (Comunidad de Pescadores de El Palmar, 2021). Farmers had the "Water Tribunal of Valencia", which solves irrigation conflicts in the Valencian orchards since Al-Andalus times (Tribunal de las Aguas, 2014).

Image 12 Albufera de Valencia & case study area zenith view, 2018. Orthophoto RGB. (ICV, n.d.-d)



Map 20 Toponymic plan of the Albufera de Valencia & case study area. (ICV, 2012)

Map 21 Leaflet from the 2015 LIFE Program "Environmental seduction" showing all the places of interest in the Albufera Natural Park (Generalitat Valenciana & Ramírez, 2015)

BENIPARRELL
ALBAL
CATARROJA
MASSANASSA
ALFAFAR
SEDAVÍ
PORT DE CATARROJA
Barranc de Massanassa
CASTELLAR L'OLIVERAL
la Mata de Sant Roc
la Mata del Rei
Punta de Llebeig
Tancat de la Pipa
VALENCIA
EL SALER
PORT DEL SALER
MIRADOR DE PUJOL
Tancat de la Creu
PINEDO
Estany del Pujol
Tancat del Pujol
Tancat de la Rambla
Casa Forestal
Gola del Pujol
Platja de la Garrofera
Platja dels Ferros
Platja de el Saler
Platja de la Creu
Platja de l'Arbre del Gos
Platja de Pinedo

- l'Albufera from the sky - l'Albufera vue du ciel
Gasolinera
- Station d'essence
- Áreas de picnic
- Zones de pique nique
L DE L'ARBRE DEL GOS
DE LA MONA
ÍTIM DEL SALER
DELS SANTS
Hotels - Restaurantes y Hoteles
and Hotels - Restaurants et Hôtels
Públic - Aparcamiento Público
g - Parking Public
VIGILADO - UNSUPERVISED - NON SURVEILLÉ
tobús – Bus - Autobus
www.autocaresherca.com
unicipal de Transports
www.emtvalencia.es
/Pinedo – Marqués de Sotelo
qués de Sotelo
adevalència
AS – EMERGENCIES – URGENCES 112
Administracions Públiques
Administraciones Públicas
Public Administration
Administrations Publiques
Ajuntament de València - Ajuntament de València
Valencia City Council - Mairie de Valence
SERVICI DEVESA-ALBUFERA - VIVERS MUNICIPALS DEL SALER
OFICINA DE PROMOCIÓ AMBIENTAL DE L'ALBUFERA
Carretera CV-500, km 8,5
Tel. 96 161 00 21
www.valencia.es/albufera
46012 El Saler (València)
odevesa@valencia.es
CASA FORESTAL DEL SALER (GUARDES MUNICIPALS)
Tallafoc del Saler s/n
Tel. 96 183 00 12
46012 El Saler (València)
BOMBERS LA DEVESA
Carretera CV- 500, Km. 8'3
Tel. 96 161 08 07
46012 El Saler (València)
Generalitat Valenciana - Regional Government
of Valencia - Generalitat Valenciana
OFICINA TÈCNICA DE GESTIÓ PARC NATURAL DE L'ALBUFERA
C/ Pintor Martí Girbes, 23
Tel. 96 162 01 01
46012 El Palmar (València)
parque_albufera@gva.es
CENTRE DE RECUPERACIÓ DE FAUNA, GRANJA EL SALER
Avda. de los Pinares, 106 46012
Tel. 96 161 08 47
El Saler (València)
centre_granja@gva.es
CENTRE D'INVESTIGACIÓ PISCÍCOLA DEL PALMAR
Tancat de les Rates, s/n
Tel. 96 162 02 47
46024 El Palmar
piscifactoria_palmar@gva.es.
Webs
Ajuntament de València
www.valencia.es
Platges de València
www.valencia.es/ayuntamiento/playas.nsf/
Itineraris autoguiats per la Devesa
www.albuferadevalencia.com "Visitala/Rutas"
www.valencia.es
"Webs Municipales/Medio Ambiente y Salud/Devesa-Albufera"
Parcs Naturals de la Comunitat Valenciana
www.parquesnaturales.gva.es
Parc Natural de l'Albufera - Biodiversitat, Paisatge i Cultura
www.albufera.com
Guia de Servicis
www.albufera.info
L'observatori d'aus en l'Albufera de València
www.birdingalbufera.es
Red Natura 2000
http://ec.europa.eu/environment/nature/natura2000/index_en.htm
http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/environment/nature_and_biodiversity/l28076_es.htm
Life
http://ec.europa.eu/environment/life/
Municipis del Parc Natural de l'Albufera
Municipios del Parque Natural de l'Albufera
The boroughs of l'Albufera Natural Park
Municipalités du Parc Naturel de l'Albufera
Albal. www.albal.es
Albalat de la Ribera. portales.gva.es/albalatdelaribera/
Alfafar. www.alfafar.com
Algemesí. www.algemesi.es
Beniparrell. www.beniparrell.es
Catarroja. www.catarroja.es
Cullera. www.cullera.es
Massanassa. www.massanassa.org
Sedaví. www.sedavi.es
Silla. www.ajuntamentdesilla.org
Sollana. www.sollana.es
Sueca. www.sueca.es
Valencia. www.valencia.es
www.albuferadevalencia.com

Nowadays, rice cultivation occupies an extension of 14,000Ha around the lagoon, while only around 400 members of the El Palmar Fishers' Community keep the fisheries (García Suikkanen, 2011, p.15). Before Albufera Landscape Program, the political news about the Albufera focused on waste management and environmental issues (Almenar, 2014)(Ros, 2011)(García, 2009). Since 1999, The Albufera Drainage Board controls the sluice water gates. In 2021, after recent conflicts with the left tri-partite coalition that governs Valencia since 2015, the City Hall has tried to end its agreement (Europa Press, 2021a).

11.A.2. Urbanization vs. protection

The Albufera lagoon uses have always been a matter of controversy. Spain's 60s tourism boom also saw in the area a potentially exploitable site. The 1966 Valencia General Urban Plan proposed the total urbanization of the coastal sleeve: from Pinedo and Castilleral-Olivar and Pinedo villages up north, El Saler, and el Palmar and Perellonet down south until Sueca (Dolç, 2021, p.43)(Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.207-208).

Image 13 Urban nuclei of El Palmar (top left), El Saler & the end area of the CV-500 (top right), El Palmar (bottom left), and El Perellonet (bottom right). Modified from (Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 2018a)

The expansion of the area for tourism was proposed several times during the XX Century: Emilio Artal's 1928 project of a Garden City in The Saler (*Ciudad Jardín de la Playa*), a 1946 Francoist tourism city, a labor university, and a 1954 draft of a plan (Dolç, 2021, p.47-48)(Martínez Llorens, 2019, p. 119). All projects had in common that: were never made, proposed a road alongside to facilitate the coastal connection between Valencia and Perelló, provoke environmental changes in the wetland forest or the coastal dunes, and create tourism housing and leisure services.

The 1966 plan attracted the interest of the Valencian elite because of its potential for speculation with built structures and land, successful coastal resorts like Marbella, and the favorable institutional environment with the newly elected Ministry of Tourism and Information M. Fraga Iribarne (1962) and its *Centros de Interés Turístico Nacional* (Tudela & Delgado, 2018, p.29). With the acquiescence of Adolfo Rincón de Arellano García, Major of Valencia from 1958-1969, *Terrenos de Valencia Sociedad Anónima* (TEVASA) was created to make an urban plan for the area (1963) and bid for the municipal land plots. With this, the municipality approved a plan that contradicted its agreement from the selling contract with the State (Dolç, 2021, p.50-51).

The plan for the Albufera coastal sleeve, made by the renewed architect Julio Cano Lasso (Martínez Llorens, 2019) will adjudicate a ludicrous plan with high-rise buildings with swimming pools and tennis courts, gated communities, high-class resorts and hotels, a golf course, a horse racetrack, a bullfighting square, a yacht club, a sea promenade, cinemas, campings, malls, chapels, parking lots, and many other services (Dolç, 2021, p.53).

Image 14 Promotional leaflet from PROVAL, one of the developers of the Gola del Puchol urbanization process (1972-1976). Author's personal collection

Three sections divided the coastal sleeve: a 2.5km area for popular classes from north Pinedo until El Saler urban nuclei; a high-standing, temporary-residence following one, with high rise buildings and semi-detached houses; and an elite one, separated by the *Gola del Puchol* up north and *Gola del Perellonet* from the south, hosting the golf course, and the yacht club (Dolç, 2021, p.53). The constructive process started in 1970.

Image 15 Aerial photographs of the Gola del Puchol area, 1972. Top (Martínez Llorens, 2019, p.41) Bottom (Dolç et al., 2017). On both photos the CV-500 road can be appreciated parallel to the Albufera

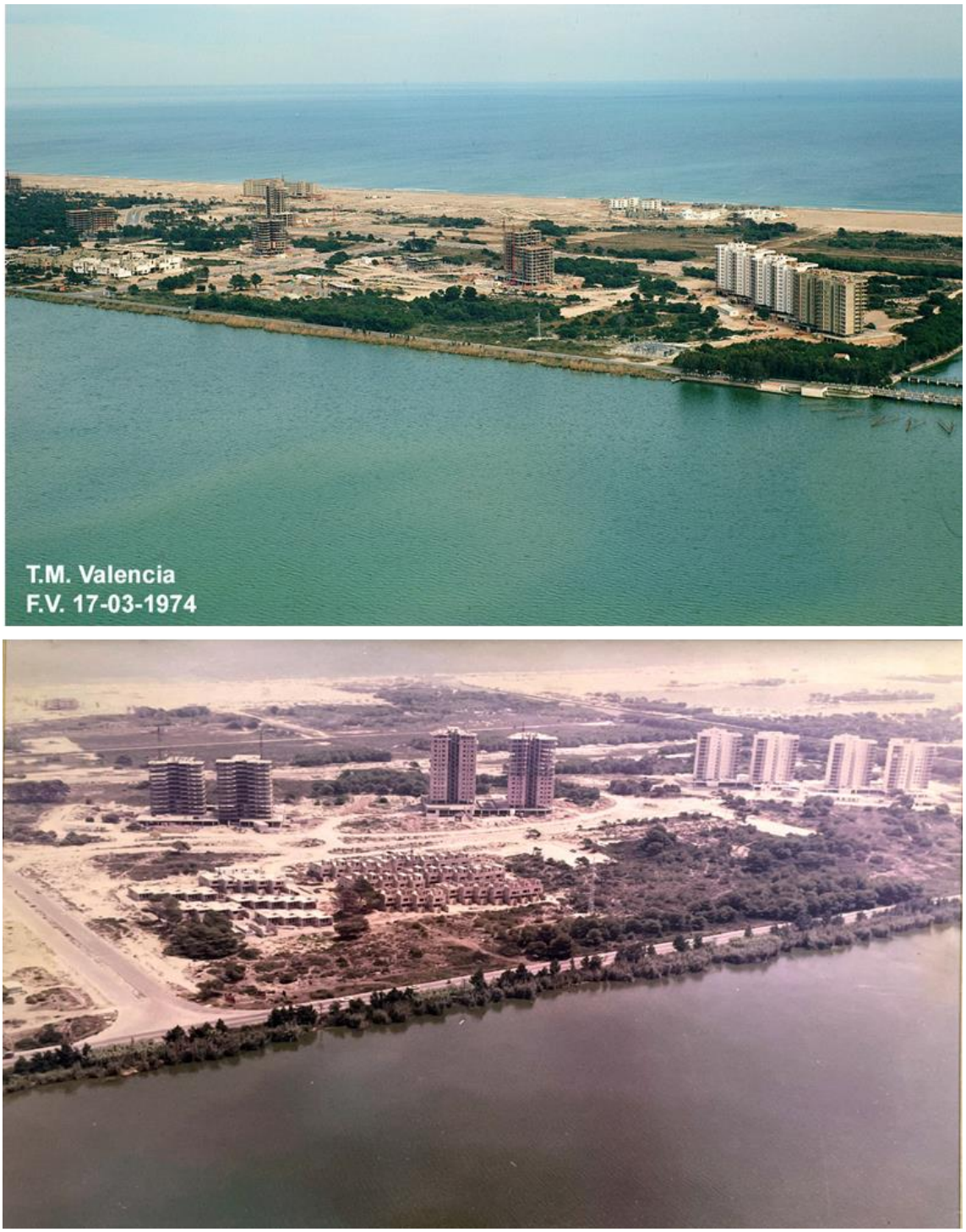
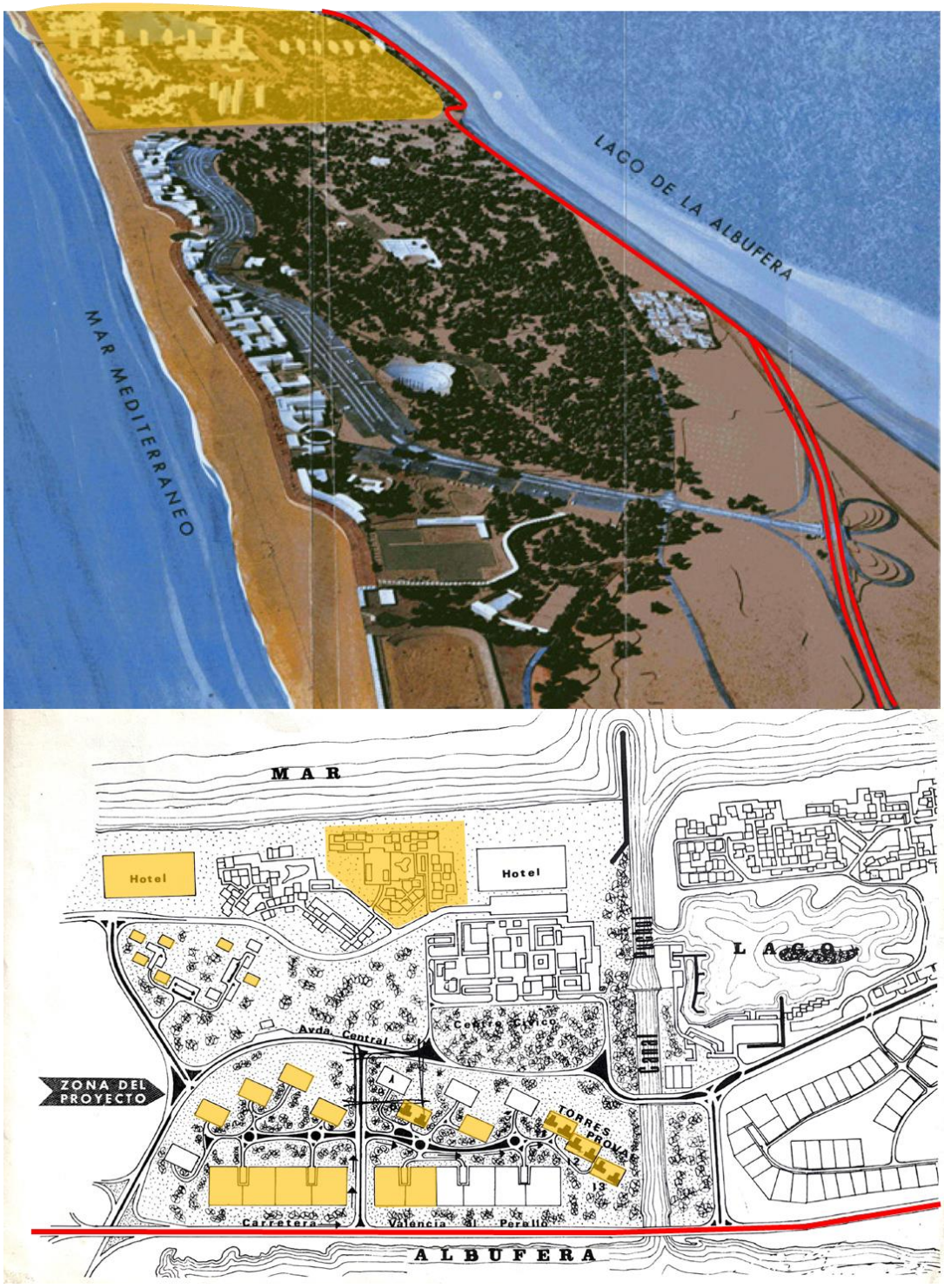


Image 16 Aerial photographs of the Gola del Puchol area, 1974, Top (Martínez Llorens, 2019, p.41) and Bottom, 1976 (Author's personal collection). On both photos the CV-500 road can be appreciated parallel to the Albufera

Image 17 Aerial photographs of the Gola del Puchol area, 2017 (Dolç et al., 2017). On top photo the CV-500 road can be appreciated parallel to the Albufera



Map 21 Area showing a 1970 promotion leaflet of El Saler Urbanization (top) & the Gola del Puchol development & artificial lake (1972-1976). In red, CV-500 road. In yellow, intervened area and buildings developed before the paralyzation. Modified from (Martínez Llórens, 2019, p.102, 220) & Author personal collection, modified

As the MAP 21 shows, elitism and exclusivity criteria drove the design for accessibility for the project: Entrance to Popular areas of Pinedo and Saler could only be done through the old road. The other two areas project will have had a 4-lane highway (the "*Autopista del Saler*" actual CV-500) parallel to the old road. With the paralyzation of the project, the highway was built only until El Saler (Dolç, 2021, p.54).

Image 18 Horizon photograph facing north of the Mallada Sanxa-Mata del Fang, 2006. At the end of the photography, the artificial lake built in 1968 and the towers close to the Gola del Puchol (Martínez Llórens, 2019, p.102, 220)

Contestation of Valencian citizenship stopped El Saler urbanization. Early warnings arose from Academia, like the Royal Society of Natural History or the Architecture School. In the 70s, popular TV nature documentaries like *Vida Salvaje* led by Félix Rodríguez de la Fuente arose widespread awareness about the environmental values of the Albufera (Dolç, 2021, p.74-80). Underground anti-Francoist opposition joined forces with the moderate public opposition of environmentalists to create by 1974 "The Saler for the People" (*El Saler per al Poble*) citizen movement (Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.208-209). The urbanization project was remodeled three times, while public auctions of land kept lowering prices (Dolç, 2021).

As opposition grew, local elites' support for the project started to fade. Las Provincias conservative newspaper, led by María Consuelo Reyna, started opposing the project in 1973. Francoism even tried opening a board of suggestions in the School of Architecture in the 1974 exhibit of the plan re-modelization (Dolç, 2021, p.98)(Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.209). The city hall and the Civil Governor started to yield their support to the plan.

Image 19 "Malladeta" restoration (left) & view of the surroundings of the Gola del Puchol in 2000 (top right) and 2008 (bottom right), showing the elimination of urban layout (Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 2018b) (ICV, n.d.-e; -f)

Civic opposition to the Francoist regime implied a severe risk. Still, citizens publicly show decals with the slogan "*El Saler per al Poble*", gathered 15,750 signatures. Under the threat of authorities, they demonstrated on September 15th, 1974 (Dolç, 2021, p.101). With an environmentalist base, the protests amalgamated an inter-class alliance that stopped the urbanization long enough for democracy to came back in 1978 and discard it. From the 1974 plan, only 40 of the 852Ha were built (Tortosa Pastor, 2011, p.69-71). The excesses of this failed venture will see how the city of Valencia indebted itself to remove the dunes, built streets, electricity, water access, and destroy 30% of the pine forest only to start an emergency plan to restore the natural area from 1986 until 2009 (Dolç, 2021, p.88)(Martínez Llorens, 2019, p187).

The first democratic Regional Government will establish the Albufera Natural Park in 1986 (Farinós Dasí & Cortés Tovar, 2010, p.142). The Albufera Natural Park is protected nowadays by several figures such as the UNESCO-backed Ramsar Convention, the EU Natura Network 2000, EU Special Protection Area (SPA), and a Community Interest Place (CIP). Additionally, some regional instruments such as *the Plan Rector de Uso y Gestión del Parque Natural de l'Albufera* (PRUG), and a *Plan de Ordenación de los Recursos Naturales* (PORN) protect the area (García Suikkanen, 2011, p.17)(Farinós Dasí & Cortés Tovar, 2010, p.142).

Areas such as the Albufera de Valencia, situated in the rural-urban fringe, usually hold many activities for cities and the rural world. As a transition zone, planning must deal with fragmented uses, opposing actors, and interests like landscape quality, economic development, and facilities shortage (Gallent & Shaw, 2007, p.620). Searching for the right policies Agenda in the idoneous Structural context is essential, as Institutions and Discourse about the area uses were long-time settled and barely changed.

GUIDELINES FOR A SUCCESSFUL PLANS AND STRATEGIES FOR THE RURAL URBAN FRINGE	
Plans that are 'evidence based'	Grounded in local intelligence, and that also recognise the interplay between existing uses and functions.
Initiatives that are 'adequately resourced'	Demonstrate a commitment to the rural-urban fringe and to management over the long term, rather than 'quick fixes'
Solutions that are 'genuinely visionary', action-oriented, and 'realistically ambitious'	Demonstrate a concern for 'place making' and, where applicable, design-led
Initiatives that are 'objective-led' and 'better connected'	Not defined by topics but seek interplay between space using functions and set broader objectives rather than for individual issues
Plans that are 'more inclusive'	Demonstrate a reliance on participatory approaches, bring together all stakeholders and landowners, looking for consensus-building
Initiatives that are 'fully integrated'	Across policy areas and topics. Solutions that integrate the fringe with more urbanised areas and with more open countryside. Solutions that are concerned with landscape functionality
Plans and initiatives that are 'spatially variable'	Grounded in a concern for scale, connecting the local with broader spatial agendas. Where appropriate, put in relation with wider sub-regional and regional agenda
Initiatives that demonstrate quality in their delivery and management	Demonstrate price-quality ratio, adequately monitored and reviewed in the long-term, and fit with governments' wider agenda of quality in planning

Table 9 Agenda guideline suggestions for the rural-urban fringe. Modified from (Gallent & Shaw, 2007, p.626)

Image 20 Albufera Bookmarker samples available for download as part of a Generalitat Valenciana LIFE program campaign "Environmental seduction", showing the cultural, landscape and environmental assets from the park. Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana, 2015)

11.B. Albufera Landscape Program (ALP)

11.B.1. Area of Intervention and structure

Initiated in April 2018, the Albufera Landscape Program (ALP) occupies a central space of the Territorial Action Plan for the Green Coastal Infrastructure (PATIVEL) (Generalitat Valenciana, 2019c, p.41521). PATIVEL focuses on the possibilities to develop the *Vía Litoral* to connect all the Comunitat Valenciana coastline, enhancing connectivity, environmental, cultural, and social values (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.5, 7).

Image 21 Environmental zoning of the Albufera Landscape Program based on the Usage and Management of the Parque Natural Park de l'Albufera Master Plan (PRUG) (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.14).

ALP seeks to develop these principles along the current Turia river basin and *El Perellonet* neighborhood, in the 14km area coastal sleeve inside the Albufera Natural Park. The Program operates within the municipal limits of Valencia, affecting from north to south, the urban nuclei of Pinedo (2,574 pop.), El Saler (1,878 pop.), El Palmar (767 pop.), and El Perellonet (1,406 pop.) (Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 2020), former villages incorporated into the *Poblats del Sud* Valencian District. The administrative figure of *Pedanías* (art.45 LBRL) gives them virtual autonomy, with an elected sub-local Major, budget, ordinance capabilities, and legal entity (arts. 39-41 of the *Royal Legislative Decree 781/1986, 18th of April, which approves the Consolidated Text of the current legal provisions on Local Regime*) (Jefatura del Estado, 1986). The ALP divides the Albufera coastal sleeve into 4 Areas and several interventions (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.7):

Image 22 Environmental zoning of the Albufera Landscape Program. Visual legend on previous image. In red, Via Parque de L' Albufera (i1). In black, Refurbishment of the Tremolar Road (i2). Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.12)

Image 23 Area division of the Albufera Landscape Program. In red, Vía Parque de L' Albufera (i1). In black, Refurbishment of the Tremolar Road (i2). Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.6)

- Area 1, between the end of the new Turia river basin and the connecting road junction of CV-500 and CV-5010 (4,189 km).
    - Vía Parque de L'Albufera (i1) consists in reducing the 4-lane CV-500 highway into a 2-lane boulevard. The remaining lanes will have a mixed-use street for cyclists and pedestrians, deviating the 25 & 24 bus lanes alongside El Saler historical path (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.60-61).
    - The Refurbishment of the Tremolar Road (i2) aims to recover and improve the historical connection East-West with El Palmar and Tremolar (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.70-71).
- Area 2, between the previous road junction and the *Gola del Pujol* (4,567 km).
    - El Saler Surroundings Project (i3) wants to integrate the built environment with the Park and reduce the impact of the CV-500 over the village. To do so, it will recover the West-East lake port path connection with the sea, integrate the nuclei with the natural park, and build a ground-level passage to reach the port (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.62-63).
    - Path of the Devesa (i4) focuses on non-motorized connections improving bike and pedestrian paths alongside CV-500 and park firewalls, reducing the speed in the road, and installing sound-absorbing asphalt (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.64-65).
- Area 3, between the *Gola del Pujol* and the *Gola del Perellonet* (4,905 km).
    - Access itinerary to El Palmar (i5) will observe the options to change actual access to El Palmar urban nuclei, prioritizing non-motorized displacements and moving the access to the village (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.66-67).
- Area 4, between the *Gola del Perellonet* and the *Gola del Perelló* (3,619 km).
    - Perellonet linear park (i6) will update the actual access to the Perellonet area, building a linear park alongside the CV-500 to minimize the impact of leaving the bushy area of the coastal sleeve and improve beach accesses. The linear park will allow informal orchard selling to have a space to develop its activity and its connection with the urban nuclei (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.68-69).

The Albufera Landscape Program's September 2019 version has 72 pages (Generalitat Valenciana, 2019b, p.1). The proposal is made by *FERNANDEZ-VIVANCOS ARQUITECTO* studio and was ordered by the General Subdirection of Territory and Landscape Planning, part of the Territorial Policy, Public Works, and Mobility Council. It has the following structure:

- Object of the Landscape Program (p.5)
- Delimitation of the Scope of the Program (p.7)
- Landscape Environmental Territorial Analysis (p.9)
- Inventory of Environmental Resources: Landscape; Cultural; Visuals (p.21)
- Diagnosis and Identification of Conflicts: Transport Infrastructures; Urban Borders; Degraded Agricultural Areas; Non-Integrated Activities and Buildings (p.29)
- Program Objectives and Alternatives (p.37)
- Definition of Plans and Projects (p.45)
- Global Schedule and Cost Estimation (p.53)
- Economic-Financial Study (p.55)
- Environmental Monitoring of the Program (p.55)
- Area Files (p.57)
- Maps (p.71)

It is important to remark that the Albufera Landscape Program is a "recommended directive" without other effects than limiting alternative plans or opposing actions. Its implementation depends on the Valencia city hall and the Regional Government, as it affects its road system (CV-500) (Generalitat Valenciana, 2019a, p.4)(Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.55).

The ALP aims to be financed in 10 years through public investments, with a 55% participation from LIFE Program EU Funds (7,569,945€). The remaining funding will come from Local, Regional, and Central Governments (2,064,530€ each) (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.52).

11.B.2. Objectives and proposed solutions

The ALP proposes specific and integrated interventions through improvements in non-car-centered mobility, noise and air pollution reduction, and improvement in water, fisheries, agricultural, and built infrastructures. The main idea is to reduce current conflicts between uses of the same space to create a 66.75 km wide green corridor that connects the Albufera, Valencian Turia river basin park, and the Turia Regional Park (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.5, 11). It restores historic roads and paths among the park and its external connections and reduces the CV-500 road traffic conflicts.

With degrowth resemblances, ALP fosters non-motorized mobility and promotes sustainable uses of the environmental and cultural values of the Albufera Natural Park. It actively uses mild language and seeks consensus between actors. However, reduce car space for cyclists, pedestrians, and buses generate frictions with leisure, tourism, the food service industry, and farmers (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.37).

The alternative solutions proposed by the plan are executable independently, but they also complement each other. Alternative One focuses on the feasibility of widening the CV-500 for bike and pedestrian uses, suggesting wooden gangplanks to minimize runaway risks and forest clearing while habilitating this mixed-use lane (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.39, 43). Alternative Two centers on the conversion into a boulevard of the 4km, 4-lane highway. Alternative Three suggests studying the changing El Palmar road and moving its main access to CV-500 4km south. Path connectivity and integration of the urban nuclei in the park are a priority over Alternative 2 (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.41, 53).

11.B.3. Timeline

The General Subdirection of Territory awarded the Albufera Landscape Program and Landscape Planning to develop PATIVEL's Via Litoral as a public procurement on September 22nd, 2017 (Fernández-Vivancos, 2017). *FERNANDEZ-VIVANCOS ARQUITECTO* had a final version by March 2018. On March 23rd, the General Direction of Territory, Urbanism, and Landscape requires an environmental report on several Landscape Programs. On the 14th of August, ALP is started to be analyzed (Generalitat Valenciana, 2017). On the 20th of the same month, a press release announced the Landscape Programs, including the ALP (Generalitat Valenciana, 2018b).

The ALP passed its environmental report on April 25th, 2019 and is sent back to the General Direction of Territory on May the 8th. Regional and local elections were on the 26th of May. The agreement was signed on September 2nd, 2019, opening a 45 working days public consultation of the plan as art. 57 LOTUP sets. Citizens have the right to present allegations, suggestions, and observations telematically or in-person (Generalitat Valenciana, 2019c, p.41521). ALP started to appear on press on September 28th, referring mainly to the (i1) CV-500 highway intervention (Europa Press, 2019a)(Ballester, 2019). Relevant newspapers like *Las Provincias, esDiario,* or *Valencia Plaza* funneled rejection of the project (Muñoz, 2019)(Nebot, 2019)(Moreno, 2019).

On the Regional Parliament, the deputy Alfredo Castelló Sáez (PP) registers a question related to the CV-500 pacification measures (registered the September 17th, published the 5th of October), claiming against the Perelló bus new routes through Sueca, and the lane reductions (Corts Valencianes, 2018a, p. 52074).

On October 29th, 2019, Territorial Policy, Public Works, and Mobility Council from the Regional Government met sub-local majors from El Perelló, El Mareny (both Sueca *Pedanías*), Pinedo, El Saler, El Palmar, and El Perellonet. This attempt to improve public participation and the ALP's local image prolonged public consultation on October 31st for 22 extra working days (Generalitat Valenciana, 2019d)(Generalitat Valenciana, 2019e, p.48494).

Image 24 November 8th demonstration, showing neighbors, food service associations and tractors demonstrating in front of Valencia city hall. Modified from (Muñoz, 2019)(Guadalajara & Moreno, 2019)

On November 8th, 2019, neighbors and farmers demonstrate, and its protests block the Valencia city center with tractors (Forés Romero, 2019, 00:01:20)(Guadalajara, 2019a)(El Periódico de Aquí TV, 2019). Joan Ribó (Compromís) said publicly on November 14th that Valencia and its *Pedanías* should be consulted about the ALP (La Vanguardia, 2019). On November 21st, in the Plenary session, the prior Councilor answered PP's question on ALP. She minimized the impact of a bus deviation line, referred to the benefits for cyclists, and to the fact that the minor interventions made were proposed when the PP governed the region, approving them (Corts Valencianes, 2018b, p.8570-8572).

Finally, the Regional Government makes a press statement on November 27th, 2019, paralyzing the ALP. (Forés Romero, 2019, 00:00:46)(Europa Press, 2019b). In January 2020, the center-right Partido Popular (PP) local opposition demanded an official statement on this matter, but the Regional Government has made no further movements (Cadena SER, 2020)(Elperiodic, 2020). By August 2021, ALP was at an impasse, waiting for the PATIVEL firm judgment after its court annulation on February 11th, 2021.

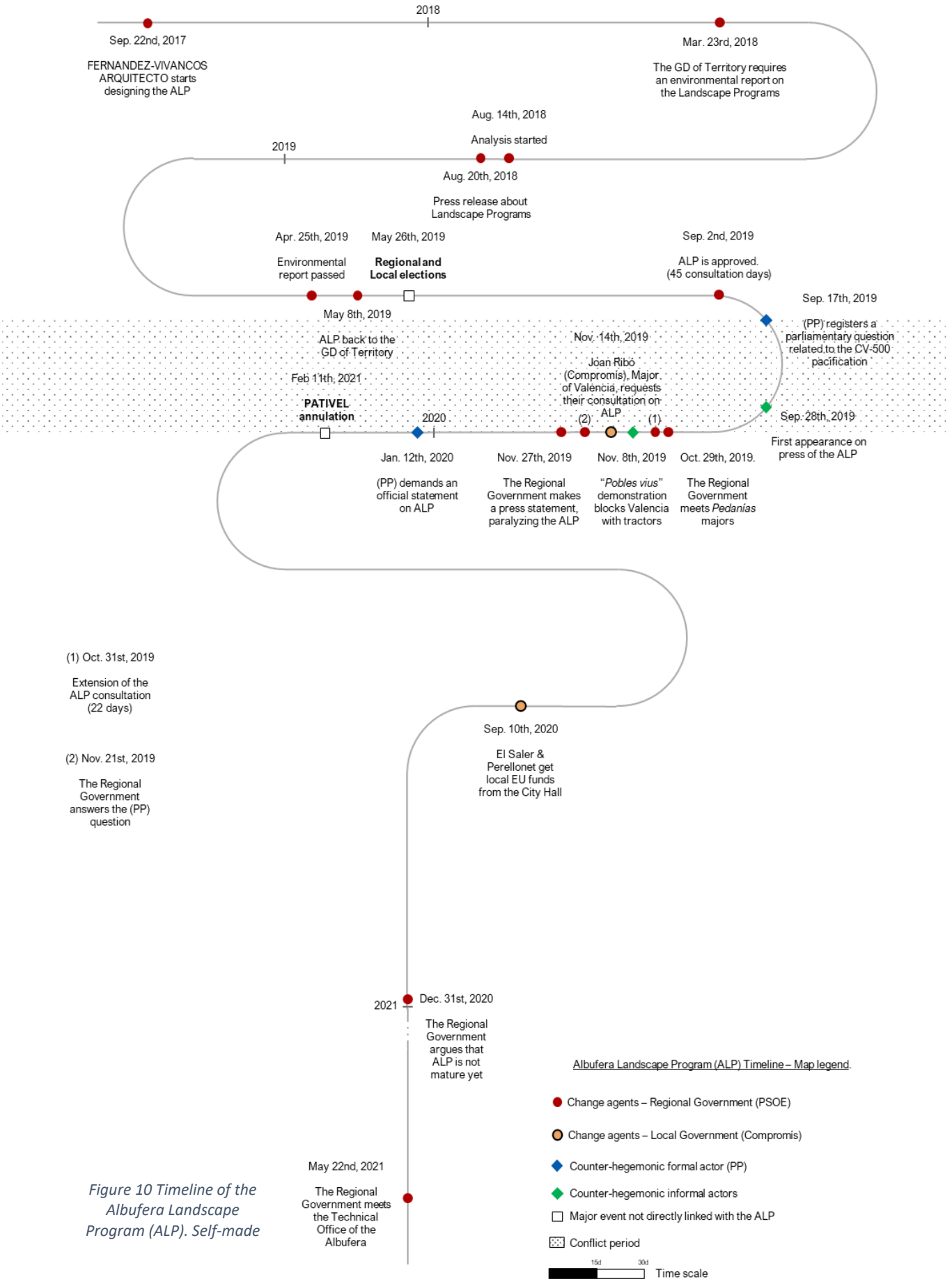


Figure 10 Timeline of the Albufera Landscape Program (ALP). Self-made

11.C. The Program under the lens of EGCF

First, it is necessary to check the type of institutional change Albufera Landscape Program. When applying the EGCF, change must not be Displacement, as it is not as much of a gradual change but a sudden institutional refurbishment (Follador et al., 2018, p.11, 12). ALP is a clear case of Layering, according to GCF and Mahoney & Thelen (2010, p.16-17) typologies, because:

It happens willingly to defy years of spatial planning path dependence in the area: The inaction of previous center-right Local and Regional Governments since 1991 and 1995 deepened and worsened car usage for displacements alongside the Albufera coastal sleeve. The city's uncontrolled urban growth put the area's environmental values in danger. Relying on the unfinished road infrastructure created in the 60-70s displaced other means of transportations and routes. This situation will have ended in a Drift institutional change, if any, as keeping change off the Agenda is the Parasitic-symbionts actors' role (Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.45-47). Instead, a Structural critical juncture happened in 2015, changing rulers in the Valencian institutions and allowing new policies.

It generates additions, amendments, or reforms without removing the old rules (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.16-17)(Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.43-44): When the tri-partite center-left coalition arrived in power in 2015, they did not eliminate previous Planning institutions. They kept using the 2014 legislation until 2021 LOTUP reform. ALP used the 2014 legislative framework and presented this reform in 2019, right after the tri-partite coalition re-enactment.

It is essential to remind that in 2015 the tri-partite center-left coalition reached out to the Government only a last-minute agreement after more than twenty years in the opposition. Sharing a frame of problematization requires ease on each Actors' Agenda to coordinate interests. It also must count on Institutional restraints, like the previously existing Valencian Planning Institutions and Discourses about the acceptable intervention types in the Albufera, particularly over the CV-500 highway and the road system (Servillo & Van Den Broeck, 2012, p.48). Institutional change agents simply lacked the resources to produce a Displacement (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.16-17).

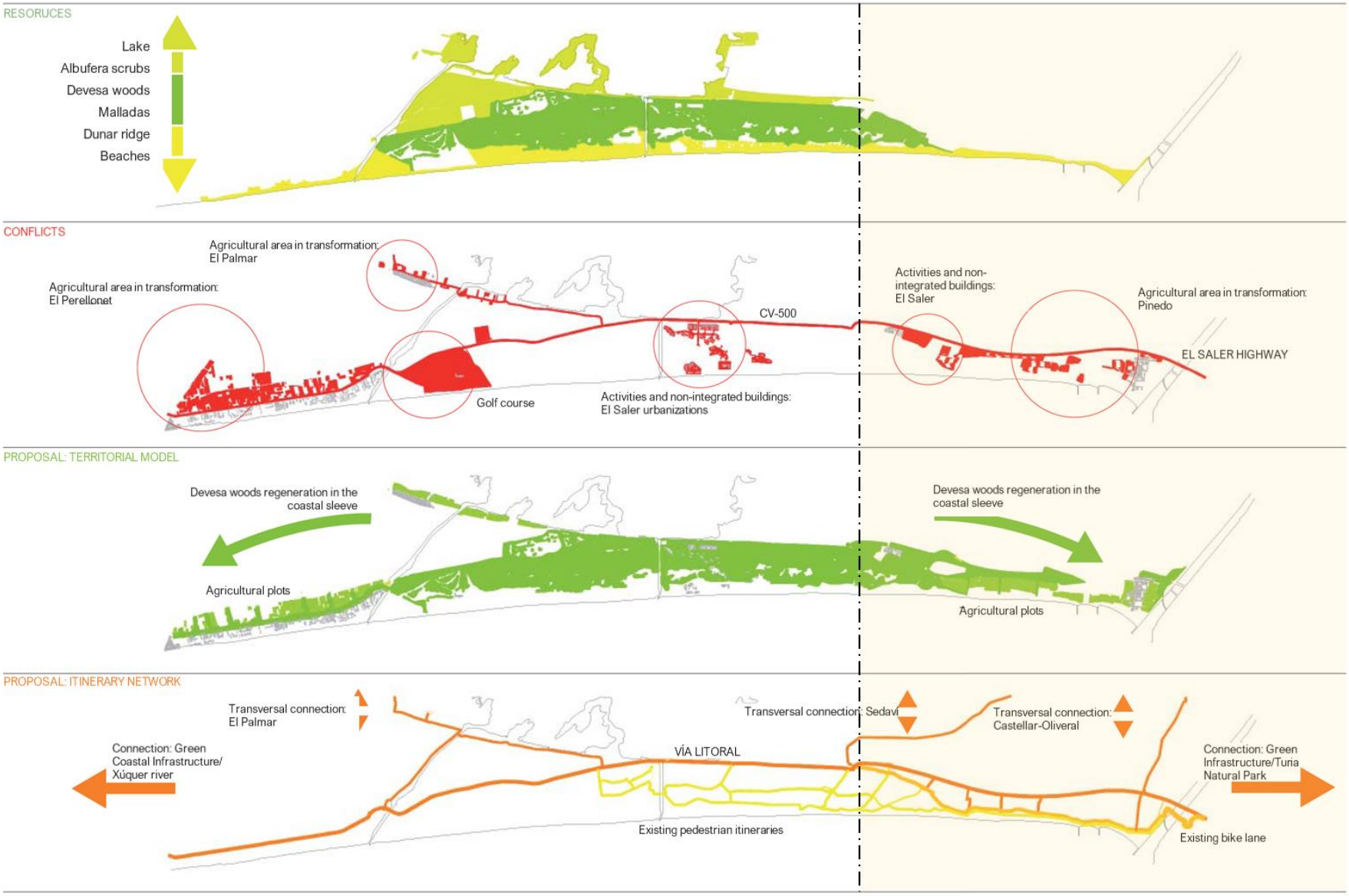
It happens in a high veto environment with low interpretation capabilities: strong veto possibilities show through in PATIVEL court annulment. Planning in Spain requires multiple steps and is usually seen as a top-down, State-controlled process. The institutional environment configures a high-veto scenario (Douglas & Wildavsky, 1983, p.126-127).

Weak interpretation capabilities derive from Institutional characteristics, according to (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.28). Planning policy applicability in Spain depends on public servants, who are meant to be neutral in their actions, and politicized high officials (Arenilla Sáez, 2011)(Fung, 2006). There is room to shape laws' applicability through interpretation. From the perspective of our dominant change agent, it can be argued that weak interpretation capabilities derive from more than twenty years of political dominance of the center-right in the Local and Regional institutions. Public servants and high-rank officials could be reluctant to interpret and implement changes in planning legislation in a Subversive change agent manner.

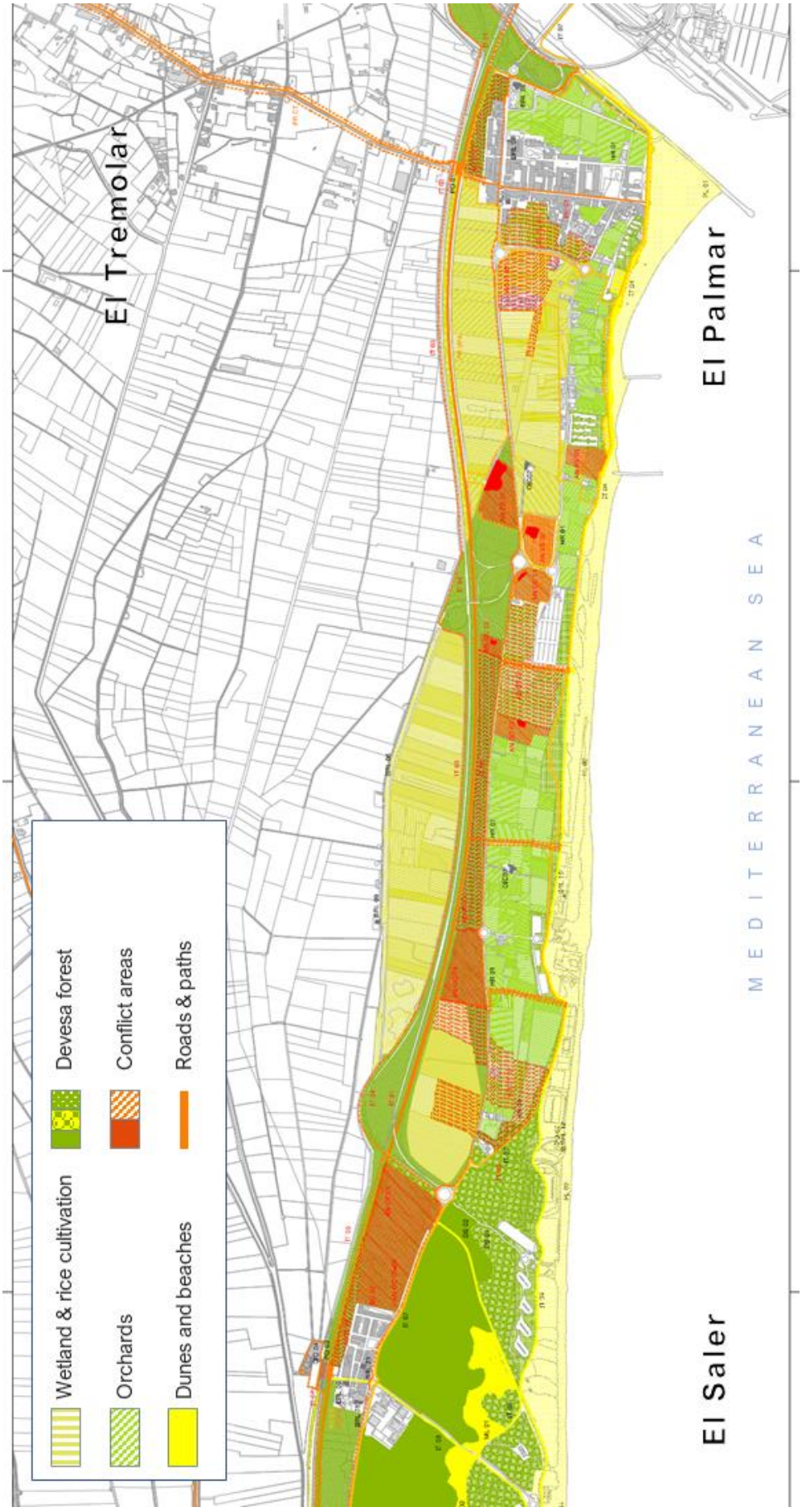
Once settled that the ALP is a layering type of change, research can analyze it the EGCF. As this paper is focused on the Area 1 intervention of the Albufera Landscape Program, it will only go over Agency, Structure, Institutions, and Discourse about the overall Program succinctly.

Agency gives a general view of how the institutional change agents promoted ALP. The dominant change agent is the tri-partite coalition Regional Government of Valencia (PSOE-Compromís-Unides Podem), which can act either as a unified agent or separately, according to their political parties' positionality. As the ALP introduction is considered a Layering type of change, the change agent type will be a Subversive one. Subversives follow institutional rules, but their ultimate objective is to change them, coherent with the objectives pursued by the tri-partite government when introducing ALP.

Structure speaks about the short to mid-term context and how change agents used their actions to press their agenda. According to Social (Re)production of Space, their actions could be considered Molding and Making, as they tried to introduce changes slowly and intentionally in the form of a recommendation while seeking to structure new socio-spatial relations amongst agents. Namely, any motorized user of the coastal sleeve road infrastructure and other users. About the (Re)production of Agency, change agents Actions could be seen as a Stimulation, a significant foster for the *Vía Litoral* of PATIVEL's Green Infrastructure agenda. Regarding Power Geometries, change agents tried to present ALP as a Reworking program to reduce systemic inefficiencies without openly defying institutional order; ALP uses mild language and tokens to demobilize farmers, the foodservice sector associations, the fisher communities, and Poblats del Sud District inhabitants. Despite this, some of its interventions were Revolutionary, especially those related to CV-500 (i1) intervention. Most likely, this is why the Coalition Government delayed ALP after winning May 2019 Regional and Local elections to present ALP.



Map 22 Resources, Conflicts, and Proposal of the Albufera Landscape Program. In light beige, the A1 area. Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p. 59)



Map 23 Area 1 of the Albufera Landscape Program and land usage detail. Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.72)

Institutions show 20 years of a settled planning system that left the Albufera coastal sleeve out of the agenda. Valencian local and regional spatial planning systems had some discursive path dependencies about the environmental enhancement of the Albufera. Actions instead, limited to maintenance and preservation management (Almenar, 2014)(Ros, 2011). From the lens of Neo-institutionalism(s), Actors were repeating a stable institutional scheme (Rational); That kept giving increasing returns on power as problems remained off the agenda (Historical); Fomenting a cultural frame of the Albufera as untouchable (Sociological); with an environmental preservation discourse of the area (Discursive). Change agents' defiance of these path dependencies comes from a critical juncture (losing 2015 elections) that sets ALP in motion and gets paralyzed after citizens' contestation and PATIVEL annulment.

Discourse refers to how communication and policy-making ways of ALP ended up with informal actor's protest actions. Informal stakeholders were not consulted when ALP was made (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.5). As they feel they should have been asked, they mobilize against ALP. Their actions were based on Maintenance of the arrangement and Suppression & Resistance against ALP. Culturally speaking, the coastal sleeve original settlers have been mistreated frequently. Grievances to farmers during the previous construction bubble that destroyed traditional orchards and traffic restrictions and the delicate preservation state of the Albufera helped to create an informal actors' coalition in favor of the disrupted path dependencies to be re-enacted. ALP consulted only public Local and Regional institutions, namely (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.5):

- Subdirectorate General for Spatial and Landscape Planning (Region).
- General Subdirectorate for Mobility (Region).
- Technical Management Office of the Albufera Natural Park (Region).
- Devesa-Albufera Service of the city hall (Local).
- Urban Development and Housing Area (Local).
- Human Development Area (Local).
- Environment and Climate Change Area (Local).
- Sustainable Economic Development Area (Local).

As mentioned in chapter 8.B, the perception of inclusion in the process is relevant to avoiding counter-hegemonic coalitions against policy changes (Follador et al., 2018, p.18). Taking the previous controversies over the CV-500, detailed in the chapter 11.D.2, it was most likely that contestation against ALP implementation will happen. GCF sets that Layering gradual change requires constant sponsoring and modest changes to provoke the desired changes. Instead, some interventions of ALP, namely (i1) and CV-500 pacification measures, were enacted without proper citizens' participation. Built upon prior attempts to reduce motorized traffic in the coastal sleeve, the massive contestation on this central item of the area created an unlikely alliance.

11.D. Area 1 – Vía Parque De L'Albufera & Tremolar Road refurbishment

11.D.1. Intervention and Actors (A; S)

Area 1 interventions include Vía Parque de L'Albufera (i1) and the Refurbishment of the Tremolar Road (i2). (i1) is the most invasive and changing of the ALP, as it affects the road connection node of the CV-500 road directly. The CV-500 goes from up north Valencia until Sueca, crossing in parallel the whole ALP area. The protests that generated this intervention are the main informal reason for the paralyzation of the Landscape Program. Instead, (i2) has not arisen controversies so far. ANNEX II provides more pictures of the (i1) intervention area.

Vía Parque de L'Albufera consists of reconverting the 4-lane El Saler highway into a boulevard (*Via Parque de L'Albufera*). This measure aims to minimize the infrastructure impact, integrate the urban edges of El Saler and Pinedo with the Natural Park, and regenerate surrounding agricultural spaces. Refurbishment of the Tremolar Road seeks to recover traditional paths of Pinedo towards El Tremolar and improve the connection of the *Vía del Litoral* with the Turia river basin linear park and give a soft transition towards the Natural Park. Additional interventions include extending the pasture forest and the agriculture irrigation canals of L'Horta Sud orchards (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.60-61).

Agency here shows a very invasive intervention (i1) and a mild, peripheral one (i2). If considered individually, i1 reconversion of the CV-500 into a boulevard could be seen as a Displacement change type, as it is a deep enough reform to say so. However, it can be considered Layering, as it does not eliminate the previous physical space configuration and is inserted in the broader frame of ALP. (i2) is a straightforward case of "change within the previous institutional agreement" as installing a traffic lights system to cross the CV-500 is not its primary aim. Instead, it aims to recover landscape and a mixed-use bike-pedestrian lane parallel to the historical road (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.70-71).

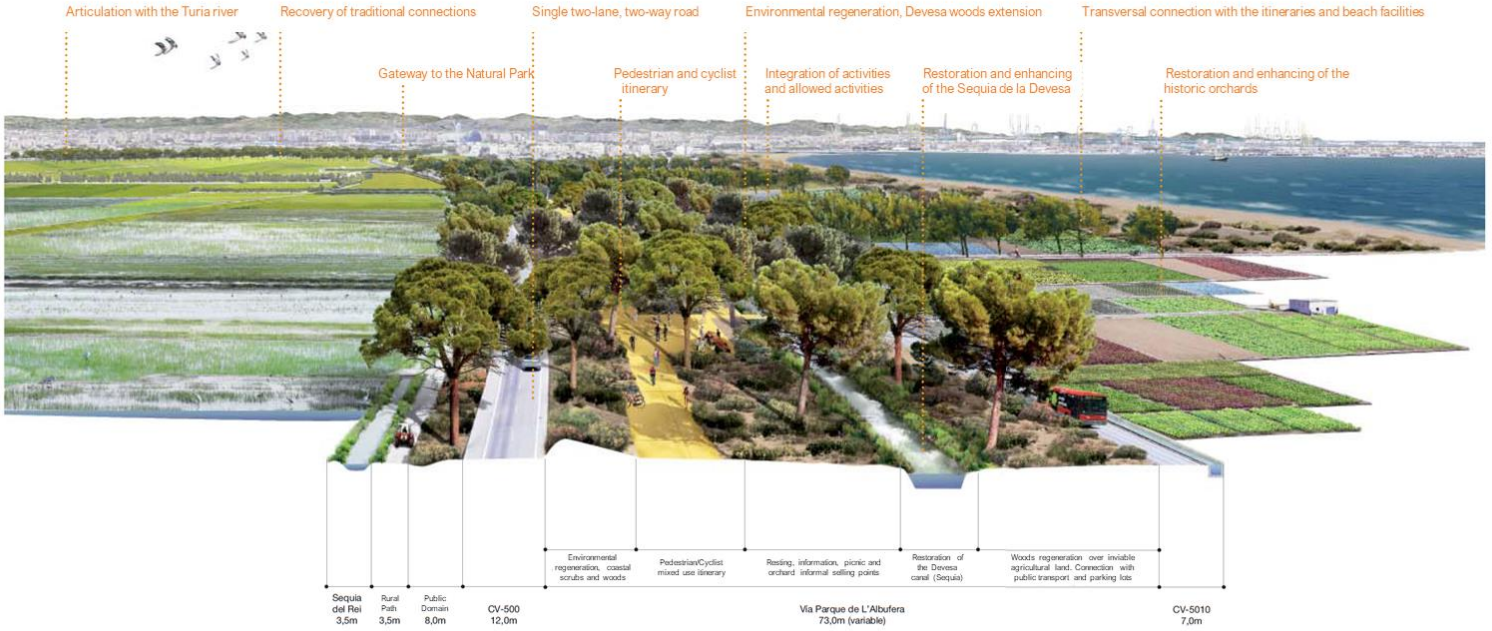
Change agents here are the Subversive type, as preserving the institutionalized planning system aligns with the proposed interventions. Opposing the planning policy change, we see different supporters of the previous arrangement: the center-right political forces, farmers (AVA-ASAJA association), the), the El Palmar Fishers' Community, and food-service and trade associations of *Poblats del Sud*, and neighbors-users of the CV-500 (AVA-ASAJA, 2019). As said before, the previous institutional arrangement could only drove a Drift change type. If Drift happened under those conditions, these counter-hegemonic actors could be seen as Parasitic or Mutualistic symbionts.

F—VA

VÍA PARQUE DE L'ALBUFERA

AREA OF INTERVENTON	DESCRIPTION	RECONVERSION OF THE EL SALER HIGHWAY IN A BOULEVARD
	LANDSCAPE UNITS	Devesa del Saler/Albufera de Valencia/Urban area of Valencia (PATIVEL)
	ENVIRONMENTAL UNITS	Environmental interest zone/Anthropized zone (PRUG)
	ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION	Albufera Natural Park/ SPA, LIC (Natura 2000)
	CLASIFICATION & QUALIFICATION	Undevelopable Public domain land/ Protected undevelopable land(PGOUV)
	AFFECTED MUNICIPALITIES	Valencia
	RESORUCES	Environmental interest: wetlands, orchards, beaches/ Cultural interest: BIC, BRL/ Visual interest: lookout points, landscape itineraries
	CONFLICTS	Transport infrastructures/Urban edges/ Degraded agricultural areas/ Non-integrated activities and buildings
	OBJECTIVES	Infrastructure impact minimization/ Integration and enhancing of urban edges/ Regeneration of the degraded agricultural spaces
	PROPOSAL	Reconversion of the El Saler highway in a boulevard access to L'Albufera

RESOURCES / CONFLICTS / PROPOSAL



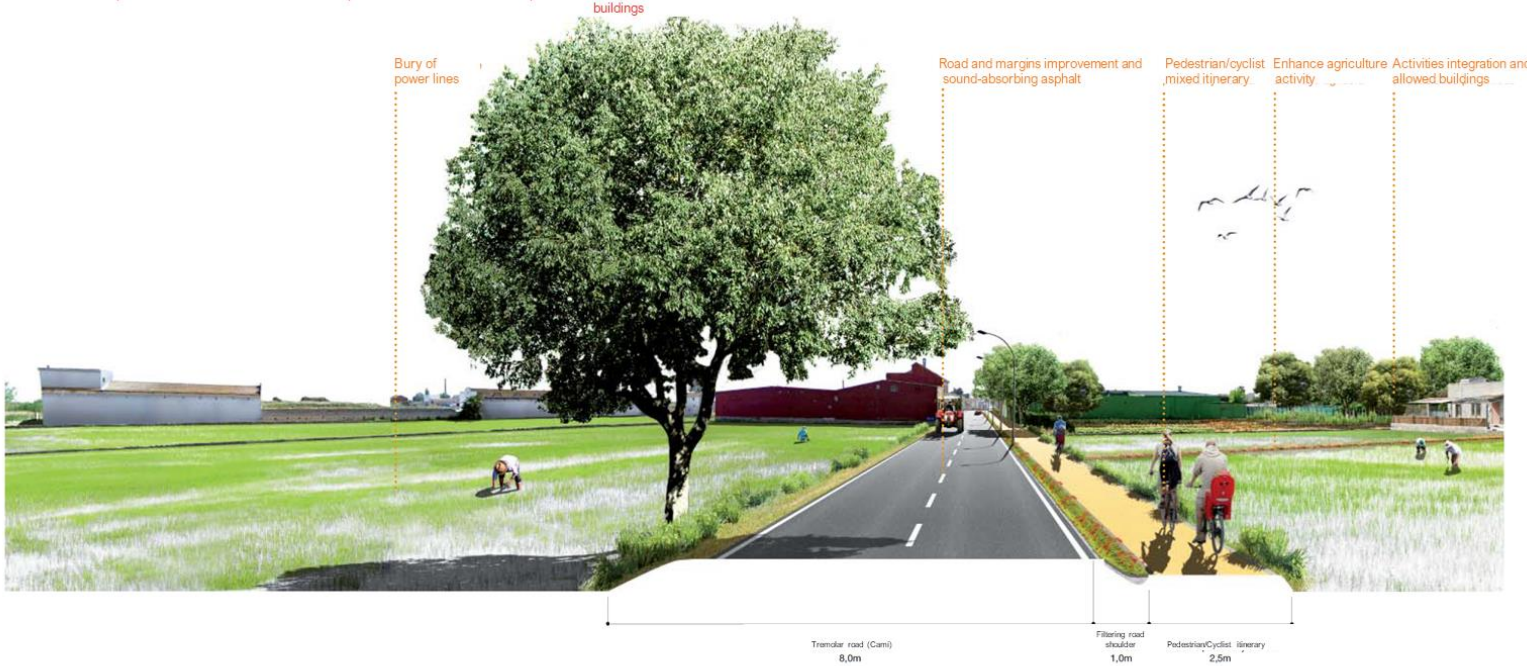
F–VA
RESOURCES
CONFLICTS
OBJECTIVES
PROPOSAL
EXPECTED EFFECTS
ENVIRONMENTAL RESOURCES
01 Albufera Wetlands. Environmental Interest Zone (PRUG)
02 Traditional orchards. Environmental Interest Zone (PRUG)
03 Pinedo Beaches, L'Abre del Gos y de la Creu
CULTURAL RESOURCES
01 Cultural Interest Assets BIC: Traditional Albufera activities
02 Local Relevance Assets BRL: Barraca la Genuina, Albufera Canal, Casa I Sequer Vila Teresa, Bunker de El Saler, Fumeral de la Fábrica Plexi, Sitges d'Arros Les Casotes
03 Others: Pinedo gas station, Canal houses, Casa Don Carlos
VISUAL RESOURCES
01 Lookout points: footbridge over the CV-500, El Saler Bunker
02 Landscape itineraries: waterfront
ROAD INFRASTRUCTURES
01 El Saler highway CV-500: unfolded 4-lane road, environmental disconnection between wetlands and coastline, roadblocks, Local Relevance Asset (BRL) affection, acoustic contamination, sealed floor
URBAN EDGES
01 Southern front of Valencia
02 Southern front of Pinedo
DEGRADED AGRICULTURAL PLOTS
01 Regarding road infrastructure: areas between CV-500 & CV-5010, areas nearby connections with Camí de Muntanyars
02 Regarding urban edges: Pinedo surroundings
03 Regarding tertiary uses or recreative ones: L'Abre del Gos and Creu Beaches surroundings
NON-INTEGRATED BUILDINGS/ACT.
01 Spectacle uses: Sala Canal, Spook, Club Vic, Discoteca Face
02 Leisure use: Drive-in Star, Wakaya Restaurant, Karting Nabella, Coll Vert Camping
01 Minimization of the El Saler highway impact and fostering of the non-motorized mobility in the Natural Park
02 Fostering a public use model compatible with the environmental preservation values of the park
03 Regeneration and enhancement of the degraded environmental areas reorienting the territorial model of land usage and occupation
04 Urban nuclei integration in the Natural Park and in the Green Coastline infrastructure
05 Landscape integration of the pre-existing activities and edifications allowed by the PRUG
06 Accessibility improvement of the anthropized spaces according to the PRUG protection strategy of natural spaces
07 Refurbishment of the historical paths and itineraries
08 Spreading and enhancing the existing cultural patrimony in the area
01 Reconversion of the El Saler highway in a boulevard to the Albufera Natural Park
02 Change of the road section into a two-lane two-way road, following the general CV-500 road section
03 Use of the free road section for non-motorized mobility adding public transport network connections
04 Environmental regeneration of the public domain areas and the unviable agriculture areas as Devesa extension
05 Gateway to the Natural Park and connection with the new Turia river basin
06 Forest usage as integration element of the non-integrated activities and buildings
07 Refurbishment and enhancement of the traditional orchards and its irrigation canals
08 Transversal connection with the itineraries, services and beach equipment
09 Recovery and enhancement of the paths and cultural patrimony assets
1. EFFECTS ON CLIMATE AND AIR QUALITY
2. ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS ON THE SOIL
3. ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS ON THE WATER
4. ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS ON FAUNA
5. ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS ON FLORA
6. EFFECTS ON THE MAIN MATERIAL ASSETS
7. EFFECTS ON LANDSCAPE
8. EFFECTS ON ENP NETOWRK
9. EFFECTS ON COASTLINE AND SEASHORE ZONES
10. EFFECTS ON FLOODING ZONES
11. EFFECTS ON CULTURAL PATRIMONY
+
+
+
+
+
+
+
+
=
=
+
Contamination reduction due to traffic speed reduction
Sealed soil reduction and refurbishment of contaminated soil due to inappropriate uses
Refurbishment of water canals and draining water gates
Improvement of the transversal connection of wetland and seashore
Devesa woods extension
De-seasoning of beach services and equipment usage
Impact minimization of the CV-500 and Pinedo orchards regeneration
The Vía del Litoral articulates the ENP with the Green Coastline Infrastructure
No apparent impact
No apparent impact
Refurbishment and enhancement of cultural patrimony elements
INTERVENTION AREA
Recovery of Albufera Canal
Connection with beach itineranes and equipment
Environmental regeneration of the Devesa woods
Non-motorized platform
Road junction and section reorganization
Integration in the woods of activities and buildings
Enhancing the rice crops as a window to the sea
Connection of Pinedo with the Green Coastal Infrastructure
Recovery of the path connection between Pinedo and Tremolar
Gateway to the Natural Park
Lookout point over highway footbridge
Urban edges southern front of Pinedo
Urban edges southern front of Valencia
Beaches
Local Relevance Asset El Saler Bunker
Road infrastructure knot over the Albufera Canal
Local Relevance Asset Fumeral de la Plexi
Non-integrated activities and buildings. Camping Coll Vert
Traditional orchards
Degraded agriculture areas btw. CV-500/5010
Waterfront promenade
Road infrastructure El Saler highway
Beaches
Local Relevance Asset Albufera Canal
Albufera wetlands
Non-integrated activities and buildings Sala Canal/ Spook/ Karting Nabella
N
0 100 500 E 1:20.000
FERNANDEZ-VIVANCOS ARQUITECTO / WWW.FERNANDEZ-VIVANCOS.COM/ PROGRAMA DE PAISAJE LITORAL DE L'ALBUFERA DE VALENCIA / MARZO 2018
61

F—VA

RECUPERACIÓN DEL CAMINO DEL TREMOLAR

AREA OF INTERVENTON	DESCRIPTION	RECONVERSION OF THE EL SALER HIGHWAY IN A BOULEVARD
	LANDSCAPE UNITS	Albufera orchards/Urban area of Pinedo (PATIVEL)
	ENVIRONMENTAL UNITS	Environmental interest zone/Anthropized zone (PRUG)
	ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION	Albufera Natural Park/ SPA, LIC (Natura 2000)
	CLASIFICATION & QUALIFICATION	Undevelopable Public domain land/ Protected undevelopable land(PGOUV)
	AFFECTED MUNICIPALITIES	Valencia
	RESORUCES	Environmental interest: wetlands, orchards / Cultural interest: BIC, BRL
	CONFLICTS	Transport infrastructures/Urban edges
	OBJECTIVES	Infrastructure impact minimization/ Integration and enhancing of urban edges
	PROPOSAL	Tremolar path recovery as historical connection route of Pinedo with Castellar - Oliveral

RESOURCES / CONFLICTS / PROPOSAL



RESOURCES
ENVIRONMENTAL RESOURCES
01 Albufera wetlands, Environmental Interest Zone PRUG 02 Traditional orchards, Environmental Interest Zone PRUG
CULTURAL RESOURCES
01 Local Interest Asset BIC: Traditional Albufera activities 02 Protected rural architecture

CONFLICTS
ROAD INFRASTRUCTURE
01 El Saler highwat CV-500: roadblock of the historical path connection between Pinedo and Castellar-Oliveral
URBAN EDGES
01 Southern front of Valencia 02 Southern front Castellar-Oliveral
DEGRADED AGRICULTURAL PLOTS
01 Aerial power lines

OBJECTIVES
01 Minimization of the El Saler highway impact and fostering of the non-motorized mobility in the Natural Park
02 Fostering a public use model compatible with the environmental preservation values of the park
03 Integration of the urban nuclei in the Green Coastline Infrastructure
04 Refurbishment of the historical paths and itineraries
05 Spreading and enhancing the existing cultural patrimony in the area

PROPOSAL
01 Tremolar path refurbishment as historical connection route of Pinedo with Castellar-Oliveral
02 Traffic light installation in the CV-500
03 Footbridge refurbishment as a lookout point of the Albufera
04 Creation of a pedestrian and cyclist path, following the Tremolar path layout, with permeable pavement
05 Enhancement of the existing cultural patrimony elements alongside the path
06 Road enhancement with phono-absorbing asphalt and maintenance of the existing road shoulders
07 Bury of aerial powerlines

EXPECTED EFFECTS		
1. EFFECTS ON CLIMATE AND AIR QUALITY	+	Contamination reduction due to traffic speed reduction
2. ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS ON THE SOIL	-	Land occupation expands. Sealed soil is avoided thanks to permeable pavements
3. ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS ON THE WATER	+	Maintenance of water canals and draining water gates
4. ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS ON FAUNA	=	No apparent impact
5. ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS ON FLORA	=	No apparent impact
6. EFFECTS ON THE MAIN MATERIAL ASSETS	+	Material requalification of the existing urbanization
7. EFFECTS ON LANDSCAPE	+	Improvement of the visual perception and agricultural setting appreciation
8. EFFECTS ON ENP NETOWRK	+	The *Via del Litoral* articulates the ENP with the Green Coastline Infrastructure
9. EFFECTS ON COASTLINE AND SEASHORE ZONES	=	No apparent impact
10. EFFECTS ON FLOODING ZONES	=	No apparent impact
11. EFFECTS ON CULTURAL PATRIMONY	+	Refurbishment and enhancement of cultural patrimony elements

INTERVENTION AREA

Figure 12 (ON PAGES 106-107) Scheme of the Vía Parque de l'Albufera. Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2019, p.60-61)

Figure 11 (ON PAGES 108-109) Scheme of the Tremolar Path refurbishment. Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2019, p.70-71)

The Structure presents characteristics of when ALP was presented: in September 2019, right after the tri-partite coalition re-election in May 2019. Good timing allows the Government to handle backlash easier than in an election period when controversies arise. Informal and formal factors have contributed to the current paralyzation of the ALP. Informal, as media backlash and civil society protests in November 2019 showed that a coalitional agreement against the reform existed. Formal, as the Superior Court of Justice of Valencia's verdict on PATIVEL on September 2021 leaves the ALP waiting for a firm resolution.

A tri-partite coalition government on the Valencian Region and city (Compromís; PSOE; Unides Podem) makes agreements more complex. The Regional Government that proposed the ALP is presided by Ximo Puig (PSOE). Valencia Major Joan Ribó (Compromís) is the leading actor when applying ALP guidelines, as the area of intervention concerns only Valencia. This forces observations to consider ALP from Local and Regional Governments' perspectives as change agents and each political party participating in the coalitions. The same logic applies to the counter-hegemonic forces opposing these changes.

In the Local coalition Government, the organs related to urban and spatial planning depend on Sandra Gómez López (PSOE). She oversees four out of five Councils of the Urban Renovation, Development, and Housing Area. Isabel Lozano Lázaro (Compromís) has the remaining one (Housing) (Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 2019). In the Regional Government, the Territorial Policy, Public Works, and Mobility Council, the origin of ALP, are assigned to Arcadi España García (PSOE) after the 2019 May elections (Borrás & Sanjuan, 2019). His predecessor was María José Salvador Rubert (PSOE) (Generalitat Valenciana, 2021a).

The ALP contestation does not happen until late September 2019, when (i1) first appeared on press. Before ALP, the counter-hegemonic position refers to support on the previous status quo. Regarding what actions do, contestation split actors appear in three categories: Farmers, fishers, and food service and trade associations as the promoters of the November 2019 demonstration. *Poblats del Sud*, as sub-local Majors and neighbors' complaints about lack of participation and primary affected populations, and Political opposition such as formal actors like political parties.

		Before ALP contestation		Explanation
As a coalition Government		(Re)production of Space: Molding and Making (Re)production of Agency: Stimulation Power Geometries: Reworking and Revolutionary		Explanations in section 11.C
		(i1) after contestation	(i2) after contestation	Explanation
As a coalition Government		(Re)production of Space: Maintenance (Re)production of Agency: Suppression Power Geometries: Resilience	(Re)production of Space: Molding (Re)production of Agency: Stimulation Power Geometries: Reworking	The Regional Government paralyzes ALP changes. Due to (i1) contestation (informal reasons) and legal actions against PATIVEL (formal reasons). Its actions tried to pacify the counter-hegemonic agents keeping the status quo (Maintenance) and deactivate its agenda (Suppression). They adapt to previous existing power structures (Resilience). (i2) generates no controversies.
As split actors	Compromís (City Major)	(Re)production of Space: Maintenance (Re)production of Agency: Suppression Power Geometries: Resilience	No relevance	Joan Ribó, as Major of Valencia and other Poblats del Sud District sub-local Majors, complain about the lack of consultation or participation of the affected populations. Neutrally positioning themselves regarding ALP, Compromís marked the agenda (La Vanguardia, 2019)(Guadalajara & Moreno, 2019)
	PSOE (Regional President)	(Re)production of Space: Maintenance (Re)production of Agency: Support Power Geometries: Resilience	No relevance	Arcadi España, as Regional Councilor of Territorial Policy, Public Works, and Mobility, makes some declarations to the press concerning the paralyzation of the ALP on the 27th of November 2019 (Europa Press, 2019b). PSOE has followed its coalition partner to facilitate a coordinated front on the matter (Support).
	Unides Podem	No relevance	No relevance	No declarations on either ALP or (i1).

Table 10 Change agents' positionality. Self-made

		Before ALP		Explanation
As previous hegemonic positionality		(Re)production of Space: Maintenance and Modification (Re)production of Agency: Suppression Power Geometries: Resilience		The previous, path dependent status quo had no landscape planning actions towards the Albufera. Its role was to keep things as they were (Maintenance) or unintentionally change the space within the existing institutional rules (Modification). Agency focused not defying settled institutions or dominant actors' coalition (Suppression). Contestation was mainly due to the Natural Park's environmental management. Their main informal opposition came from ecologist groups like Greenpeace, SEO BirdLife, or Ecologistas en Acción, among others (ABC, 2011) (Menéndez Sarriés, 2013) (Martínez, 2015)
		(i1) after contestation	(i2) after contestation	Explanation
As a counter-hegemonic coalition		(Re)production of Space: Making (Re)production of Agency: Suppression Power Geometries: Resistance	No relevance	(i1) intervention has arisen several actors against the change agents institutional plan of implementing ALP. Taking the informal and formal factors that have derived in ALP failure, its most relevant action was the November 2019 demonstration. This action seeks to reinstate the old socio-spatial relations amongst agents (Making) while taking off the agenda ALP (Suppression) and answering to a space contestation of the new dominant actors' coalition (Resistance). (i2) intervention arises no contestation other than new traffic lights and overall CV-500 road pacification measures. As these are also present at (i1) CV-500 measures, it has been marked as no relevant per se.
As split actors	Farmers, fishers, food and trade associations	(Re)production of Space: Making (Re)production of Agency: Suppression Power Geometries: Resistance	No relevance	L'Horta Sud farmers (AVA-ASAJA), the El Palmar Fishers' Community, and the food service industry associations of Pinedo, El Saler, El Palmar, Perellonet, and even Perelló and Sueca were the main instigators of the November 2019 demonstration. 600 to 1000 demonstrators, tractors, and other service motorized vehicles blocked Valencian city center (Making) under the slogan "*Pobles Vius*" (Alive Villages) to stop the CV-500 pacification measures and boulevard conversion (Conversion; Resistance) (Bellvis, 2019)(Guadalajara, 2019a)

As split actors	Poblats del Sud and Media	(Re)production of Space: Molding (Re)production of Agency: Structuring Power Geometries: Reworking	No relevance	Poblats del Sud and Media are various actors whose common characteristics are to open institutional channels (public institutions, newspapers). Without openly defying ALP, they seek to make amendments and ensure their voice is heard in the implementation process through minor actions (Molding). Except for Perellonet since January 2020, all neighborhoods of the coastal sleeve inside Valencia Poblats del Sud District (Pinedo; El Saler; El Palmar, and Perellonet) are ruled by Compromís (Vigara & Bartual, 2019)(Nebot, 2020). This explains why complaints were made through formal meetings (October 2019), limiting other Government spheres without severely compromising them (Structuring). The neighbors made several minor performances regarding CV-500 speed limits, radars, and new traffic lights. In October 2018, making a fake graveyard as a symbolic denounce of the "death of the villages". A year later, an assembly debated the same issue (Moreno, 2018) (Las Provincias, 2019) and voices about turning from a *Pedanía* to a Minor Local Entity, an independent city from Valencia as Benimatet *Pedanía* up north is suggesting for themselves (Plaza 2020b). These actions aim to systemic inequities or inefficiencies without openly defying (i1) measures (Reworking). Regarding Media, *Las Provincias*, one of the most influential Valencian newspapers, is controlled by Grupo VOCENTO, a conservative conglomerate.
	Political opposition	(Re)production of Space: Molding (Re)production of Agency: Support Power Geometries: Revolutionary	No relevance	Partido Popular (PP), Ciudadanos (Cs), and Vox are the three parties that compose the Regional and Local right-wing opposition in Valencia. PP asked between September-November 2018 in the Regional Parliament questions regarding the CV-500 pacification measures (Corts Valencianes, 2018a, p. 52074). PP also inquired the Government to make an official statement about ALP paralyzation (Cadena SER, 2020). Both actions have an intentional will to produce changes in the long term (Molding). Cs and PP have supported the November 2019 mobilizations (Levante-EMV, 2019), which fosters the counter-hegemonic coalition (Support). Opposition parties want to oust the current tri-partite coalition to enact their planning policies, so their acts are (Revolutionary).

Table 11 Counter-hegemonic agents' positionality. Self-made

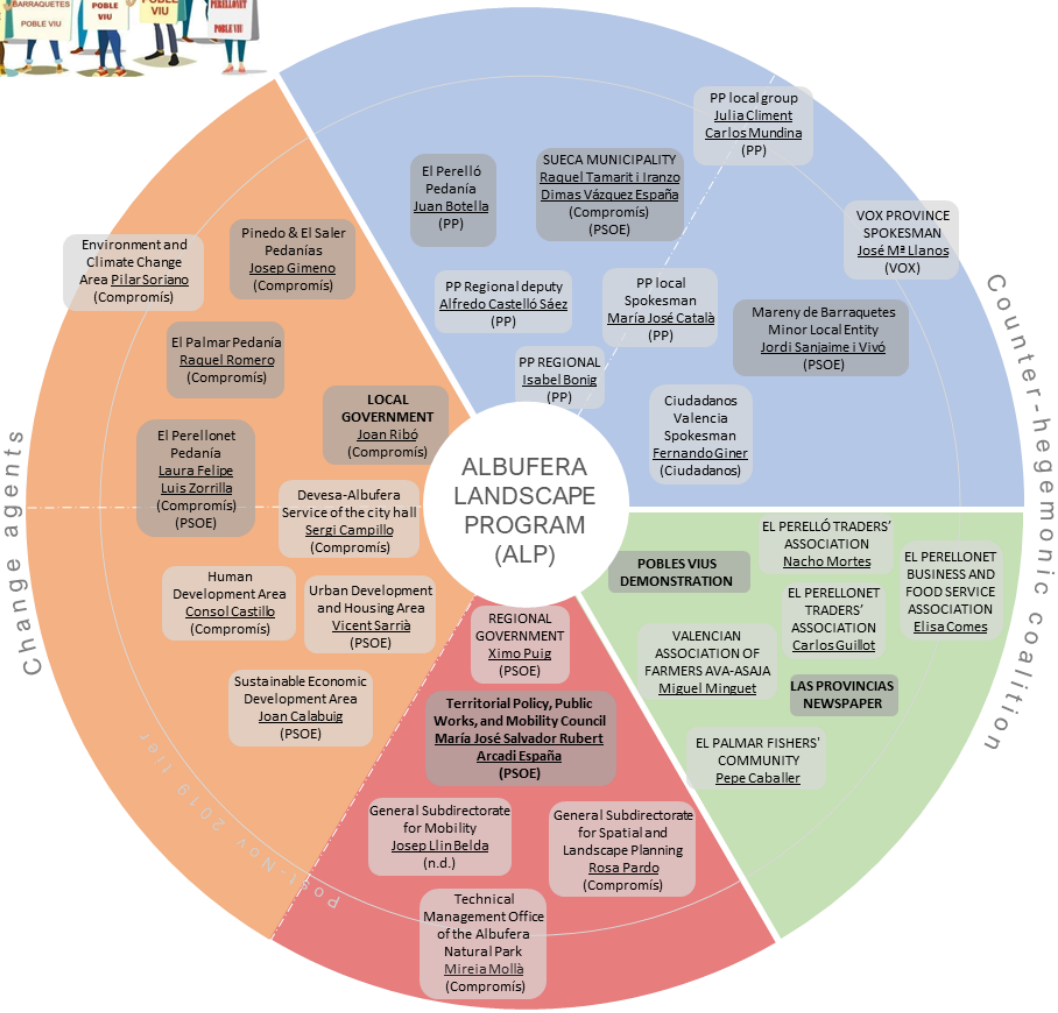


Figure 13 Actors' map regarding the Albufera Landscape Program. On top corner, demonstration banner (Bellvis, 2019). Self-made

11.D.2. Path dependencies (I; D)

The CV-500 road used to be known as the *Autovía de El Saler* (El Saler highway), it was built in the first half of the XX Century to access El Palmar (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.29). Francoism expanded it into a 4-lane from Pinedo to El Saler to access the unfinished urbanization resort of the Albufera coastline. Path dependencies started during this time have created high sunken costs to change policies regarding this mobility infrastructure.

Democratic Governments tried to secure and pacify traffic, reducing speed limits to 60 km/h alongside the coastal sleeve. Radars and traffic lights in areas such as the Albufera lookout point, the entrance of Perellonet, and the Saler lakeport were always a matter of controversy for *Pedanías* neighbors and road users (Aimeur, 2017)(Guadalajara, 2019b). Sustainable uses of a road crossing the Natural Park are incompatible with its current traffic flow because:

- It impedes non-car displacements among Albufera urban nuclei, as the Natural Park regulations advise against widening road shoulders to allow bike lanes or sideways. Motorized transport has monopolized the only fully connected traffic artery of the coastal sleeve. The CV-500 outline has disconnected El Saler and its lagoon port, the Lake and the pastures, the lookout point and its surroundings, and historical paths around nuclei like the (i2) Pinedo-Tremolar one (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.29).
- It hiders rice agricultural works, as some road sections are not wide enough for rice harvesters or buses (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.29). Previous refurbishments did not consider this, rising farmers' unrest (Soriano, 2020).
- It creates severe traffic jams, generating above-average traffic jams for such road type with a mean of 70-75dBA in the whole coastal sleeve (Generalitat Valenciana, 2010, p.9-20), and taking 25-50 mins to cover the 25km between Valencia and Perelló (García Suikkanen, 2011, p.27, 29, 75)(Talavera, 2020).
- It damages Natural Park fauna and flora, as the CV-500 has one of the highest rates of animal runaways in Spain (García Suikkanen, 2011).

Institutions present how the (i1) intervention and its contestation can be framed through Neo-institutionalism. From a Rational perspective, the actors' ruling coalition faced a "prisoners' dilemma". Change agents split their unity of action, pursuing their interest but stopping change. Counter-hegemonic coordination maximized individual actors' benefits, fostering resource mobilization against the (i1) and ALP. From a Historical perspective, the coalition faced a critical juncture when implementing a new spatial policy and failed to adapt.

Institutional path dependencies from the existing arrangement reinforced previous arrangements, proven stable enough. Sociologically speaking, (i1) was seen as a threat to counter-hegemonic actors' ways of relating with the Albufera road, provoking a reinforcement of the societal view and their perception of this issue with its triumph. Attending Discourse (i1) did not frame itself as integrated and participative, while the previous arrangement still had enough supporters. ALP framing as sustainability and pro-non-motorized vehicles contributed to the almost immediate rejection by counter-hegemonic actors, easing its paralyzation.

Discourse here refers to the several problems that putting together very different actors in limited space has. Farmers' mobilization was proven crucial to paralyze ALP. Their shared meanings come from an ancient sector with a nationally recognized product, the Valencian rice, whose production is getting more challenging to achieve (Europa Press, 2021b) (Farinós Dasí et al., 2018, p.291). As the uncontrolled city growth destroyed *L'Horta Sud*, orchards were heavily degraded, adding to the long list of grievances from infrastructure changes provoked by the Francoist deviation of the Turia river basin over their lands. The rest of the inhabitants of the area see its primary source of income in tourism and the food-service industry. They have used to the problems that the CV-500 generate among their urban nuclei (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.17, 31).

Regarding change agents who tried to implement ALP, it is relevant to mention that the (i1) intervention suggestion came from the Valencia Urban Development area for the mid-term after receiving allegations asking for this measure. Despite asking for the CV-500 pacification on several occasions before ALP, environmental and ecologists did not appear publicly in the debate, conceding the Discourse to counter-hegemonic informal actors (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.39, 41).

11.D.3. Resolution

By August 2021, ALP is paralyzed, mainly due to the neighbors' and farmers' protests regarding (i1) intervention over the CV-500 road. Informal pressures manifested in several counter-hegemonic actions have resulted in change agents failing their planning policy implementation. Paradoxically, path dependencies have manifested not in institutional actors in power but in an unlikely alliance for the Albufera actors and its different significations of space (Alba Pagán & Valiseva Ivanova, 2017, p.246) against a change promoted from the formal institutions.

Counter-hegemonic forces pushed in favor of previous arrangements, or at least against new changes for several reasons. GCF already mentions that the Layering change type requires constant sponsoring and modest changes. (i1) intervention was too ambitious, did not include

informal actors, and disconformity broke ruling coalition cohesion. These factors forced a switch of change agents' actions. Proven its effectiveness, farmers have tried using tractors and blocking Valencia in 2021 to protest EU Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), generating a cultural milieu and a sort-of path dependency in actions (Arlandis, 2021).

Urban boundaries in the rural-urban fringe usually have loose structures that can hardly coordinate among different interests (Gallent & Shaw, 2007, p.622). As the CV-500 pacification is the central node of the Albufera Landscape Program interventions, it constitutes a foundational element in a limited space for a temporary coalition of actors with diverging interests other than keeping the road as it is. Gallent (2006, p.392) argued that a rural-urban fringe presents three types of interventions: doing nothing and ignoring its specific problems; understanding it from within and working with the processes that shaped it; or reshaping it, ultimately destroying its uniqueness in favor of a parkland. ALP change agents will have to decide if there is a middle ground for these options and face their path dependent organizational deficiencies in citizens' participation.

11.E. Results

Regarding the contestation that ALP and (i1) triggered, it can be said that there are several conflict spheres around transportation networks, sub-local cultures, socio-economic and environmental factors. It can be said that the ALP follows an attention cycle like the one described in 1972 by Downs (Staggenborg, S, 2011, p.106).

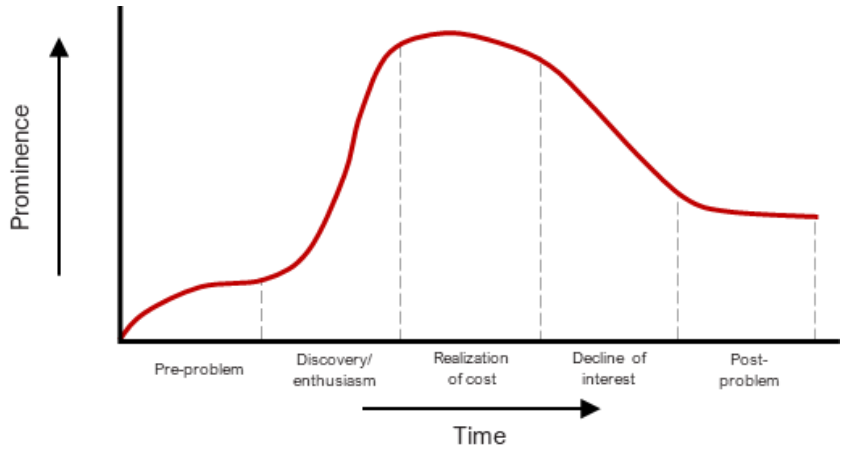


Figure 14 Public Attention Cycle, Modified from (Staggenborg, S, 2011, p.106).

Stabilized situations can fade the Institutional and Discursive complexities of spatial arrangements. After the 2019 Local and Regional elections, the tri-partite coalition feels legitimized enough to challenge institutional order. When the disadvantages of keeping long-term Discourse defiance endangered reelection possibilities, the reform was paralyzed (Davies & Trounstine, 2012, p.55-56).

Perceptions of the subject and involved parties can compromise ambitious planning policies. Framing is crucial, and for collaboration to work, it is essential to construct collective identities among key stakeholders (Follador et al., 2018, p.5). As ALP did not count with enough actors' support, the old, path dependent institutional arrangements arose.

The tri-partite change agent is still looking for ways to introduce institutional changes. In 2020, the city hall invested 200,000€ from EU funds for cycling and pedestrian paths in el Saler & Perellonet (Levante-EMV, 2020a), and the Regional Government argues that the (i1) intervention is not canceled, but not mature yet (Levante-EMV, 2020b). In May 2021, the Regional Government announced that the Councilor of Agriculture, Rural Development, Climate Emergency, and Ecological Transition, Mireia Mollà (Compromís) is in conversations with the Technical Office of the Albufera to funnel EU funds towards improvements in the Natural Park (Generalitat Valenciana, 2021b). This suggest initial steps towards a Conversion change type, beginning without changing previous arrangements, via Symbiont Mutualistic agents, that contributes to institutional equilibrium by expanding coalition's support while not being loyal to institutional rules.

12. Conclusions

12.A. Path dependence influence on change agents

Regarding the research question that motivated this thesis, "*Under what conditions can informal actors influence path dependence dynamics?*" it can be said that the Institutional setting and Discursive socio-cultural framework create powerful resistances against changes in spatial planning policies. Proven that the EGCF framework of analysis works on an applied case study, some of the extracted conclusions are:

First: If the existing arrangement before ALP did not work as a sub-optimum for all actors, it would have been more likely that the Layering change type would have triumphed. Institutions thrive to survive, so if the previous setting were able to reproduce and stable enough, it would be easier to contest changes. Therefore:

> *The longer an institution can replicate itself and remain stable, the more likely it is that a critical juncture will reinforce its assumptions and mechanisms, reducing change actors' Agenda and Contextual opportunities.*

Second: If the coalition arrangement has not reached an agreement, it will not have to implement ALP. When contestation towards (i1) happened, the coalition saw ALP unfit to mobilize enough resources in its favor (for instance, from neighbors or ecologist associations). Change agents paralyzed change mechanisms because 1. They did not build enough legitimation through shared meanings with powerful stakeholders. 2. Internally, they did not perceive themselves as stable enough to defy previous Institutional arrangements. Therefore:

Path dependencies and critical junctures are proven socially constructed and historically contingent. There are no immutable, inevitable elements, so it must consider other factors when analyzing planning changes. Contextual short-term factors can influence path dependencies, conditioning the Agenda, as Institutions and Discourse permeate Actions.

Third: Planning institutions are nothing but a tensioned equilibrium, where internal struggles constantly defy actors' dominant coalitions and agreements. In the selected case study, a Layering change is defied by informal actors Agenda, and by August 2021, they are still victorious. Informal actors defied a relatively new Institutional order trying to topple down path dependent planning dynamics. As these actors had no veto powers, they exercised an extra-institutional opposition, reducing interpretational/enforcement capabilities of the change agents' coalition even more. Therefore:

In Layering planning changes, informal actors can re-shape change attempts to resemble the old institutions, acting as an interpretational/enforcement filter of the new policy.

"*Landscape is any part of the territory, as it is perceived by those who inhabit it, whose character results from the interaction of natural and human factors"* (art 6.1 LOTUP). As the Valencian Law defines Landscape, planning is deeply rooted and conditioned by cultural traits and institutional path dependencies. Local informal actors form their Agency based on their own set of experiential, grounded knowledge. Coordination among formal and informal actors should not be left outside for any proper planning change if it wants to be successful (Knieling & Othengrafen, 2009, p.39)(Getimis, 2012, p.26)(Gallent & Shaw, 2007, p.624).

12.B. Limitations of the Study

Few pieces of research effectively try to understand how spatial planning implementation works in case studies (Getimis, 2012, p.26). Monitoring and testing are required to see if models work, but there is little to no systematized method that has been broadly used to compare and refine. In the words of its author, the Gradual Change Framework (GCF) is still in an embryonic stage (Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.58). Again, there is a dire need to create replicable heuristics, operational strategies, and research to be accessible. For instance, the Institutional Analysis and Development Framework (IAD model) (Ostrom et al., 1994; Ostrom, 2007 as cited in Getimis, 2012, p.33) or classic governance theories will add significant content to the proposed model.

The Embedded Gradual Change Framework (EGCF) proposal contributes to the debate over strategies and methodologies. Some assumptions about invisible mechanisms that produce visible implications require caution in their affirmations and categories. Combining several theoretical models to understand spatial planning requires careful investigation and time to gather proper material.

Regarding research methodologies, this paper lacks qualitative and quantitative analysis methods that will have shed extra light on actors' Agencies, as evidence sometimes hides in private documents, long-time series, or interviews breaks (Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.56).

12.C. Further research & final remarks

This research has tried to investigate planning policies changes and implementation, and it hopes to raise new questions on how to do so. Regarding the case study, it is evident from the historical narration and the CV-500 protests that Valencia and big cities will have to look more and more to their metropolitan areas and rural-urban hinterlands. Valencia's mobility and sustainability are already urgent issues (Alcalá-Santaella et al., 2011, p.222). Focusing research to go in-depth about metropolitan mobility could be an excellent complement to this thesis.

Masterplans regional spatial planning and multi-level considerations are also fields of research on the rise. Granqvist et al., (2020), for instance, already show how important it is to consider both institutions, actors, and imaginaries that build discourses. Soft modes of influencing cognitive frames allow linking short and long-term factors, opening the door to planning tangible research and policy-making improvements (Othengrafen & Reimer, 2013, p.1279)(Ernste, 2012, p.91, 97)(Gallent & Shaw, 2007, p.623)(Getimis, 2012, p.34). There is a rising need to understand an increasingly complex world. Urban studies scholars need to keep raising questions about policies and power to adapt to social and environmental planning needs. The transformation of planning policies from a multidisciplinary perspective is how the field will find its renaissance.

13. Bibliography

13.A. Academic Bibliography

Abbott, A. D., & Alexander, J. C. (2004). Chapter One: Explanation. In *Methods of Discovery: Heuristics for the Social Sciences* (pp. 3–40). W. W. Norton & Company.

Alba Pagán, E., & Valiseva Ivanova, A. (2017). Conflictos y desarrollos del imaginario colectivo: el paisaje de la Albufera y el Saler. *Boletín de La Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*. Published. https://doi.org/10.21138/bage.2499

Alcalá-Santaella, F., Díaz Orueta, F., Ginés, X., & Lourés, M. L. (2011). Valencia. In M. Iglesias, M. MartÍ-Costa, J. Subirats, & M. Tomás (Eds.), *Políticas urbanas en España. Grandes ciudades, actores y gobiernos locales* (1st ed., pp. 201–228). Icaria Editorial.

Arenilla Sáez, M. (2011). ¿Son los políticos los responsables de la crisis? In P. P. Rosario (Ed.), *Herramientas para enfrentarse a la Crisis: guía práctica para todos* (pp. 85–118). Servidoc.

Blat Pizarro, J. (2002). Ciudad e ideología antiurbana: Tipologías de viviendas en el extrarradio de Valencia (1903–1936). In Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Valencia, Ayuntamiento de Valencia, & Universidad de Valencia (Eds.), *Historia de la Ciudad. II Territorio, sociedad y Patrimonio: una visión arquitectónica de la historia de la ciudad de Valencia* (pp. 257–268). Colegio Territorial de Arquitectos de Valencia.

Booth, P. (2011). Culture, planning and path dependence: some reflections on the problems of comparison. *Town Planning Review*, *82*(1), 13–28. https://doi.org/10.3828/tpr.2011.4

Bork-Hüffer, T., Etzold, B., Gransow, B., Tomba, L., Sterly, H., Suda, K., Kraas, F., & Flock, R. (2016). Agency and the Making ofTransient Urban Spaces: Examples ofMigrants in the Cityin the Pearl River Delta, China, and Dhaka, Bangladesh. *Population, Space and Place*, *22*(2), 128–145. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.1890

Cabrejas, M. (1999). Carmen González: la huerta de La Punta (Valencia). *Ecología Política*, *17*, 83–89.

Camacho Gutiérrez, J., Díaz Orueta, F., Gadea Montesinos, M. E., Ginés Sánchez, X., & Lourés Seoane, M. L. (2015). Valencia: de la vanagloria al lamento. Discursos sobre la crisis en la ciudad. *Arxius de Sociologia*, *33*, 15–28.

Davies, J. S., & Trounstine, J. (2012). Urban Politics and the New Institutionalism. In K. Mossberger, S. E. Clarke, & P. John (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Urban Politics* (pp. 51–70). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195367867.013.0004

Dolç, C. (2021). *Del Saler al Túria* (1st ed.). Institució Alfons el Magnànim.

Douglas, M., & Wildavsky, A. (1983). *Risk and Culture: An Essay on the Selection of Technological and Environmental Dangers*. University of California Press.

Downs, A. (2016). Up and down with ecology: The issue-attention cycle. In D. Protess & M. E. McCombs (Eds.), *Agenda Setting: Readings on Media, Public Opinion, and Policymaking* (pp. 27–34). Routledge.

Ernste, H. (2012). Framing Cultures of Spatial Planning. *Planning Practice and Research*, *27*(1), 87–101. https://doi.org/10.1080/02697459.2012.661194

Faludi, A. (2004). Spatial planning traditions in Europe: their role in the ESDP process. *International Planning Studies*, *9*(2–3), 155–172. https://doi.org/10.1080/1356347042000311758

Farinós Dasí, J., & Cortés Tovar, M. C. (2010). Planificación y gobernanza del espacio litoral valenciano. Todavía lejos de una verdadera Gzic. *Cuadernos de Geografía*, *88*, 141–170.

Farinós Dasí, J., & Gomis Fons, A. (2018). La contribución de las fórmulas existentes de cooperación intermunicipal en la equidad territorial: el caso de la Mancomunitat de la Ribera Alta. *Estudios Geográficos*, *78*(283), 465–491. https://doi.org/10.3989/estgeogr.201716

Farinós Dasí, J., Peiró Sánchez-Manjavacas, E., Lloret Gual, P., & Vílchez Muñoz, A. (2018). L'Horta, agricultura y ciudad: historia y presente. Valencia capital mundial de la alimentación en 2017. *Ería*, *3*(3), 287–305. https://doi.org/10.17811/er.3.2018.287-305

Festinger, L. (1957). *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*. Amsterdam University Press.

Follador, D., Duarte, F., & Carrier, M. (2018). Informal institutions and path dependence in urban planning: The case of Curitiba, Brazil. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/07352166.2018.1495040

Forés Romero, J. (Host). (2019, November 28). El pueblo y la CV-500 [Audio podcast episode]. In *Amanece Valencia*. plazaradio. https://www.plazaradio.valenciaplaza.com/amanece-valencia-20191128-el-pueblo-y-la-cv-500

Friedmann, J. (1967). The institutional context. In B. M. Gross (Ed.), *Action under Planning: The Guidance of Economic Development.* (pp. 31–67). McGraw Hill.

Fung, A. (2006). Varieties of Participation in Complex Governance. *Public Administration Review*, *66*(s1), 66–75. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6210.2006.00667.x

Galera Rodrigo, S. (2016). Políticas locales de clima: una razón (adicional) para renovar la planificación (¿local?) en España. In J. Gifreu Font, M. Bassols Coma, & A. Menéndez Rexach (Eds.), *El derecho de la ciudad y el territorio. Estudios en homenaje a Manuel Ballbé Prunés* (1st ed., pp. 475–498). Instituto Nacional de Administración Pública (INAP).

Galiana Martín, L., & Barrado Timón, D. (2006). Los Centros de Interés Turístico Nacional y el despegue del turismo de masas en España. *Investigaciones Geográficas*, *39*, 73. https://doi.org/10.14198/ingeo2006.39.04

Gallent, N. (2006). The Rural–Urban fringe: A new priority for planning policy? *Planning Practice and Research*, *21*(3), 383–393. https://doi.org/10.1080/02697450601090872

Gallent, N., & Shaw, D. (2007). Spatial planning, area action plans and the rural-urban fringe. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, *50*(5), 617–638. https://doi.org/10.1080/09640560701475188

García Rubio, F. (2015). *Sostenibilidad ambiental y competencias locales (Spanish Edition)* (1ª ed.). Editorial Dykinson, S.L.

García Suikkanen, C. (2011). *Estudio de los efectos de las infraestructuras de transporte sobre la fauna en un humedal costero mediterráneo (Parque Natural de l'Albufera de Valencia). Propuesta de medidas para la desfragmentación y valoración de sus efectos sobre dos especies representativas: ánade azulón (Anas platyrhynchos) y gineta (Genetta genetta).* [Doctoral Dissertation, Universitat Politècnica de València]. Published. https://doi.org/10.4995/thesis/10251/14636

Geiger, C., & Schönherr, F. (2017). *Consumers' frequently asked questions (FAQs) on Copyright-a summary report-Study for the European Observatory on Infringement of Intellectual Property Rights of the EUIPO*. Study for the European Observatory on Infringement of Intellectual Property Rights of the EUIPO.

Getimis, P. (2012). Comparing Spatial Planning Systems and Planning Cultures in Europe. The Need for a Multi-scalar Approach. *Planning Practice and Research*, *27*(1), 25–40. https://doi.org/10.1080/02697459.2012.659520

Gherghina, S., & Volintiru, C. (2017). A new model of clientelism: Political parties, public resources, and private contributors. *European Political Science Review, 9*(1), 115-137. doi:10.1017/S1755773915000326

González Móstoles, V. (2002). La renovación del urbanismo en los años 80. In Colegio Territorial de Arquitectos de Valencia, Ayuntamiento de Valencia, & Universidad de Valencia (Eds.), *Historia de la Ciudad. II Territorio, sociedad y Patrimonio: una visión arquitectónica de la historia de la ciudad de Valencia* (pp. 287–302). Colegio Territorial de Arquitectos de Valencia.

Granqvist, K., Humer, A., & Mäntysalo, R. (2020). Tensions in city-regional spatial planning: the challenge of interpreting layered institutional rules. *Regional Studies*, *55*(5), 844–856. https://doi.org/10.1080/00343404.2019.1707791

Hall, P. A., & Taylor, R. C. R. (1996). Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms. *Political Studies*, *44*(5), 936–957. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.1996.tb00343.x

Harvey, D. (2001). Globalization and the "spatial fix". *geographische revue: Zeitschrift für Literatur und Diskussion*, *3*(2), 23-30.

Haughton, G., Allmendinger, P., Counsell, D., & Vigar, G. (2010). Preface and acknowledgements | The new spatial planning: territorial management and devolution. In *The New Spatial Planning: Territorial Management with Soft Spaces and Fuzzy Boundaries (English Edition)* (1st ed., pp. ix–23). Routledge.

Healey, P., & Williams, R. (1993). European Urban Planning Systems: Diversity and Convergence. *Urban Studies*, *30*(4–5), 701–720. https://doi.org/10.1080/00420989320081881

Hermosilla Pla, J. (2007). Una historia del puerto desde la Universitat de València. In J. Hermosilla Pla (Ed.), *Historia del Puerto de Valencia* (pp. 9–10). Publicacions de la Universitat de València.

Herrero García, L. F., & Soldevilla Liaño, M. (2015). La plataforma Salvem El Cabanyal: doce años de lucha ciudadana. *Erph_Revista Electrónica De Patrimonio Histórico*, 100–116.

Hirschman, A. O. (1972). *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*. Harvard University Press.

Humer, A. (2017). Linking polycentricity concepts to periphery: implications for an integrative Austrian strategic spatial planning practice. *European Planning Studies*, *26*(4), 635–652. https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2017.1403570

Imran, M., & Pearce, J. (2016). Institutions, Path Dependency and Public Transport. *Low Carbon Mobility Transitions*. Published. https://doi.org/10.23912/978-1-910158-64-7-3298

Knieling, J., & Othengrafen, F. (2009). En route to a theoretical model for comparative research on planning cultures. In *Planning cultures in Europe: Decoding cultural phenomena in urban and regional planning.* (pp. 39–62). Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

Knieling, J., & Othengrafen, F. (2015). Planning Culture—A Concept to Explain the Evolution of Planning Policies and Processes in Europe? *European Planning Studies*, *23*(11), 2133–2147. https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2015.1018404

Lloret Gual, P., & Farinós Dasí, J. (2018a). De la ordenación estructural a la pormenorizada en la ciudad de Valencia; opciones y límites para una nueva planificación comunitaria de carácter integrado: el caso de 'Ciutat Vella'. *Proyección, Estudios Geográficos y de Ordenamiento Territorial*, *XII*, 82–99.

Lloret Gual, P., & Farinós Dasí, J. (2018b). La dimensión participativa en el diseño de políticas urbanas. El caso valenciano. *Gestión y Análisis de Políticas Públicas*, 36–52. https://doi.org/10.24965/gapp.v0i20.10490

Mahoney, J., & Thelen, K. (2010). A theory of gradual institutional change. *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and Power (English Edition)* (1st ed.). 1-37. Cambridge University Press.

Manero Salvador, A. (2015). El derecho a la vivienda desde la perspectiva del Derecho internacional Análisis del caso español. In A. Rossetti, & S. Ribotta (Eds.), *Los derechos sociales y su exigibilidad. Libres de temor y miseria* (pp. 333–364). Dykinson.

Martínez Llorens, F. (2019). Devesa de l'Albufera: el cambio de paradigma en el turismo de masas de la ciudad de Valencia. [Doctoral Dissertation, Universitat Politècnica de València]. Published. https://doi.org/10.4995/thesis/10251/121137

Mayntz, R., & Scharpf, F. W. (1995). Der Ansatz des akteurzentrierten Institutionalismus. In *Gesellschaftliche Selbstregelung und politische Steuerung* (pp. 39–72). Frankfurt Max-Planck-Institut für Gesellschaftsforschung Campus Verlag.

Melosi, M. V. (2005). Path Dependence and Urban History: Is a Marriage Possible? In B. Luckin, G. Massard-Guilbaud, & D. Schott (Eds.), *Resources of the City: Contributions to an Environmental History of Modern Europe* (pp. 262–276). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315244358

Merlo Fuertes, J. L. (2014). Luis Albert and the first urban plans of the Provincial Council of Valencia. *VLC Arquitectura. Research Journal*, *1*(2), 63. https://doi.org/10.4995/vlc.2014.3226

Meyer, J. W., & Rowan, B. (1977). Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology*, *83*(2), 340–363. https://doi.org/10.1086/226550

Miralles i Garcia, J. L. (2015). Urban coastal development in valencian country: a paradigmatic case of non-sustainable development. *International Journal of Sustainable Development and Planning*, *10*(3), 301–314. https://doi.org/10.2495/sdp-v10-n3-301-314

Morrison, N. (2017). Playing by the rules? New institutionalism, path dependency and informal settlements in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, *49*(11), 2558–2577. https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518x17730581

Moulaert, F., Jessop, B., & Mehmood, A. (2016). Agency, structure, institutions, discourse (ASID) in urban and regional development. *International Journal of Urban Sciences*, *20*(2), 167–187. https://doi.org/10.1080/12265934.2016.1182054

Navarro, J. A., Pina, I., Portet, J., Millán, C., Sebastiá, D., Roberto, L., Serrano, O., & Fons, T. (2016, December). *Análisis Territorial de l'Horta Nord* (No. 23). Pactem Nord Consorcio. https://www.consorci.info/datos/userfiles/files/AnalisisterritorialHorta%20Nord%20actualizado%202020.pdf

Newman, P., & Thornley, A. (1996). *Urban Planning in Europe: International Competition, National Systems and Planning Projects* (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203427941

Nogués Galdón, H. (2007). *Los programas de actuación urbanística en la Comunidad Valenciana*. Tirant lo Blanch.

North, D. C. (1991). Institutions. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, *5*(1), 97–112. https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.5.1.97

Olson, M. (1965). *The Logic of Collective Action*. Harvard Univ Press.

Othengrafen, F., & Reimer, M. (2013). The Embeddedness of Planning in Cultural Contexts: Theoretical Foundations for the Analysis of Dynamic Planning Cultures. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, *45*(6), 1269–1284. https://doi.org/10.1068/a45131

Pastor García, C. (2018). *¿Un Levante feliz? Los planes de desarrollo turístico para El Saler y La Manga del Mar Menor a través de un estudio comparativo de sus estrategias de comunicación.* [Grade Dissertation, Universitat d'Alacant]. Published

Peters, G., & Pierre, J. (2012). Urban Governance. In K. Mossberger, S. E. Clarke, & P. John (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Urban Politics* (pp. 71–86). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195367867.013.0005

Portalés Manañós, A., Palomares Figueres, M. T., & Sosa Espinosa, A. (2020). Transformación urbana por movilización vecinal. Recuperación de la memoria del Jardín del Turia y balance desde la actualidad. *Biblio3W Revista Bibliográfica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, *XXV*. https://doi.org/10.1344/b3w.25.2020.30803

Prytherch, D. (2006). Narrating the Landscapes of Entrepreneurial Regionalism: Rescaling, 'New' Regionalism and the Planned Remaking of València, Spain. *Space and Polity*, *10*(3), 203–227. https://doi.org/10.1080/13562570601110609

Rausell Köster, P. (2006). La Ciudad de las Artes y las Ciencias de Valencia y el turismo cultural. In J. Font Sentias (Ed.), *Casos de turismo cultural : de la planificación estratégica a la gestión del producto* (pp. 361–390). Ariel.

Rausell Köster, P., Sorribes Monrabal, J., & del Saz Salazar, S. (2006). *Los usos del Jardín del Turia*. Econcult. https://hdl.handle.net/10550/76729

Rocco, P., & Thurston, C. (2013). From metaphors to measures: observable indicators of gradual institutional change. *Journal of Public Policy*, *34*(1), 35–62. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0143814x13000305

Rosas, G., Johnston, N. P., & Hawkins, K. (2013). Local public goods as vote-purchasing devices? Persuasion and mobilization in the choice of clientelist payments. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, *26*(4), 573–598. https://doi.org/10.1177/0951629813511549

Rye, T., Monios, J., Hrelja, R., & Isaksson, K. (2018). The relationship between formal and informal institutions for governance of public transport. *Journal of Transport Geography*, *69*, 196–206. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2018.04.025

Santamarina Campos, B. (2014). El oficio de la resistencia. Salvem y Viu al Cabanyal como formas de contención del urbanismo neoliberal. *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, *69*(2), 305–326. https://doi.org/10.3989/rdtp.2014.02.003

Santamarina, B. (2009). Cabanyal, cada vez más cerca. Del lugar al espacio como mercancía. *Zainak. Cuadernos de Antropología-Etnografía*, *32*, 915–931.

Schmidt, V. A. (2009). Comparative Institutional Analysis. In T. Landman, & N. Robinson (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Comparative Politics* (pp. 125–143). SAGE Publications Ltd. https://doi.org/10.4135/9780857021083.n8

SEO BirdLife. (2018, January). *Mójate por L'Albufera* (No. 1). https://docplayer.es/97199863-El-origen-de-l-albufera-y-el-cambio-ambiental.html

Servillo, L. A., & Van Den Broeck, P. (2012). The Social Construction of Planning Systems: A Strategic-Relational Institutionalist Approach. *Planning Practice and Research*, *27*(1), 41–61. https://doi.org/10.1080/02697459.2012.661179

Sorensen, A. (2015). Taking path dependence seriously: an historical institutionalist research agenda in planning history. *Planning Perspectives*, *30*(1), 17–38. https://doi.org/10.1080/02665433.2013.874299

Sorensen, A. (2020). Handbook of Megacities and Megacity-Regions. In D. Labbé, & A. Sorensen (Eds.), *Urbanization and developmental pathways: critical junctures of urban transition* (pp. 47–64). Edward Elgar Publishing. https://doi.org/10.4337/9781788972703

Sorribes Monrabal, J. (2015). *Valencia 1940–2014. Construcción y destrucción de la ciudad* (1ª ed., 1ª imp. ed.). Universitat de València.

Staggenborg, S. (2011). *Social Movements*. Oxford University Press.

Stokes, S. C. (2005). Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina. *American Political Science Review*, *99*(3), 315–325. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0003055405051683

Streeck, W., & Thelen, K. (2005). *Introduction: Institutional Change in Advanced Political Economies*. Amsterdam University Press.

Tavits, M. (2009). Geographically targeted spending: exploring the electoral strategies of incumbent governments. *European Political Science Review*, *1*(1), 103–123. https://doi.org/10.1017/s1755773909000034

Taylor, Z. (2013). Rethinking planning culture: a new institutionalist approach. *Town Planning Review*, *84*(6), 683–702. https://doi.org/10.3828/tpr.2013.36

Teixidor, M. J. (1976). Proyectos de reforma urbana en Valencia: Planes de ensanche. *Ciudad Y Territorio Estudios Territoriales*, *27*, 73–82.

Teixidor, M. J. (2002). El crecimiento de Valencia: población local e inmigración (1950–1970). In Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Valencia, Ayuntamiento de Valencia, & Universidad de Valencia (Eds.), *Historia de la Ciudad. II Territorio, sociedad y Patrimonio: una visión arquitectónica de la historia de la ciudad de Valencia* (pp. 269–285). Colegio Territorial de Arquitectos de Valencia.

Tomás Llavedor, J. M., & Vicens Salort, R. (2010). Valencia marítima. De ciudad soñada a realidad conquistada. In Colegio Territorial de Arquitectos de Valencia, Ayuntamiento de Valencia, & Universidad de Valencia (Eds.), *Historia de la ciudad. VI Proyecto y complejidad* (pp. 213–228). Colegio Territorial de Arquitectos de Valencia.

Torreño Calatayud, M. (2005). *Arquitectura y urbanismo en Valencia*. Carena Editors.

Tortosa Pastor, P. (2011). *Sueca. Paisatge, cultura i medi ambient*. Edicions 96 S.L. https://www.edicions96.com/libro/sueca_50402/

Tudela, A., & Delgado, A. (2018). Franco, Banús y la otra España. In *Playa Burbuja: un viaje al reino de los señores del ladrillo* (pp. 20–41). DATADISTA.

Wallis, J. J. (2010). The Public Promotion of Private Interest (Groups). In J. C. Heckelman, & D. Coates (Eds.), *Collective Choice: Essays in Honor of Mancur Olson* (Softcover Reprint of the Original 1st 2003 ed., pp. 219–246). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-540-24711-1_12

Zapata Osorno, E. (2016). Clientelismo político. Un concepto difuso pero útil para el análisis de la política local. *Estudios Políticos (Medellín)*, *49*. https://doi.org/10.17533/udea.espo.n49a09

Zhan, C., de Jong, M., & de Bruijn, H. (2017). Path Dependence in Financing Urban Infrastructure Development in China: 1949–2016. *Journal of Urban Technology*, *24*(4), 73–93. https://doi.org/10.1080/10630732.2017.1334862

13.B. Official documents

ARGOS. (2019, May 26). *Datos electorales detallados de las Elecciones Cortes Valencianas 2019* [Dataset]. http://www.argos.gva.es/ahe/pls/argos_elec/DMEDB_ElecComunidades.informeElecDetallado?aNComuId=17&aNNumElec=1&aVTipoElec=A17&aVFechaElec=2019&aVLengua=c

Ayuntamiento de Valencia. (2018a, February 22). *Gentes y pueblos*. L'Albufera de Valencia. http://albufera.valencia.es/es/con%C3%B3cela/gentes-y-pueblos

Ayuntamiento de Valencia. (2018b, February 22). *Ambientes- La devesa*. L'Albufera de Valencia. http://albufera.valencia.es/es/con%C3%B3cela/ecosistemas-ambientes

Ayuntamiento de Valencia. (2018c, May). *EDUSI3C: Estrategias de Desarrollo Urbano Sostenible e Integrado de Cabanyal - Canyamelar - Cap de França, València*. https://www.valencia.es/edusi3c/

Ayuntamiento de Valencia. (2019). *Áreas y Delegaciones | Ayuntamiento de Valencia*. https://www.valencia.es/val/ajuntament/arees-i-delegacions

Ayuntamiento de Valencia. (2020, December). *Barrios - València*. Pobles del Sud. https://www.valencia.es/es/cas/estadistica/mapa-barrios?p_p_id=EstadisticaPorMapasdebarrios_INSTANCE_c7PdzXNn6OBA&p_p_lifecycle=0&p_p_state=normal&p_p_mode=view&_EstadisticaPorMapasdebarrios_INSTANCE_c7PdzXNn6OBA_codigo=Barrio19N&_EstadisticaPorMapasdebarrios_INSTANCE_c7PdzXNn6OBA_jspPage=%2Fmapa_barrios.jsp&_EstadisticaPorMapasdebarrios_INSTANCE_c7PdzXNn6OBA_anyo=2021

Ayuntamiento de Valencia. (2021). *Districtes - València*. https://www.valencia.es/val/estadistica/mapa-districtes

Corts Valencianes (2018a, October 5). *Pregunta número 1.576, a la consellera d'Habitatge, Obres Públiques i Vertebració del Territori, senyora María José Salvador Rubert, sobre actuacions a la carretera CV-500 en el tram des del Saler a Perelló, que formula el diputat Alfredo Cesàreo Castelló Sàez (GP Popular) (RE número 111.660)*. Diari de Sesións – Corts Valencianes. (IX/BOC306/5.10.2018).

Corts Valencianes (2018b, November 21). *Pregunta número 1.576, a la consellera d'Habitatge, Obres Públiques i Vertebració del Territori, senyora María José Salvador Rubert, sobre actuacions a la carretera CV-500 en el tram des del Saler a Perelló, que formula el diputat Alfredo Cesàreo Castelló Sàez (GP Popular) (RE número 111.660)*. Diari de Sesións – Corts Valencianes. (IX/153/21.11.2018).

Council of Europe. (2000, October 20). *Council of Europe Landscape Convention * 1 as amended by the 2016 Protocol.* Council of Europe. (Florence, 20.X.2000). https://rm.coe.int/16807b6bc7

European Commission. (1999). *ESDP, European Spatial Development Perspective. Towards Balanced and Sustainable Development of the Territory of the European Union*. Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

European Commission. (2014, July 18). COMUNICACIÓN DE LA COMISIÓN AL PARLAMENTO EUROPEO, AL CONSEJO, AL COMITÉ ECONÓMICO Y SOCIAL EUROPEO Y AL COMITÉ DE LAS REGIONES LA DIMENSIÓN URBANA DE LAS POLÍTICAS DE LA UE: ELEMENTOS CLAVE DE UNA AGENDA URBANA PARA LA UE. EUR-Lex- (COM/2014/0490). https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/ES/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52014DC0490

Generalitat Valenciana, & Fernández-Vivancos, E. (2018, March). *Programa de Paisaje Albufera Valencia*. Generalitat Valenciana. https://politicaterritorial.gva.es/auto/planes-accion-territorial/Programa%20de%20paisaje%20Albufera%20Valencia/02%20Documento%20sometido%20a%20informacion%20publica/Programa%20Paisaje%20Albufera.pdf

Generalitat Valenciana. (1994, November 15). Law 5/2014, of July 25, of the Generalitat, of Spatial Planning, Urban Planning, and Landscape, of the Valencian Community (LRAU). Diari Oficial de la Generalitat Valenciana. (2602/1994). https://dogv.gva.es/portal/ficha_disposicion_pc.jsp?sig=2602/1994&L=1

Generalitat Valenciana. (2004, June 30). *Law 4/2004, of 30th of June, of Territorial Ordination and Landscape Protection* (LOTPP). Diari Oficial de la Generalitat Valenciana. (3016/2004). https://dogv.gva.es/portal/ficha_disposicion_pc.jsp?sig=3016/2004&L=1

Generalitat Valenciana. (2008). *Aplicación de la experiencia acumulada en la intervención en el centro histórico de Valencia (Plan Riva - Ciutat Vella) a los ensanches del siglo XIX (Plan Riva - Russafa). (VALENCIA).* http://femp.femp.es/files/120-138-CampoFichero/bp_1_7_Centro_historico_Valencia.pdf

Generalitat Valenciana. (2011, July 7). *DECRETO 166/2011, de 4 de noviembre, del Consell, por el que se modifica el Decreto 1/2011, de 13 de enero, del Consell, por el que se aprobó la Estrategia Territorial de la Comunitat Valenciana* (ECTV). Diari Oficial de la Generalitat Valenciana. (2011/11245). https://dogv.gva.es/es/eli/es-vc/d/2011/11/04/166/

Generalitat Valenciana. (2015). *Marcapáginas - Generalitat Valenciana*. parquesnaturales.gva.es/. https://parquesnaturales.gva.es/es/web/pn-l-albufera/marcapaginas

Generalitat Valenciana, & Ramírez, V. (2015). *http://vicencramirez.com/nuevo/proyectos/lalbufera-de-valencia-2/*. Vicenç Ramírez. Artista visual para publicidad y colección. http://vicencramirez.com/nuevo/proyectos/lalbufera-de-valencia-2/

Generalitat Valenciana. (2016, August 5). *RESOLUCIÓN de 1 de julio de 2016, de la consellera de Vivienda, Obras Públicas y Vertebración del Territorio, por la que se inicia el Plan de Acción Territorial Metropolitano de Valencia (PATEVAL).* Diari Oficial de la Generalitat Valenciana. (2016/5709). https://politicaterritorial.gva.es/documents/20551069/163487143/00+Resoluci%C3%B3n+inicio+consellera+%28DOCV+7845%2C%2005-08-2016%29/2ff95bc6-b7cd-459e-b620-3350679aabde

Generalitat Valenciana. (2017, August 14). *Evaluación Ambiental del Programa de Paisaje del Litoral de La Albufera de Valencia*. Dirección General de Evaluación Ambiental y Territorial. (041-2018-EAE). https://politicaterritorial.gva.es/auto/planes-accion-territorial/Programa%20de%20paisaje%20Albufera%20Valencia/01%20Documentos%20del%20tramite/Informe%20ambiental%20Albufera.pdf

Generalitat Valenciana. (2018a, May 11). *Decree 58/2018, of May 4, of the Consell, by which the Territorial Action Plan of the Green Infrastructure of the Coastal Region of the Valencian Community and the Catalog of Beaches of the Valencian Community (PATIVEL).* Diari Oficial de la Generalitat Valenciana. (2018/4631). https://dogv.gva.es/es/eli/es-vc/d/2018/05/04/58/

Generalitat Valenciana. (2018b, August 20). *Territorio inicia los trámites ambientales para desarrollar el "Programa de Paisaje" de la Comunitat* [Press release]. https://inclusio.gva.es/va/inicio/area_de_prensa/not_detalle_area_prensa?id=761331

Generalitat Valenciana. (2018c, Nov 30). 01 Memoria Informativa 2. In *DECRETO 219/2018, de 30 de noviembre, del Consell, por el que se aprueba el Plan de acción territorial de ordenación y dinamización de la Huerta de València. (PATHV).* Diari Oficial de la Generalitat Valenciana. (2018/11893). https://politicaterritorial.gva.es/es/web/planificacion-territorial-e-infraestructura-verde/pat-horta-de-valencia

Generalitat Valenciana. (2018d, Nov 30). 06 Planos de Ordenación. In *DECRETO 219/2018, de 30 de noviembre, del Consell, por el que se aprueba el Plan de acción territorial de ordenación y dinamización de la Huerta de València. (PATHV).* Diari Oficial de la Generalitat Valenciana. (2018/11893).

https://politicaterritorial.gva.es/es/web/planificacion-territorial-e-infraestructura-verde/pat-horta-de-valencia

Generalitat Valenciana. (2018e, Nov 30). 02 Planos de Información 1. In *DECRETO 219/2018, de 30 de noviembre, del Consell, por el que se aprueba el Plan de acción territorial de ordenación y dinamización de la Huerta de València. (PATHV).* Diari Oficial de la Generalitat Valenciana. (2018/11893). https://politicaterritorial.gva.es/es/web/planificacion-territorial-e-infraestructura-verde/pat-horta-de-valencia

Generalitat Valenciana. (2018f, Nov 30). 07 Estudios de paisaje 1. In *DECRETO 219/2018, de 30 de noviembre, del Consell, por el que se aprueba el Plan de acción territorial de ordenación y dinamización de la Huerta de València. (PATHV).* Diari Oficial de la Generalitat Valenciana. (2018/11893). https://politicaterritorial.gva.es/es/web/planificacion-territorial-e-infraestructura-verde/pat-horta-de-valencia

Generalitat Valenciana. (2019a, May 8). Evaluación Ambiental del Programa de Paisaje del Litoral de la Albufera de Valencia. Dirección General de Política Territorial, Urbanismo y Paisaje. (CSV:FL2MJG81-DA9M74EM-6Y5N3A9B). https://politicaterritorial.gva.es/auto/planes-accion-territorial/Programa%20de%20paisaje%20Albufera%20Valencia/01%20Documentos%20del%20tramite/Informe%20ambiental%20Albufera.pdf

Generalitat Valenciana. (2019b, September 4). *DILIGENCIA: Para hacer constar que la propuesta del Programa de Paisaje en suelos de la Albufera de Valencia afectados por el PATIVEL consta de 72 páginas (portada, índice, memoria y planos), correspondiendo el índice al que acompaña este documento*. Dirección General de Política Territorial, Urbanismo y Paisaje (CSV:1LSDCK7I-SRYAJFEK-5AAQCNRE). https://politicaterritorial.gva.es/auto/planes-accion-territorial/Programa%20de%20paisaje%20Albufera%20Valencia/02%20Documento%20sometido%20a%20informacion%20publica/Diligencia%20Albufera.pdf

Generalitat Valenciana. (2019c, September 27). *RESOLUCIÓN de 2 de septiembre de 2019, de la Conselleria de Política Territorial, Obras Públicas y Movilidad, por la cual se somete a consultas y participación e información pública, por un periodo de 45 días, la propuesta del Programa de paisaje en suelos de la Albufera de València afectados por el Plan de acción territorial de la infraestructura verde del litoral de la Comunitat Valenciana* (PATIVEL). Diari Oficial de la Generalitat Valenciana. (8644/27.09.2019). https://politicaterritorial.gva.es/auto/planes-accion-territorial/Programa%20de%20paisaje%20Albufera%20Valencia/Resolucion%20consultas%20y%20participacion%20publica%20Albufera.pdf

Generalitat Valenciana. (2019d, October 29). *El Consell impulsa la máxima participación y consenso en torno a los proyectos de movilidad en la CV-500 y el programa de paisaje de l'Albufera* [Press release]. https://www.gva.es/es/inicio/area_de_prensa/not_detalle_area_prensa?id=83289

Generalitat Valenciana. (2019e, November 8). *RESOLUCIÓN de 31 de octubre de 2019, del conseller de Politica Territorial, Obras Públicas y Movilidad, por la que se amplía el plazo de consultas y participación pública de la propuesta del Programa de paisaje en suelos de la Albufera de València afectados por el Plan de acción territorial de la infraestructura verde del litoral de la Comunitat Valenciana (PATIVEL). [2019/10592]*. Diari Oficial de la Generalitat Valenciana. (8653/08.11.2019). https://politicaterritorial.gva.es/auto/planes-accion-territorial/Programa%20de%20paisaje%20Albufera%20Valencia/Resolucion%20consultas%20y%20participacion%20publica%20Albufera_ampliacion%20plazo.pdf

Generalitat Valenciana. (2021a, March 18). *ORDEN 2/2021, de 16 de marzo, de la Conselleria de Política Territorial, Obras Públicas y Movilidad, por la que se desarrolla el Decreto 177/2020, de 30 de octubre, del Consell, por el que se aprueba el Reglamento orgánico y funcional de la Conselleria de Política Territorial, Obras Públicas y Movilidad. [2021/2849]*. Diari Oficial de la Generalitat Valenciana. (9044/18.03.2021). https://dogv.gva.es/datos/2021/03/18/pdf/2021_2849.pdfGeneralitat Valenciana, (2010, May 5). *ELABORACIÓN DE LOS MAPAS DIRECTORA DEL ESTUDIO ESTRATÉGICOS DE RUIDO DE LA CARRETERA CV-500 Pk 2+000 - Pk 21+470*. Dirección General de Obras Públicas. http://docucit.cop.gva.es/carreteras/mapa_ruido/CV-5/03_02-CV-500_PLANOS_MPR_CV_5.pdf

Generalitat Valenciana. (2021b, June 22). *Mireia Mollà presenta a la Junta Rectora de l'Albufera el plan integral de mejora del saneamiento en el entorno del parque natural* [Press release]. https://www.gva.es/es/inicio/area_de_prensa/not_detalle_area_prensa?id=961856

Generalitat Valenciana. (2021c, July 16). *Legislative Decree 1/2021, of the 18th of June, of the Council for the approval of the consolidated text of the Law on spatial planning, urban planning, and landscape* (LOTUP). Diari Oficial de la Generalitat Valenciana. (2021/7508). https://dogv.gva.es/datos/2021/07/16/pdf/2021_7508.pdf

ICV. (2012, October). *Albufera Toponimic - Otras colecciones - Generalitat Valenciana*. https://icv.gva.es/. https://icv.gva.es/es/altres-col-leccions

ICV. (n.d.-a). *Corredores territoriales & LICs*. Https://Visor.Gva.Es/. https://visor.gva.es/visor/?extension=543804,4248164,903666,4425860&nivelZoom=9&capasids=Imagen;,Infraestructura_Verde;19,Infraestructura_Verde;25&tcapas=1.0,1.0,1.0&idioma=es

ICV. (n.d.-b). *Ortofoto Valencia 1956 RGB*. Https://Visor.Gva.Es/. https://visor.gva.es/visor/?extension=720924,4371324,732122,4376433&nivelZoom=14&capasids=Imagen;,SIOSE_2015;,Orto_1956;&tcapas=1.0,1.0,1.0

ICV. (n.d.-c). *Ortofoto Valencia 2020 RGB*. Https://Visor.Gva.Es/. https://visor.gva.es/visor/?extension=722999,4368245,734201,4373359&nivelZoom=14&capasids=Imagen;,Orto_2020;&tcapas=1.0,1.0&idioma=es

ICV. (n.d.-d). *Ortofoto Valencia 2018 RGB*. Https://Visor.Gva.Es/. https://visor.gva.es/visor/?extension=717557,4347309,762366,4369546&nivelZoom=12&capasids=Imagen;,Orto_2018;&tcapas=1.0,1.0&idioma=es

ICV. (n.d.-e). *Ortofoto Valencia 2000 RGB*. Https://Visor.Gva.Es/. https://visor.gva.es/visor/?extension=730488,4358556,731889,4359195&nivelZoom=17&capasids=Imagen;,Orto_2000;&tcapas=1.0,1.0

ICV. (n.d.-f). *Ortofoto Valencia 2008 RGB*. Https://Visor.Gva.Es/. https://visor.gva.es/visor/?extension=730496,4358556,731897,4359195&nivelZoom=17&capasids=Imagen;,Orto_2008;&tcapas=1.0,1.0

INE. (2020a). *Comunitat Valenciana. Total habitantes. Personas.* (Serie DPOP24523) [Dataset]. https://www.ine.es/jaxiT3/Datos.htm?t=2853

INE. (2020b). *València. Total habitantes. Personas.* [Serie DPOP21796]. https://www.ine.es/jaxiT3/Datos.htm?t=2903

Jefatura del Estado. (1956, May 14). *Law of the Land of the 12th of May 1956* (LS56). Boletín Oficial del Estado (BOE). (A03106-03134) https://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE/1956/135/A03106-03134.pdf

Jefatura del Estado. (1985, April 2). *Law 7/1985, of the 2nd of April, Regulating the Bases of the Local Regime* (LBRL). Boletín Oficial del Estado (BOE). (BOE-A-1985-5392). https://www.boe.es/eli/es/l/1985/04/02/7/con

Jefatura del Estado. (1986, May 12). *Royal Legislative Decree 781/1986, 18th of April, which approves the Consolidated Text of the current legal provisions on Local Regime.* Boletín Oficial del Estado (BOE). (BOE-A-1986-9865). https://www.boe.es/eli/es/rdlg/1986/04/18/781/con

Jefatura del Estado. (2013, December 30). *Law 27/2013, of the 27th of December, on Rationalization and Sustainability of the Local Administration* (LRSAL). Boletín Oficial del Estado (BOE). (BOE-A-2013-13756). https://www.boe.es/eli/es/l/2013/12/27/27

Jefatura del Estado. (2015, October 31). *Royal Legislative Decree 7/2015, of the 30th of October, which approves the consolidated text of the Urban Land and Rehabilitation Law* (TRLS15). Boletín Oficial del Estado (BOE). (BOE-A-2015-11723). https://www.boe.es/eli/es/rdlg/2015/10/30/7/con

Ministerio de Fomento. (2018). *Áreas urbanas en España 2018. Constitución, Cuarenta años de las ciudades españolas* (1st ed.). Centro de Publicaciones - Ministerio de Fomento.

STC 141/2014, de 11 de septiembre de 2014.

STC 164/2001, de 11 de julio de 2001.

STC 61/1977 de 20 de marzo

STSJ CV 161/2021, de 6 de abril de 2021.

13.C. Non-academic bibliography

ABC. (2011, February 11). La Albufera de Valencia mira al futuro. *ABC*. https://www.abc.es/sociedad/abci-albufera-valencia-mira-futuro-201102100000_noticia.html

Aimeur, C. (2017, January 11). La ruta CV-500 se le atraganta al Consell y al Ayuntamiento de Valencia. *Valencia Plaza*. https://valenciaplaza.com/la-ruta-cv500-se-atraganta

Alicante Plaza. (2021, 11 febrero). La Sala de lo Contencioso-Administrativo del TSJCV declara nulo el Pativel. *Alicante Plaza*. https://alicanteplaza.es/LaSaladeloContencioso-AdministrativodelTSJCVdeclaranuloelPativel1

Almenar, P. (2014, October 28). Los ecologistas piden investigar la muerte de peces en el lago de la Devesa. *EL PAÍS*. https://elpais.com/ccaa/2014/10/28/valencia/1414516923_249441.html

Andrés Durà, R. (2021, February 3). La batalla de Benimaclet, el barrio que podría marcar el futuro urbanístico de València. *La Vanguardia*. https://www.lavanguardia.com/local/valencia/20210202/6218046/pai-benimaclet-futuro-urbanismo-valencia.html

Arlandis, I. (2021, March 30). Tractorada en Valencia. *Las Provincias*. https://www.lasprovincias.es/economia/agricultura/tractorada-valencia-20210330111119-ga.html

AVA-ASAJA. (2019, November 11). *Tractorada en contra de las obras de la carretera CV-500* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ajbPlo_gXzQ&ab_channel=Associaci%C3%B3Valencianad%27AgricultorsAVA-ASAJA

Ballester, L. (2019, September 28). La autopista del Saler se convertirá en un bulevar verde con carril bici. *Levante-EMV*. https://www.levante-emv.com/comunitat-valenciana/2019/09/28/autopista-saler-convertira-bulevar-verde-11740390.html

Bartual, J. (2020, August 25). La plaza del Ayuntamiento tendrá más sombras, bancos y juegos infantiles. *Levante-EMV*. https://www.levante-emv.com/valencia/2020/08/25/plaza-ayuntamiento-tendra-sombras-bancos-11157123.html

Blasco, J. A. (2014, August 2). *Cuando el Plan de Bolonia era una referencia urbanística (y de izquierdas) para la intervención en los centros históricos de las ciudades (2.El Plan)*. Urban Networks. http://urban-networks.blogspot.com/2014/08/cuando-el-plan-de-bolonia-era-una.html

Blasco, J. A. (2016, June 25). *El río que se convirtió en parque: los Jardines del Turia en Valencia.* Urban Networks. http://urban-networks.blogspot.com/2016/06/el-rio-que-se-convirtio-en-parque-los.html

Borrás, X., & Sanjuan, H. (2019, June 18). Arcadi España: Incubando a un socialdemócrata para el futuro electoral del PSPV. *EL MUNDO*. https://www.elmundo.es/comunidad-valenciana/2019/06/18/5d087269fdddff4b0b8b45e4.html

Bellvis, V. (2019, November 1). Los Pobles del Sur contra el proyecto de la CV500. *ValenciaNews*. https://valencianews.es/politica/los-pobles-del-sur-contra-el-proyecto-de-la-cv500/

Cadena SER. (2020, January 12). El PP exige la confirmación oficial de la paralización del proyecto de remodelación de la CV-500. *Cadena SER*. https://cadenaser.com/emisora/2020/01/12/radio_valencia/1578833201_554223.html

Castelló, C. N. (2018, September 27). València vuelve a pedir el soterramiento de las vías de Serreria pese a las reitaradas negativas del Gobierno desde 2004. *ElDiario.es*. https://www.eldiario.es/comunitat-valenciana/valencia-soterramiento-serreria-reitaradas-gobierno_1_1917057.html

Compromís. (2019, June). *ACORD DEL BOTÀNIC2OS - Acord per un govern valencià de progrés* [Slides]. Compromis.Net/. https://compromis.net/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Acord-Botanic-2.pdf

Comunidad de Pescadores de El Palmar. (2021, January 23). *Comunidad*. https://www.cpelpalmar.com/pagina-ejemplo/

Criado, A. (2016, June 10). *60 ANIVERSARIO DE LA LEY DE SUELO DE 1956*. Revista de Urbanismo. https://reurbanismo.es/60-aniversario-de-la-ley-de-suelo-de-1956/

Desfilis, C. (2019, December 1). Una autopista en el Jardín del Túria; la idea "gris" del franquismo para València. *Valencia Extra*. https://valenciaextra.com/es/autopista-jardin-turia-idea-gris-franquismo-valencia/

Dolç, C., Llopis, T., Martínez, F., Perdigón, L. A., & Picó, M. J. (2017, May 31–October 15). *EL SALER PER AL POBLE, ARA! El poder de la ciutadania en la transformació responsable del paisatge i del territori* [Exhibition]. EL SALER PER AL POBLE, ARA! El poder de la ciutadania en la transformació responsable del paisatge i del territori, Valencia, Spain. https://www.uv.es/uvweb/cultura/es/exposiciones-preparacion/saler-per-al-poble-ara-div-poder-ciutadania-transformacio-responsable-del-paisatge-del-territori-/div-1285866236311/Activitat.html?id=1285989279915

Durà, R. A. (2021, February 12). La Comunidad Valenciana ya ha construido 17 de las 26 escuelas que estaban en barracones. *La Vanguardia*. https://www.lavanguardia.com/local/valencia/20210212/6243907/comunidad-valenciana-escuelas-barracones.html

EFE. (2010, January 7). La Generalitat deroga el BIC y autoriza las obras del Cabanyal. *Levante-EMV*. https://www.levante-emv.com/comunitat-valenciana/2010/01/07/generalitat-deroga-bic-autoriza-obras-13177678.html

EL MUNDO. (2019, January 17). La nueva ley del Territorio pone coto a las urbanizaciones fantasma. *ELMUNDO*. https://www.elmundo.es/comunidad-valenciana/2019/01/17/5c3f875021efa0ee468b47d4.html

El Periódico de Aquí TV. (2019, October 31). *El meu poble viu* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m1PuJvS3UnQ&ab_channel=ElPeri%C3%B3dicodeAqu%C3%ADTV

Elperiodic. (2020, January 12). El PP pide a la Conselleria de Obras Públicas la confirmación oficial de la paralización del proyecto de remodelación de la CV-500. *Elperiodic*. https://www.elperiodic.com/valencia/pide-conselleria-obras-publicas-confirmacion-oficial-paralizacion-proyecto-remodelacion_659595

Enguix, S. (2020, June 28). ¿Cómo ha de ser la València post-Covid? *La Vanguardia*. https://www.lavanguardia.com/local/valencia/20200627/481990977968/como-ha-de-ser-la-valencia-post-covid-19-salvador-enguix-joan-ribo-ricard-perez-casado-rita-barbera.html

Europa Press. (2019a, September 28). El Consell proyecta transformar la autovía de El Saler en un bulevar verde con un carril en cada sentido. *EL MUNDO*. https://www.elmundo.es/comunidad-valenciana/2019/09/28/5d8f60fdfc6c83d3238b45ef.html

Europa Press. (2019b, November 27). Conselleria paralizará la reforma de la CV-500 ante la "contestación" de los vecinos. *Europa Press*. https://www.europapress.es/comunitat-valenciana/noticia-conselleria-paralizara-reforma-cv-500-contestacion-vecinos-20191127142633.html

Europa Press. (2021a, February 11). La Junta de Desagüe de l'Albufera interpone un recurso contra el Ayuntamiento por la derogación de su convenio. Europa Press. https://www.europapress.es/comunitat-valenciana/noticia-junta-desague-lalbufera-interpone-recurso-contra-ayuntamiento-derogacion-convenio-20210211203018.html

Europa Press. (2021b, April 7). Valencia da el primer paso para que la paella sea Bien de Interés Cultural y pueda optar al reconocimiento de. *EL MUNDO*. https://www.elmundo.es/comunidad-valenciana/2021/04/07/606d9568fc6c83c7348b4643.html

European Environment Agency. (2000). *https://www.eea.europa.eu/help/glossary/eea-glossary/integrated-coastal-zone-management*. European Environment Information and Observation Network. https://www.eea.europa.eu/help/glossary/eea-glossary/integrated-coastal-zone-management

Fernández-Vivancos, E. (2017, September 22). *Programa de Paisaje litoral L'Albufera –*. Fernandez - Vivancos. http://www.fernandez-vivancos.com/articles/programa-de-paisaje-litoral-lalbufera/

Fundació Visit València. (n.d.). *Mercados municipales de València: templos del km 0*. Visit Valencia. Retrieved August 23, 2021, from https://visitvalencia.imageshop.no/437859/Search?Q=mercado

García Zarco, J. M., & Jiménez Alcañíz, C. (1998). *Plan Riva para Ciutat Vella, Valencia (España)*. UPM Press. http://habitat.aq.upm.es/bpes/onu98/bp435.html

García, H. (2009, November 30). Los expertos discrepan sobre la necesidad de dragar la Albufera. *Levante-EMV*. https://www.levante-emv.com/valencia/2009/11/30/expertos-discrepan-necesidad-dragar-albufera-13190697.html

Guadalajara, M. (2019a, October 27). Marcha de tractores contra los cambios en la carretera de El Saler. *Las Provincias*. https://www.lasprovincias.es/comunitat/marcha-tractores-cambios-20191027005646-ntvo.html

Guadalajara, M. (2019b, December 16). Instalan el primer semáforo en la carretera CV-500 pese al rechazo de El Perelló. *Las Provincias*. https://www.lasprovincias.es/valencia-ciudad/instalan-primer-semaforo-20191216001636-ntvo.html

Guadalajara, M., & Moreno, P. (2019, November 9). Los vecinos salen a la calle por su autovía. *Las Provincias*. https://www.lasprovincias.es/comunitat/manifestacion-pacificacion-cv500-20191108101929-nt.html

International Congress and Convention Association. (2007). *FAQs - Definition of "MICE."* https://www.iccaworld.org/aeps/aeitem.cfm?aeid=29

Íñiguez Rodríguez, E. (2010, October 16). *Barrios de la ciudad de Valencia coloreados por distritos.* [Map]. Barrios de La Ciudad de Valencia Coloreados Por Distritos.

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/e/e6/Val%C3%A8ncia-Barris.png/800px-Val%C3%A8ncia-Barris.png

La Vanguardia. (2019, November 14). Ribó: El proyecto de la CV-500 no tiene el consenso del Ayuntamiento. *La Vanguardia*. https://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20191114/471602028346/ribo-el-proyecto-de-la-cv-500-no-tiene-el-consenso-del-ayuntamiento.html

Las Provincias. (2019, October 25). Asamblea vecinal para hablar de la CV-500. *Las Provincias*. https://www.lasprovincias.es/ribera-costera/asamblea-vecinal-hablar-20191025011558-ntvo.html

Levante-EMV. (2019, November 7). PP y Ciudadanos apoyan la "tractorada" contra la modificación de la CV-500. *Levante-EMV*. https://www.levante-emv.com/valencia/2019/11/07/pp-ciudadanos-apoyan-tractorada-modificacion-14041880.html

Levante-EMV. (2020a, September 10). El Saler y El Perellonet reciben 200.000 euros en inversiones. *Levante-EMV*. https://www.levante-emv.com/valencia/2020/09/10/saler-perellonet-reciben-200-000-11126092.html

Levante-EMV. (2020b, December 31). España defiende la pacificación de la CV-500 y aplaza el futuro bulevar. *Levante-EMV*. https://www.levante-emv.com/valencia/2020/12/31/espana-defiende-pacificacion-cv-500-26899469.html

Lita, J. (2019, February 4). La ciudad jardín de la burguesía valenciana está por acabar. *Las Provincias*. https://www.lasprovincias.es/valencia-ciudad/ciudad-jardin-burguesia-20190204002851-nt.html?ref=https:%2F%2Fwww.google.com%2F

Martínez, T. (2015, July 10). La Albufera lanza su último grito de auxilio - La Marea. *lamarea.com*. https://www.lamarea.com/2015/01/06/la-albufera-lanza-su-ultimo-grito-de-auxilio/

Menéndez Sarriés, N. (2013, October 7). España, en el punto de mira de las petroleras: crece un 80% el interés para iniciar exploraciones. *20 Minutos*. https://www.20minutos.es/noticia/1930972/0/espana/exploracion-prospeccion/petrolera/

Moreno, P. (2018, October 6). Cruces y lápidas para reclamar cambios en la carretera de El Saler. *Las Provincias*. https://www.lasprovincias.es/valencia-ciudad/cruces-lapidas-reclamar-cambios-carretera-elsaler-20181006131353-nt.html

Moreno, P. (2019, October 14). EL SALER TAMBIÉN ESTÁ EN LA UVI. *Las Provincias*. https://www.lasprovincias.es/comunitat/opinion/saler-20191014000106-ntvo.html

Moreno, P. (2021, May 4). El PSPV choca con Grezzi al querer sacar el carril bus de la plaza del Ayuntamiento. *Las Provincias*. https://www.lasprovincias.es/valencia-ciudad/ayuntamiento-plantea-eliminar-20210503130410-nt.html

Muñoz, B. (2019, November 8). Eliminar la CV-500 supondrá la muerte de los Pueblos del Sur. *EsDiario*. https://www.esdiario.com/valencia/40282521/eliminar-cv-500-supondra-muerte-pueblos-sur-valencia.html

Museu d'història de València. (2019, May 30). *VIII Curs de la Ciutat | Amando Llopis Alonso | Federico Aymamí Faura* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AVuYNlwKS70&ab_channel=Museud%27hist%C3%B2riadeVal%C3%A8ncia

Náutica Mare Nostrum. (2020, November 26). *Turia un río que cambia de cauce 1957*. http://nautica-marenostrum.com/turia-cambia-de-cauce-1957/

Navarro Castelló, C. (2019, February 20). La ZAL del puerto de València vuelve a los tribunales: Per l'Horta denuncia irregularidades urbanísticas. *ElDiario.es*. https://www.eldiario.es/comunitat-valenciana/zal-valencia-per-irregularidades-urbanisticas_1_1689547.html

Nebot, P. (2019, October 26). Salvemos la CV-500. *Valencia Plaza*. https://valenciaplaza.com/salvemos-la-cv-500

Nebot, P. (2020, January 10). Luis Zorrilla: "En El Perellonet es factible un paseo marítimo ecológico, de madera." *Valencia Plaza*. https://valenciaplaza.com/entrevista-luis-zorrilla-el-perellonet

Peñalosa, G., & Borràs, X. (2019, April 3). El cuñado de Rita Barberá se lucraba con mordidas; a la sombra de la alcaldesa. *EL MUNDO*. https://www.elmundo.es/comunidad-valenciana/2019/04/03/5ca3a218fdddff8b238b45e0.html

Plaza, P. (2020a, February 2). Un tiempo muerto para el Plan del Cabanyal. *Valencia Plaza*. https://valenciaplaza.com/un-nuevo-plan-para-el-cabanyal1

Plaza, P. (2020b, June 25). El conflicto de la CV-500 se enquista y El Perellonet ya plantea convertirse en Entidad Local Menor. *Valencia Plaza*. https://valenciaplaza.com/el-conflicto-de-la-cv-500-se-enquista-y-el-perellonet-ya-plantea-convertirse-en-entidad-local-menor

Plaza, P. (2021a, April 14). El soterramiento de las vías de Serrería y los fondos europeos. *Plaza Radio*. https://plazaradio.valenciaplaza.com/el-soterramiento-de-las-vias-de-serreria-y-los-fondos-europeos

Plaza, P. (2021b, August 11). La disputa por los 42 millones de la F1 abre la puerta a cambios en el diseño del PAI del Grao. *Valencia Plaza*. https://valenciaplaza.com/la-disputa-por-los-42-millones-de-la-f1-abre-la-puerta-a-cambios-en-el-diseno-del-pai-del-grao

Romero, V. (2018, September 26). Así será el PAI del Grao, el nuevo barrio que sustituirá al circuito de Fórmula 1 en Valencia. *El Confidencial*. https://www.elconfidencial.com/espana/comunidad-valenciana/2018-09-13/valencia-pai-del-grao-barrio-circuito-urbano-formula-1_1615349/

Ros, M. (2011, August 30). El Perellonet quiere dejar de ser el "desagüe" de l'Albufera. *Levante-EMV*. https://www.levante-emv.com/valencia/2011/08/30/perellonet-quiere-desaguee-l-albufera-13043203.html

Rubio Pérez, E. (n.d.). *Tramos de los jardines del río*. Valencia: Jardines del Río Turia. Retrieved August 18, 2021, from http://jardinesrioturia.blogspot.com/p/tramos-de-los-jardines-del-rio.html

Sanchis, J. (2021, 11 febrero). El TSJ tumba el proyecto estrella del Consell para el litoral por incumplir la Ley de Igualdad. *Las Provincias*. https://www.lasprovincias.es/comunitat/tumba-pativel-20210211150902-nt.html

Sancho, J. M. (2021, August 15). *Xauet on Sueca outskirts* [Photo]. Sancholovesarts- Dhos TATTOO. https://twitter.com/sancholovesarts/status/1427015417420263425

Soria Domínguez, R. (2017, July 16). Nazaret, la playa más añorada por los valencianos. *You Valencia Magazine*. http://youvalencia.com/index.html/2017/07/05/nazaret-playa-anorada-valencianos/

Soriano, L. (2020, September 17). Otra chapuza en la CV-500. *Las Provincias*. https://www.lasprovincias.es/valencia-ciudad/error-calculo-obliga-20200917153539-nt.html

Talavera, A. (2020, June 17). Vecinos y turistas tardan hora y media en recorrer 25 kilómetros de Valencia al Perelló. *Las Provincias*. https://www.lasprovincias.es/ribera-costera/vecinos-turistas-tardan-20200617184558-nt.html

Tiempo muerto en el Cabanyal. (2009, June 9). *El proyecto "Camino-Paseo al mar" de Casimiro Meseguer*. https://cabanyal09.wordpress.com/finales-del-s-xx-origenes-del-conflicto/el-proyecto-camino-paseo-al-mar-de-casimiro-meseguer/

Tomás, D. (2019, December 22). *El grupo de viviendas sociales "Ramiro Ledesma", Valencia*. Valencia. Un paseo por la historia. https://valenciacuriosa.blogspot.com/2019/12/el-grupo-de-viviendas-sociales-ramiro.html

Tribunal de las Aguas. (2014, July 18). *Tribunal de las Aguas de la Vega de Valencia - Historia*. Tribunal de las Aguas de la Vega de Valencia. https://tribunaldelasaguas.org/es/el-tribunal/historia

Valencia Culture Magazine. (2020, June 3). La (no) autopista en el río Túria. *Valencia Culture Magazine*. https://valenciaculture.com/la-no-autopista-en-el-rio-turia/

Valencia Parque Central. (2015, May 4). *COMIENZAN LAS OBRAS DEL PARQUE CENTRAL* [Press release]. https://valenciaparquecentral.es/sala-de-prensa/noticias-y-notas/86-comienzan-las-obras-del-parque-central

valenciaalmar. (n.d.). Origen - valenciaalmar. Retrieved August 20, 2021, from https://sites.google.com/site/valenciaalmar/origen

Vázquez, C. (2018, May 24). Per l'Horta propone convertir la ZAL en un corredor verde. *EL PAÍS*. https://elpais.com/ccaa/2018/05/24/valencia/1527164228_957962.html

Vigara, J. M., & Bartual, J. (2019, December 30). Más de la mitad de los alcaldes y alcaldesas pedáneos son nuevos. *Levante-EMV*. https://www.levante-emv.com/valencia/2019/12/30/mitad-alcaldes-alcaldesas-pedaneos-son-11719563.html

13.D. List of figures

PAG	TYPE	CAPTION
3	Image 25	Xauet graffiti painted on Sueca, southern Albufera. Image included with Author's permission (Sancho, 2021
13	Map 1	The legal and administrative families of Europe with the case study country remarked Modified from (Newman & Thornley, 1996, p.26)
16	Figure 1	Actor-centered institutionalism (Mayntz & Scharpf, 1995, p.45).
23	Table 1	The four new institutionalisms. Modified from (Schmidt, 2009, p.138)
26	Figure	2 Scholars' use of the four neo-institutionalisms: Rational (RI), Historical (HI), Sociological (SI), and Discursive (DI) (Schmidt, 2009, p.139)
27	Figure 3	Input model for a theory of gradual institutional change. Modified from (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.15)
28	Table 2	Types of Gradual Change (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.16)
29	Table 3	Examples of Institutional Change (Sorensen, 2015, p.19)
30	Table 4	Types of Change agents. Modified from (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.23)
31	Table 5	Coalitional alignments of change agents' types (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.30)
31	Table 6	Contextual and institutional sources of Change Agents (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.28)
32	Table 7	Modes of Interaction of Agents, Agency, and Space. Modified from (Bork-Hüffer et al., 2016, p.136)
33	Figure 4	The strategic-relational perspective of the Social Construction of Planning Systems (Servillo & Van Den Broeck, 2012, p.47)
35	Figure 5	Hegemonic & counter-hegemonic coalitions and their interaction (Servillo & Van Den Broeck, 2012, p.52)
35	Table 8	Empirical indicators for processes of GCF (Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.40)
37	Figure 6	Embedded Gradual Change Framework. Self-made
38	Figure 7	Embedded Gradual Change Framework & Theories Source: self-made
40	Map 2	First toponymic map of the Albufera de Valencia (1982), the case study area. (Martínez Llorens, 2019, p.66)
42	Map 3	Centers of Touristic National Touristic Interest (1963) remarking Valencia city and province. Modified from (Tudela & Delgado, 2018, p. 30)
45	Map 4	Green Infrastructure Territorial Corridors & Albufera Landscape Program area (ICV, n.d.-a)
47	Map 5	Functional Areas of ETCV. Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana, 2011, p.117)
48	Map 6	ECTV Mobility in the Valencian Region. Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana, 2011, p.64)
49	Map 7	Concentric (top-left), Axial (top-right), Disperse (bottom-left), and Nodal (bottom-right) modes of growth of the city of Valencia. Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana, 2016, p.97-100)
50	Map 8	Valencia districts layout. (Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 2021)
51	Map 9	Late XIX Century urban pattern in Valencia. Modified from (Teixidor, 1976)

53	*Map 10*	*Valencia 1956 zenith view. Orthophoto RGB. It can be appreciated that the new river basin still does not exist, as well as Vicente Blasco Ibáñez Boulevard (in red), parallel to the Port Avenue, only has its initial phase built. Modified from (ICV, n.d.-b)*
54	*Image 2*	*New Turia river basin view from the Mediterranean Sea right after its construction (1969). (Náutica Mare Nostrum, 2020)*
55	*Image 3*	*New Turia river basin. View from the road connection of V-30, V-15 & CV-500 road (1979). (Náutica Mare Nostrum, 2020)*
56	*Image 4*	*Excavators on the Turia new River Basin & envelope commemorating the South Solution (1969, top). Comparison between Francoist proposal for the old Turia river basin and actual park based on Bofill' 1986 design (bottom). Modified from (Náutica Mare Nostrum, 2020) (Blasco, 2016)*
57	*Image 5*	*"El Saler per al Poble" decal (top-left, 1974); Architecture college exhibit poster about the 60s urbanization plan of the Albufera (top-right, 1974); demonstration announcement posters (bottom, 1977, 1978). (Martínez Llorens, 2019, p. 79, 159, 164, 16)*
58	*Map 11*	*Aerial view of North train station pre-2015 (Valencia Parque Central, 2015, p.6)*
61	*Map 12*	*Train lines projected changes in the 2015 Parque Central project (Valencia Parque Central, 2015, p.23)*
63	*Map 13*	*Valencia among the old Turia basin (north), the new one (south), the city center (west) and port (east), showing some conflicts of the city. Modified from (ICV, n.d.-c)*
64	*Figure 8*	*Urban departments distribution among Valencia city hall coalition partners before 2019. Modified from (Lloret Gual & Farinós Dasí, 2018a, p.90)*
65	*Image 6*	*View of the Cabanyal-Canyamelar traditional facades. (Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 2018b)*
66	*Image 7*	*"No to the prolongation" graffiti in Cabanyal neighborhood (Tiempo muerto en el Cabanyal, 2009)*
67	*Image 26*	*Aerial view facing southeast Ciutat de les Arts I les Ciències, showing Penya-Roja neighborhood (2008).The unfinished Francia Avenue & PAI Grau are on the left, reaching the port. Modified from (Rubio Pérez, n.d.)*
68	*Image 9*	*Central, Colon and Round Square refurbished markets in the city center. (Fundació Visit València, n.d.)*
69	*Map 14*	*Valencian functional area according to ECTV (Generalitat Valenciana, 2011, p.98) PATEVAL (Generalitat Valenciana, 2016, p.9). Self-made*
70	*Image 10*	*Orchards of Favara (top) & Meliana (down). Generalitat Valenciana. (2018f, p.25)*
71	*Image 11*	*Banner saying "From Albufera till the Sea, let's estimate our environment" in the El Saler school. Photo taken by author (Aug. 2021)*
72	*Map 15*	*Historical evolution of the Valencian Horta (orchards). Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana, 2018c, p.175)*
73	*Map 16*	*Valencian neighborhoods colored by district (Íñiguez Rodríguez, 2010)*
74	*Map 17*	*Green infrastructure and its relationship with L'Horta Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana, 2018d, p.11)*
75	*Map 18*	*PATHV Area, marking the Albufera Landscape Program area and the CV-500 road. Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana, 2018e, p. 7)*
76	*Figure 9*	*Ongoing municipal processes in Valencia which have citizen participation in policy design and which party oversees them. Modified from (Lloret Gual & Farinós Dasí, 2018b, p.42)*

77	*Map 19*	*Natural formation of the Albufera d'Valencia. (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.5)*
78	*Image 12*	*Albufera de Valencia & case study area zenith view. Orthophoto RGB. (ICV, n.d.-d)*
79	*Map 20*	*Toponymic plan of the Albufera de Valencia & case study area. (ICV, 2012)*
80-81	*Map 21*	*Leaflet from the 2015 LIFE Program "Environmental seduction" showing all the places of interest in the Albufera Natural Park (Generalitat Valenciana & Ramírez, 2015)*
82	*Image 13*	*Urban nuclei of El Palmar (top left), El Saler & the end area of the CV-500 (top right), El Palmar (bottom left), and El Perellonet (bottom right). Modified from (Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 2018a)*
83	*Image 14*	*Promotional leaflet from PROVAL, one of the developers of the Gola del Puchol urbanization process (1972-1976). Author's personal collection*
84	*Image 15*	*Aerial photographs of the Gola del Puchol area, 1972. Top (Martínez Llorens, 2019, p.41) Bottom (Dolç et al., 2017). On both photos the CV-500 road can be appreciated parallel to the Albufera*
85	*Image 16*	*Aerial photographs of the Gola del Puchol area, 1974, Top (Martínez Llorens, 2019, p.41) and Bottom, 1976 (Author's personal collection). On both photos the CV-500 road can be appreciated parallel to the Albufera*
86	*Image 17*	*Aerial photographs of the Gola del Puchol area, 2017 (Dolç et al., 2017). On top photo the CV-500 road can be appreciated parallel to the Albufera*
87	*Map 21*	*Area showing a 1970 promotion leaflet of El Saler Urbanization (top) & the Gola del Puchol development & artificial lake (1972-1976). In red, CV-500 road. In yellow, intervened area and buildings developed before the paralyzation. Modified from (Martínez Llórens, 2019, p.102, 220) & Author personal collection, modified*
88	*Image 18*	*Horizon photograph facing north of the Mallada Sanxa-Mata del Fang, 2006. At the end of the photography, the artificial lake built in 1968 and the towers close to the Gola del Puchol (Martínez Llórens, 2019, p.102, 220)*
89	*Image 19*	*"Malladeta" restoration (left) & view of the surroundings of the Gola del Puchol in 2000 (top right) and 2008 (bottom right), showing the elimination of urban layout (Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 2018b) (ICV, n.d.-e; -f)*
90	*Table 9*	*Agenda guideline suggestions for the rural-urban fringe. Modified from (Gallent & Shaw, 2007, p.626)*
91	*Image 20*	*Albufera Bookmarker samples available for download as part of a Generalitat Valenciana LIFE program campaign "Environmental seduction", showing the cultural, landscape and environmental assets from the park. Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana, 2015)*
92	*Image 21*	*Environmental zoning of the Albufera Landscape Program based on the Usage and Management of the Parque Natural Park de l'Albufera Master Plan (PRUG) (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.14).*
93	*Image 22*	*Environmental zoning of the Albufera Landscape Program. Visual legend on previous image. In red, Vía Parque de L'Albufera (i1). In black, Refurbishment of the Tremolar Road (i2). Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.12)*
94	*Image 23*	*Area division of the Albufera Landscape Program. In red, Vía Parque de L'Albufera (i1). In black, Refurbishment of the Tremolar Road (i2). Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.6)*
95	*Image 24*	*November 8th demonstration, showing neighbors, food service associations and tractors demonstrating in front of Valencia city hall. Modified from (Muñoz, 2019)(Guadalajara & Moreno, 2019)*

99	*Figure 10*	*Timeline of the Albufera Landscape Program (ALP). Self-made*
102	*Map 22*	*Resources, Conflicts, and Proposal of the Albufera Landscape Program. In light beige, the A1 area. Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p. 59)*
103	*Map 23*	*Area 1 of the Albufera Landscape Program and land usage detail. Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2018, p.72)*
106-107	*Figure 11*	*Scheme of the Vía Parque de l'Albufera. Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2019, p.60-61)*
108-109	*Figure 15*	*Scheme of the Tremolar Path refurbishment. Modified from (Generalitat Valenciana & Fernández-Vivancos, 2019, p.70-71)*
111	*Table 10*	*Change agents' positionality. Self-made*
112-113	*Table 11*	*Counter-hegemonic agents' positionality. Self-made*
114	*Figure 13*	*Actors' map regarding the Albufera Landscape Program. On top corner, demonstration banner ((Bellvis, 2019)). Self-made*
117	*Figure 14*	*Public Attention Cycle, Modified from (Staggenborg, S, 2011, p.106).*

14. Annexes

14.A. Annex I: EGCF handbook for Layering

REGARDING INSTITUTIONS AND PATH DEPENDENCE

- While path dependence is an increasing-return self-reinforcing mechanism, causality chains of events and sunken-costs ideas might show less institutional resistance to change than a desire to reproduce and survive.
- Path dependence and critical junctures are historically contingent and socially constructed.
- As institutions thrive to survive, the sunken cost of leaving a settled policy might not be enough to deter change when this benefits the institutional ruling actors' idea of stability and replicability (Reinalda, 2013 as cited in Morrison, 2017, p. 2559, 2560). Consequently, history matters as contingent decisions made by dominant actors within institutions keep "path dependence" ongoing if it benefits the relevant actors enough not to seek alternatives.

REGARDING CHANGE AGENTS

- Interdependence amongst institutional orders and resistance from other actors avoid individual interpretations to totalize everyday practices (Moulaert et al., 2016, p.173).
- Planning institutions are nothing but a tensioned equilibrium, where internal struggles constantly defy actors' dominant coalitions and agreements.

REGARDING INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE - LAYERING

- Layering: it seeks a reform that comes with new rules without eliminating the former ones. It involves additions, amendments, or reforms. If deep enough, layering can alter institutional embedded dynamics. This change type is usual where actors in charge lack the resources to enact displacement (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.16-17).
- Layering in GCF: occurs willingly in environments with solid veto possibilities and low interpretation capabilities. According to Schickler (2001 as cited in Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p. 43-44), this process happens when institutions defy previous or parallel institutions, offering an alternative setting. Layering might happen due to changes in public support for previous arrangements or its lack of adaptability for new circumstances (Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p. 48). As this change of public support opens a window for change, conflicts may arise between supporters of the previous arrangement and the Subversives agents of change. That is why layering requires marginal amends and advocacy (Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p. 50, 51)

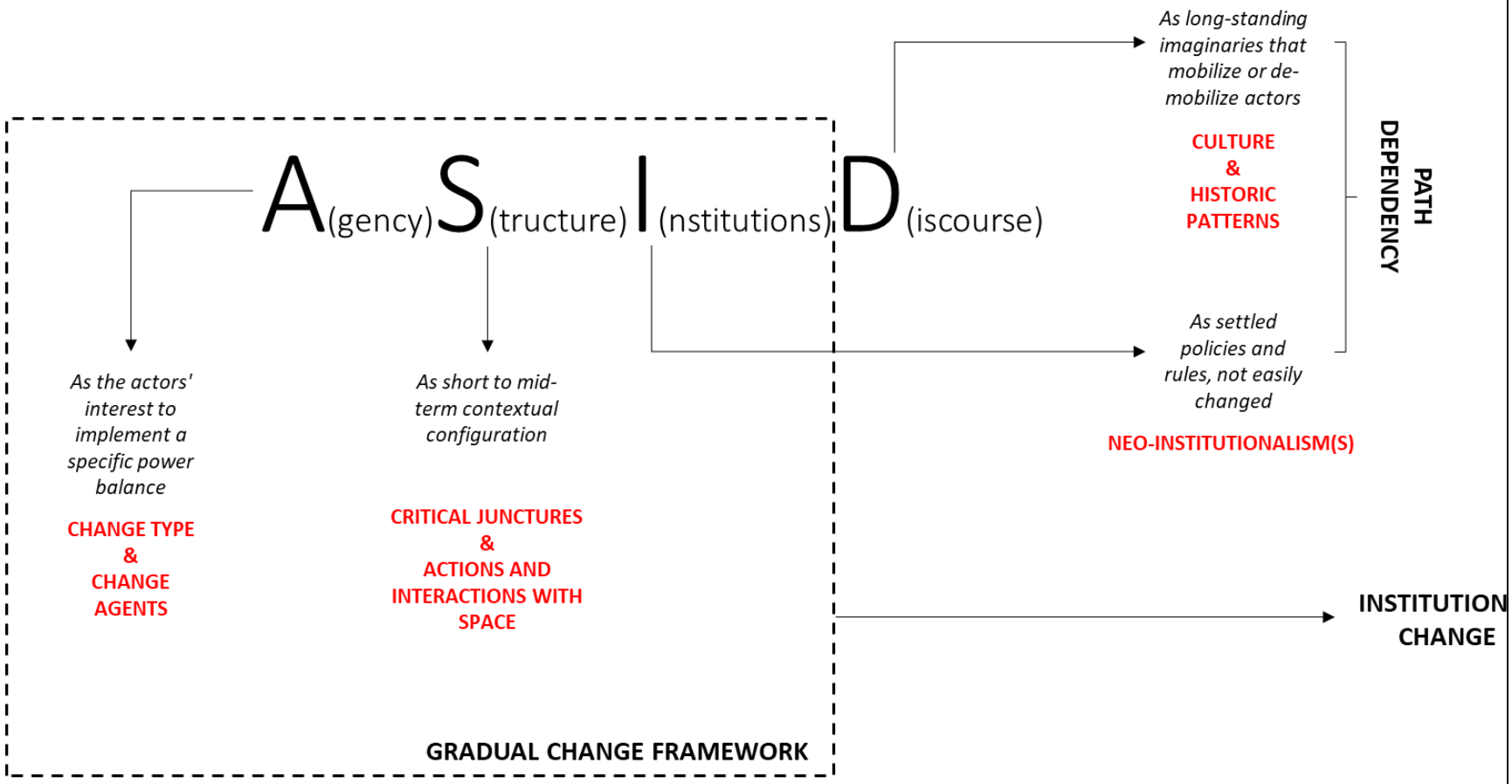


Figure 16 EGCF & Theories. Self-made

AGENCY

	Displacement	Layering	Drift	Conversion
Removal of old rules	Yes	No	No	No
Neglect of old rules	-	No	Yes	No
Changed impact/enactment of old rules	-	No	Yes	Yes
Introduction of new rules	Yes	Yes	No	No

Types of Gradual Change. Modified from (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.16)

	Seeks to Preserve Institution	Follows Rules of Institution
Insurrectionaries	No	No
Symbionts (Parasitic/Mutualistic)	Yes	No
Subversives	No	Yes
Opportunists	Yes/No	Yes/No

Types of Change agents. Modified from (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.23)

	Allies with Institutional Supporters	Allies with Institutional Challengers
Insurrectionaries	No	Yes
Symbionts (Parasitic/Mutualistic)	Yes	No
Subversives	No	No
Opportunists	Yes/No	Yes/No

Coalitional alignments of change agents types. Modified from (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010p.30)

Characteristics of the Targeted Institution

Characteristics of the Political Context	Low levels of discretion in Interpretation/Enforcement	High levels of discretion in Interpretation/Enforcement
Strong Veto Possibilities	Subversives (Layering)	Parasitic Symbionts (Drift)
Weak Veto Possibilities	Insurrectionaries (Displacement)	Opportunists (Conversion)

Contextual and institutional sources of Change Agents. Modified from (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010, p.28)

	Drift	Conversion	Layering
Initial institutional ambiguity or malleability:	Low	High	High
Institutional structures induce change through:	Path dependence, creating *status quo* bias	Granting actors discretionary capacities to alter institutional meanings	Coupling of multiple institutions; differential growth
Change agents must have access to discretionary, intellectual, or material capacities to:	Keep institutional updating off the policy agenda	Manipulate interpretation of institutional rules	Sponsor and carry out modest changes or propose marginal amendments
Final institutional outcome	Institution must not change, but institutional outcome post-drift must not be similar to institutional outcomes pre-drift	Institution post-conversion must be functionally different than institution pre-conversion	Initial institution must change and should become similar to the institution that was layered on top of it

Empirical indicators for processes of GCF (Rocco & Thurston, 2013, p.40)

STRUCTURE	
Social (Re)production of Space: *Consists of actions effects that directly intervene in the physical environment. Its sub-categories show interactions with the urban fabric (Bork-Hüffer et al., 2016, p.137)*	Maintenance keeps, reinforces, and adapts the existing activities in space to a specific context. They do not change the existing power geometries nor intend to do so. Modification happens when informal actors unintentionally, slow, and gradually change the space while working with the existing institutional rules. Molding is like Modification, but its changes are intentional. Making creates a space, structuring new socio-spatial relations amongst agents. Its results may differ from the expected objective.
(Re)production of Agency: *Speaks of agents' capabilities to enable an agenda. It can promote, frame, restrict, or hinder agents' practices in the pre-existing institutional power setting (Bork-Hüffer et al., 2016, p.138)*	Suppression impedes or deactivates other actors' agencies. Structuring conditions agency capabilities, determining possible actions through socio-cultural or material space restrictions. Support are spatial actions that facilitate agents' purposes. Stimulation significantly fosters specific policies or agendas.
(Re)production of Power Geometries: R*efers to how actors' different positionalities interact in the urban sphere (Bork-Hüffer et al., 2016, p.140-141).* *Contestation over the urban space results in a constant negotiation on how the environment is shaped*	Resilience happens when agents adapt to power structures. Reworking are actions designed to reduce systemic inequities or inefficiencies without openly defying institutional order. Resistance seeks to mobilize actors' resources when space is contested. Revolutionary acts seek to rework institutional power balances completely.

INSTITUTIONS

	Rational choice institutionalism	*Historical institutionalism*	*Sociological institutionalism*	*Discursive institutionalism*
Object of explanation	Rational behavior and interests	Historical rules and regularities	Cultural norms and frames	Ideas and discourse
Logic of explanation	Calculation	Path dependency	Appropriateness	Communication
Ability to explain change	Static continuity through fixed preferences, stable institutions	Static continuity through path dependence (except where incremental change)	Static continuity through cultural norms, ideational frames	Dynamic change and continuity through ideas and discursive interaction
Problems of explanation	Economic determinism	Historical determinism	Cultural determinism or relativism	Ideational determinism or relativism

The four new institutionalisms (Schmidt, 2009, p.138)

DISCOURSE

(see case cultural & historic context)

14.B. Annex II: Selection of self-taken photographs in case study area

Image 27 One of the remaining 4-lane streets in the El Saler urbanization. (39.35417071621371, -0.3199608058924372). Taken August 11th, 2021 by author

Image 28 CV-500 at km 8 where it turns from a 4-lane road to a 2-lane one. (39.389970499959254, -0.33444119999397841). Taken August 11th, 2021 by author

Image 29 Crosswalk in the CV-500 road from El Saler historical urban nuclei to its traditional port. (39.382399595026506, -0.3343019865945059). Taken August 11th, 2021 by author

Image 30 Orchards nearby El Saler port, facing north with the Ciutat de les Arts on the background and the CV-500 right of the photo (39.38303534203167, -0.335082225201322 25). Taken August 11th, 2021 by author