



**POLITECNICO**  
MILANO 1863

Faculty of Architecture and Society

Master of Science in Urban Planning and Policy Design

## **The rise of community cooperatives**

Community cooperatives as a tool for citizens' participation to urban regeneration projects in Milan.

Author: Maxime PLANEIX

Supervisor: Carolina PACCHI

October, 2016



## Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my supervisor Carolina Pacchi for her availability and flexibility and for guiding me with adapted references and readings.

I would like to thank Claudio Calvaresi and Sara Le Xuan from Avanzi and Lucia Scopelliti and Rossana Torri from the municipality of Milan for their interest in my research and the time they spent helping me.

I would like to thank all the other interviewees for their availability and kindness: Debora Greco, Simona Colucci, Antonio Restelli, Andrea Capaldi, Kathy and the other members of Isola Pepe Verde.

I would especially like to thank Michèle Petta for our interesting exchanges on the financing of cooperatives and the new models of enterprises in France and for the related provided documents.

I would also like to thank Cathy Ahier for revising my work and Marco Fusato for explaining me all the subtleties of the Italian language.

## Table of contents

Acknowledgments .....	3
Table of contents .....	4
Abstract .....	7
Riassunto .....	8
Introduction .....	9
I. A general theoretical framework for social entrepreneurship .....	10
1.1- The progress of social entrepreneurship in collaborative policy design. ....	10
1.1.1- From government to governance .....	10
1.1.2- Typologies of regimes of governance: the rise of collaborative processes .....	12
1.2- Modalities of citizens' participation .....	18
1.2.1- Democracy and citizens' participation. The role of associations .....	18
1.2.2- The relation between communities and social enterprises .....	21
1.2.3- Two examples of legal forms of community enterprises: the SCIC in France and the CIC in the United Kingdom .....	22
1.3- The rise of the <i>cooperative di comunità</i> in Italy .....	25
1.3.1- Defining the <i>cooperative di comunità</i> .....	25
1.3.2- The Italian policy framework for the <i>cooperative di comunità</i> .....	28
1.3.3- Some concrete levers of action .....	31
II. <i>Cooperative di comunità</i> and urban regeneration policies .....	33
2.1- Points of convergence of urban regeneration programs and social enterprises projects. ....	33
2.1.1. Defining urban regeneration and the point of convergence with social entrepreneurship ...	33
2.1.2-The existing Italian non-profit organizations working in urban regeneration .....	35
2.1.2- Avenues of work for the convergence of social entrepreneurship and urban regeneration. Place-based debate. ....	37
2.2- Two good Italian practices .....	38
2.2.1- Puglia region: <i>Laboratori urbani</i> and <i>Bollenti spiriti</i> .....	38
2.2.2- City of Turin: <i>Via Beltea - Laboratorio di Barriera</i> .....	40
2.3- The Westway Development Trust in London.....	41
III. Territorial innovation in bottom-up initiatives in Milan: towards the <i>cooperative di comunità</i> ? 44	
3.1- Framing the field study .....	44
3.2- The interviews.....	46
3.2.1- The point of view of the administration: the municipality of Milan .....	46
3.2.2- The <i>FABRIQ</i> incubator managed by Fondazione Brodolini : an innovative activator of local entrepreneurship .....	48

## Table of contents

3.2.3- The project <i>Segnali di futuro</i> managed by Avanzi: a classification of innovative bottom-up processes .....	50
3.2.4- The consulting firm AVANZI, Claudio Calvaresi, the rising relevance of the <i>cooperative di comunità</i> .....	53
3.2.5- <i>Isola Pepe Verde</i> ; the <i>cooperative di comunità</i> seen as the management of a common good .....	56
3.2.6- The success story of Olinda.....	57
3.2.7- <i>Mare culturale urbano</i> : a platform to gather local resources and beyond .....	59
3.2.8- La Banlieue: a successful bottom-up initiative in the path to the cooperative di comunità. 61	
3.3 - General conclusions about the interviews .....	64
Conclusion .....	68
Bibliography.....	70

Figure 1: Typologies of regimes of governance (adapted from ENJOLRAS, 2004, p.67).....	13
Figure 2: The emergence of hybrid actors (adapted from Hulgard,,2010) .....	17
Figure 3: Block diagram summarising the diversity of multi-stakeholders in a SCIC (taken on the website <a href="http://www.les-scic.coop">www.les-scic.coop</a> .....	23
Figure 4: Typologies of cooperative di comunità (author’s elaboration) .....	27
Figure 5: Concept of the cooperative di comunità (taken from EURICSE, 2016, Libro bianco) .....	28
Figure 6: Field categories of non-profit organizations made by ISTAT and their importance in the metropolitan city of Milan (author’s elaboration).....	35
Figure 7: Economic development and social cohesion: legal forms (author’s elaboration) .....	36
Figure 8: Economic development and social cohesion: social capital (author’s elaboration) .....	36
Figure 9: Illustrations for the Ex-Fadda.....	39
Figure 10: Illustrations of Via Baltea .....	40
Figure 11: Illustrations of the Westway development trust .....	42
Figure 12: Interviews in their territorial context (author’s elaboration).....	45
Figure 13: Illustrations for FabriQ.....	50
Figure 14: Illustrations for Segnali di Futuro .....	53
Figure 15: Illustrations for Isola Pepe Verde .....	57
Figure 16: Illustrations for Olinda .....	59
Figure 17: Illustrations for Mare culturale urbano .....	61
Figure 18: illustrations for La Banlieue .....	63

## Abstract

This thesis studies the rise of the *cooperative di comunità* in Italian urban policies and urban regeneration programs in particular. A lot of actors (associations, foundations, for-profit firms, cooperatives...) becomes city makers since they may have an impact on public policies, from their formulation to their implementation.

Among these actors, citizens' organizations can have a high potential as they gather different advantages such as being an innovative tool for citizens' participation. The *cooperative di comunità* ensure a democratic functioning that can participate to the establishment of a renewed democracy in a context of crisis of classic democratic processes. Moreover, the *cooperative di comunità* emphasize the potential of the community which has the essential capacity to mobilize local resources around a collective project through bottom-up processes. They can demonstrate a capacity of social innovation by co-creating with municipalities new processes that more efficiently deliver local public services, contribute to the local welfare and transform neighborhoods.

Public authorities from all levels, from the municipality to the European Union, should accompany these bottom-up processes. Two kinds of policies could be articulated: "direct policies" aiming at potentiating existing initiatives and "indirect policies" targeting the activation of local resources in order to come up with more self-organized initiatives.

A field-study is conducted in the metropolitan area of Milan for urban regeneration policies by interviewing different types of actors (municipality, citizens' organizations, for-profit firms, foundation) assuming diverse roles in city making processes (facilitator, researcher, protagonist). Each of these actors has his own point of view on the *cooperative di comunità* and their role in urban regeneration but we will acknowledge that Milan is on the path towards the emergence of more and more hybrid organizations like the *cooperative di comunità*.

## Riassunto

Questa tesi studia la crescita delle cooperative di comunità nella politica urbana italiana focalizzando l'attenzione sui programmi di riqualificazione urbana. Diversi attori (associazioni, fondazioni, imprese for-profit, cooperative) diventano city makers perchè hanno un impatto sulle politiche pubbliche, dalla loro formulazione alla loro attuazione.

Tra questi attori, le organizzazioni cittadine possono avere un alto potenziale, come anche benefici, proponendosi come strumento innovativo nella partecipazione cittadina. Le cooperative di comunità basandosi su un funzionamento democratico possono partecipare alla fondazione di una rinnovata democrazia in un contesto di crisi dei processi democratici esistenti, oltre che enfatizzare il potenziale delle comunità le quali hanno la primaria capacità di mobilitare risorse locali attorno a progetti collettivi attraverso un processo bottom-up.

Queste possono dimostrare la capacità dell'innovazione sociale attraverso un nuovo processo di cooperazione con la municipalità che in maniera più efficiente può creare nuovi e migliori servizi pubblici, contribuendo allo stesso tempo al benessere locale e al rinnovamento dei quartieri.

Le autorità pubbliche di tutti i livelli, dalla municipalità all'Unione Europea, dovrebbero accompagnare questi processi. Due differenti tipi di politiche potrebbero essere applicate: “politica diretta” mirando a potenziare iniziative sociali già esistenti e “politica indiretta” puntando ad attivare le risorse locali per far emergere iniziative autogestite.

E' stato quindi condotto uno studio nell'area metropolitana di Milano per il rinnovamento urbano intervistando differenti tipologie di attori (municipalità, organizzazioni cittadine imprese for profit e fondazioni) che assumono differenti ruoli nel processo di sviluppo della città (facilitatore, ricercatori, protagonisti). Ognuno di questi attori ha il proprio punto di vista riguardo le cooperative di comunità e il loro ruolo nel rinnovamento urbano ma tutti loro riconoscono che Milano è uno dei sentieri verso la progressiva affermazione di un numero sempre maggiore di organizzazioni ibride come le cooperative di comunità.



## Introduction

This work results from the acknowledgement of the apparent mutual ignorance between economic performance and social issues which is rather clear as the fields of economy and sociology are often put in confrontation. Economic development is not seen as being an input to address social issues and, worse, it may prevent from putting the resolution of social problems higher in the political agenda. This ignorance can be seen as the variation of the ignorance between different scales: social issues could be considered as more rooted territorially than economic factors which may more and more imply supralocal scales. One can think that globalization may have worsen this situation and to a certain extent the answer would be positive as the general trend might be an aggravation. But, in the last decades, we have seen the emergence of new kinds of agents, new types of organizations that can be qualified as “hybrid” because they do not verify the classic features of our existing organizations that are namely public authorities, for-profit enterprises and organizations from the third sector. These hybrid organizations pick up some of the features of each of these actors in order to constitute new actors. Actors that might be able to address this issue of mutual ignorance between economy and social issues by participating to policy-making developments through innovative processes. They would be able to respond to social needs by developing a “place-based” enterprise mixing public support, commercial activity, volunteering and other local resources.

We will see in a first part that the passage from government to governance entailed by decentralization processes can allow the participation of these new kinds of actors in the local governance. In the same part we will define the community enterprise, *impresa di comunità*, as one of the most promising hybrid organizations capable of participating efficiently. Also, we will precise its more specific form of *cooperative di comunità* that allows a democratic participation of citizens by drawing information directly from the current debate of the *cooperative di comunità* in Italy. In a second part, we will narrow down to the role that the *cooperative di comunità* can play in a field that is deeply rooted in the territory and has a huge impact on local communities: urban regeneration processes. Finally, a field study is reported that has been conducted through interviews aiming at applying all the findings to the metropolitan city of Milan. This city might not be considered as the “best Italian city” for finding good examples of involvement of hybrid organizations like maybe Bologna or Turin. Nonetheless, it is precisely there that their potential could be the most useful and efficient as Milan is the first economic city in Italy and maybe the Italian city with the most pressing social issues. The path towards the creation of *cooperative di comunità* in urban regeneration is an on-going process that might one day reveal its full potential in Milan if current actors can accompany its development with tailored programs.

## I. A general theoretical framework for social entrepreneurship

Societies we are currently experiencing are the result of a social construction which has been influenced by the evolution of our territories. If some concepts were, at the beginning, very simple, they got then more complex over time and especially in the last thirty years. Therefore, if all the ideas encompassed in words like public sector, civil society or even citizenship seem pretty clear and familiar to us, we need to take a step back in order to interrogate them like in all complex and long process of construction. Indeed, when we start thinking about it we can experience the discomfort of the one who have just realized its own ignorance on a subject he thought he mastered. That's why this first part comes back on all these concepts. This aims at establishing the existence of new organizations that go over the traditional triad "public authorities, for-profit firms and civil society" and in particular in Italy what is informally called "*cooperative di comunità*". In a first part, we establish the existence of new regimes of governance that open up to more collaborative processes in policy design. Then, we study the modalities of citizens' participation to these new collaborative proceedings and in particular through social entrepreneurship. It will lead us to define a new type of democratic organization: the *cooperative di comunità* and part III will attach importance to analysing the current debate on the subject in Italy.

### 1.1- The progress of social entrepreneurship in collaborative policy design.

#### 1.1.1- From government to governance

We have been experiencing a period of decentralisation of the political and administrative structures in many European countries and this process has almost come to an end. This process has been launched due to two main reasons:

- o to release the central state from the competences related to the daily life of its citizens. Indeed, the State was overloaded with too many diverse competences to manage. Public authorities were thus unable to deliver a good provision of services due to both a poor efficiency and a disastrous effectiveness;
- o to satisfy the rising desire of local elected representatives to truly assume local powers without depending anymore on the state control. It can be the only way to assure a true representative democracy rather than a technocratic system.

Competences have been delegated to local administrations and no longer lie in the hands of the national state. Regional as well as municipal authorities have been receiving some new competences. We can exemplify this phenomenon in Italy where the process of decentralization has been set through three main phases: the first one in 1970 with the law 77/1970, the second one with the law 70/1975 and the last one with the Bassanini reform in 1997. These reforms put in place three levels of decentralization: regions, provinces and metropolitan cities, and municipalities. The Bassanini laws assume a very important role as they have introduced the principle of subsidiarity in the Italian law. All the interests and needs functionally and

territorially localisable (“place-based”) around a community which holds this interest or need in a precise territorial context, are administrated by the institutions that represent them if they have the capacity to address the issue. Thus this principle is at the basis of the legitimization of giving more power to local authorities which are the only level that can adopt this necessary “place-based” approach. Besides all these ideas of simplification and attempts to fix a centralized State that has become inefficient, the key concept of decentralization is also to bring the power closer to citizens. Indeed, it sounds reasonable to think that a citizen which has an easier access to the spheres of decisions would be more involved in local debates and therefore will really exercise his “democratic control” (see paragraph 1.2.1). Eventually, this new importance of local actors, public authorities, local organizations, citizens, has been traduced by the word “governance”.

The word “governance” is more and more used, in political, economic and social fields and we need to clarify its meaning as it can be overused. From the 90s, the concept has undergone a rapid and important development. As Le Galès acknowledges, this term can be a simple *maquillage* to name some initiatives that are not new at all but that verify the characteristic feature of governance as exemplified by “regulation theory, public private partnerships, study of networks, and the new public management” (Le Galès, 2001). The notion of governance can be useful in order to gather under a common term that describes a new situation characterized by the multiplicity of regulation forms and the fragmentation of power between different levels of our current political, economic and social systems. *Government* is characterized by four dimensions: the general organization principles of a representative political system, the implications for allocation, decision, limitation, administration, the process of governing i.e. the decisional and managerial processes and the results and the efficiency of public policies (Le Galès, 2001). The passage to the concept of governance implies some adjustment of these four features adopting and favouring the point of view of decision-making processes as Stoker says (Stoker, 1995). It implies an emphasis of the points three and four of the definition of government, points that are process-oriented. In an urban environment, authors define concept of the urban governance which is specific to the governance in cities that assume a renewed power thanks to decentralisation. All these transformations face by European cities in the last 20 years are gathered in the concept of urban governance which is defined by Le Galès as “on the one hand the capacity of including and shaping local interests, organizations, social groups, and in the second hand, in terms of capacity to represent them outside, to develop strategies of relations more or less inclusive with the market, the state, the other cities and the other levels of government”. The second part of this definition emphasizes the new power of cities and their capacity to influence government spheres for which they were the simple executor some decades ago. The first part of the definition tackles the competitiveness of cities and the participation of a diversify range of actors to this territorial “marketing”. Eventually, this definition is a clear emphasis of the involvement and mobilisation of local actors, private and public, in decision-making processes, exploiting local resources which put urban development as a common good (Le Galès, 2003). Thus the concept of “governance” is a good way to put on the table the potentialities of seeing the decision-making process in cities as a participation of multiple actors which can acknowledge the influence they can have in this new local organization. The advantage is to gather both in the same concept two different points of view

of the city: one which sees the city as a collective actor and another one which shapes the city as a local society. Nonetheless, Le Galès in 2003 warns against the risk of manipulation of this concept when one actor seeks consensus, especially public authorities when they try to legitimate some of their action, and can manipulate the actual aspirations of some other actors like social local groups. Moreover, even in an “era of governance”, governance does not guarantee the good cooperation of all actors and some –it might be public authorities or private firms – may dominate decisions-making processes and constitute a “local government”. Thus we need to establish a taxonomy of the different regimes of governance which will help us to understand in which kind of governance the rise of community enterprises should be inscribed.

### 1.1.2- Typologies of regimes of governance: the rise of collaborative processes

By “regime of governance” we intend the type of institutional regimes –organized (formally or not) networks of actors– aiming at satisfying a general interest need<sup>1</sup> in the framework of the local governance. We can classify different regimes of governance according to three elements<sup>2</sup>:

- the actors involved in the realisation of goals of general interest and their characteristics (goals, values, institutional forms, legitimacy)
- the instruments of public policy used in order to achieve these goals. They can be of three types depending on the way they impact the actors’ behaviour: regulatory, incentivizing or informative.
- the terms of the institutional interaction in this network of public policies. Indeed, public policies need to be implemented. It implies the existence of terms of coordination which set the modalities of the link between implementation and design of public policies.

We deal with three kinds of actors: a public enterprise, a private enterprise and an enterprise from the social economy. We consider here the social economy as, we will see in the next part, new hybrid organizations like the *cooperative di comunità* are encompassed in this umbrella-term of social economy. The main feature that distinguish these entities –and therefore that is the reason for adopting these kind of classification– is the rule to nominate leaders. In the for-profit enterprise, power (so the power to nominate in particular) depends directly on the capital share of each shareholder. In a public organization (public enterprise or administrative body) power is decided by nomination and/or voting of citizens. In the new organizations of the social economy the situation can really be diverse but it might imply a democratic designation by voting of the member. Defining local actors according to the way they participate to the decision-making process is crucial since it adopts a point of view of a participative process and, if this participation is democratic, can define a participative democracy (see paragraph 1.2.1).

The tools of intervention depend on three binary features:

- direct/indirect (i.e. the degree of implication of public authorities),
- coercive/incentivizing (i.e. do these instruments constrain or promote),
- competitive/non-competitive (i.e. do these instruments favour just one actor or not).

---

<sup>1</sup> We can still remain general here and focus on the urban regeneration in the second part of this work

<sup>2</sup> We take as a basis the work of Salomon L.M.

We come up with four regimes of governance and we gather the results in the following table:

	Public governance	Corporative governance	Competitive governance	Collaborative governance
Institutional form of actors	Public	Public Social economy	Public Private Social economy	Private Social economy
Implementation of public policies	Public administration Public property	Tutelary regulation Third parties	Incentivizing regulation Contracts	Politic regulation (negotiation, deliberation)
Design of public policies	Technocratic	Corporatism	Network of public policies	Institutionalized partnership

Figure 1: Typologies of regimes of governance (adapted from ENJOLRAS, 2004, p.67)

These four typologies illustrate the plurality of regimes of governance we can find at the local scale. Obviously, these four categories are theoretical and do not represent the functioning of any territory: in reality, there is a mix between all these four categories. Nonetheless, this classification allows us to understand the main tendencies. In particular, the fourth one, the collaborative governance deserves a stronger attention. Its advocates also call it the “new governance”: the role of public authorities is not the one of a hierarchical authority which commands and controls, but the one of a facilitator which can exercise some leadership but only to collaborate like a regular partner inside a network of actors. The public authority can use some political tools in order to regulate, that is to say negotiation and deliberation, and the intervention tools are direct and coercive. Let us compare to the competitive governance in order to better understand the specificities of the collaborative governance. The competitive governance responds to liberal mechanisms: a social firm has to compete with regular enterprises if it wants to participate (through the acquisition of urban land or the right to provide a local service for example). The public authority can regulate the market through incentivizing tools in order to impact the behaviour of the other actors. These two regimes of governance embody two different visions of the relation between civil society and public authorities: in the collaborative governance civil society is an actual partner and work as equal on a project whereas in the competitive governance civil society is reduce to the simple provider, subcontractor in competition with other operators in order to reach the maximum of efficiency. And precisely for that reason competitive governance can be attractive: by putting into competition all the actors, the public authority has a better chance to come up with the best solutions in business terms that’s to say in the amounts of spending. On the contrary, the collaborative governance can assert its social and territorial capital. Moreover, the difference of point of view also lies in the focus of each regime: the competitive regime is outcome-oriented: we set the conditions in order to obtain the best solutions whereas the collaborative governance is process-oriented, the focus is on the way decisions are taken. And beyond the

outcome, the process in itself can have a good impact on all the actors as for example it may increase social capital. It is in this context of the collaborative governance that takes place our study: indeed, the articulation of actors in the collaborative governance permits the appearance of new kinds of actors, answering to different dynamics than for-profit firms or public authorities. Social entrepreneurship might be one of the most interesting among all the new modalities to participate to the local governance.

### 1.1.3- The emergence of hybrid organizations under the label of “social entrepreneurship”

We now have to nuance our description of local governance. In particular, the three categories of actors are just ideals and types that are useful to make categories but which are less accurate to describe the reality. Indeed, we can acknowledge the rise of new actors, hybrid actors, that can share some specificities belonging to two different categories of actors, and in particular to civil society and for-profit actors. During the last ten years, we have been witnessing the appearance of new words in order to name this new link between sociology and economics: “social capital”, “social entrepreneurship”, “social enterprises” ... They put a name upon the intersection of different classic actors (see figure 2). Often, scholars give social entrepreneurship a lot of importance and they put it at the intersection between the three types of actors. Social entrepreneurship can be defined as “the creation of social value that is produced in collaboration with people and organizations from the civil society which are engaged in social innovations that usually imply an economic activity”<sup>1</sup>. This definition relies on three criteria which shows the hybrid nature of social entrepreneurship:

- social value. This is a fuzzy word that hides a concept that for a long time has lacked a clear definition. Historically, it has been associated to the measurement of outcomes and social impacts within the social economy organizations. Indeed, the creation of a concept of social value aimed at giving weight and importance to the social economy’s organizations which do not only rely on the classic use of the word “value”, deeply related to financial performance. Then, the concept has been associated with public services and commissioning: how the public sector identifies, measures and compares social value when commissioning services for example. Nonetheless, it does not exist a clear and commonly accepted procedure to measure social value and the debate remains opened. We can nevertheless take as a definition of social value the following statement “social value is an identifiable economic, social and environmental well-being benefit associated with an organization’s activities”. In a less “business” perspective, social value can be defined as the impacts of programs that focus on the well-being of individuals and communities, social capital and the environment. The use of “well-being” entails a broader definition and implies that social value might be the result of an inclusive and long-term process, a lot more complicated concept than for-profit firms may want to admit (through the CSR<sup>2</sup> for example).
- civil society: the relation with society and thus citizens is mandatory. Therefore, social entrepreneurship is different from other social activities of the private sector (CSR and CSI<sup>3</sup> as two examples) and the public one (as exemplified by innovative social policies)

---

<sup>1</sup> Lars Hulgard, based upon a review of literature and networks and in particular the EMES European Research Network.

<sup>2</sup> CSR: Corporate Social Responsibility

<sup>3</sup> CSI: Corporate Social Investment

- economic activity: the entrepreneur takes an economic risk and the participants may have direct or indirect economic benefits (access to work, improved health, production of a local service).

The related organizations are reunited under the label “social enterprises”. They raise more and more interest in Europe at all the levels of public authorities. The European commission has actively arisen awareness on the need of identifying an actual European social economy. We can acknowledge that in the last 20 years, the number of policy documents promoting social enterprises has been rising. At the national level, some countries such as the UK and France have designed a national framework for the social economy. Concerning the local authorities, we will study it more in-depth in Italy in the following sections of this work and we will acknowledge that some programs have been launched (analysis that we could make in other European countries).

We have to insist here on the fact that the umbrella-label “social enterprise” hides many different realities according to which degree they get closer to a public authorities’ program, a for-profit initiative or an expression of the civil society. We list the following examples that are relevant to this assessment:

- many social enterprises which have emerged in Europe in the last twenty years are related to urban regenerations programs and policies designed by the EU or national states, so therefore they are linked to top-down processes.
- social centres falling in the category of social enterprises are closer to an initiative coming from the civil society.
- The new micro-finance institutions are more or less classic enterprise with a better designed social profile.



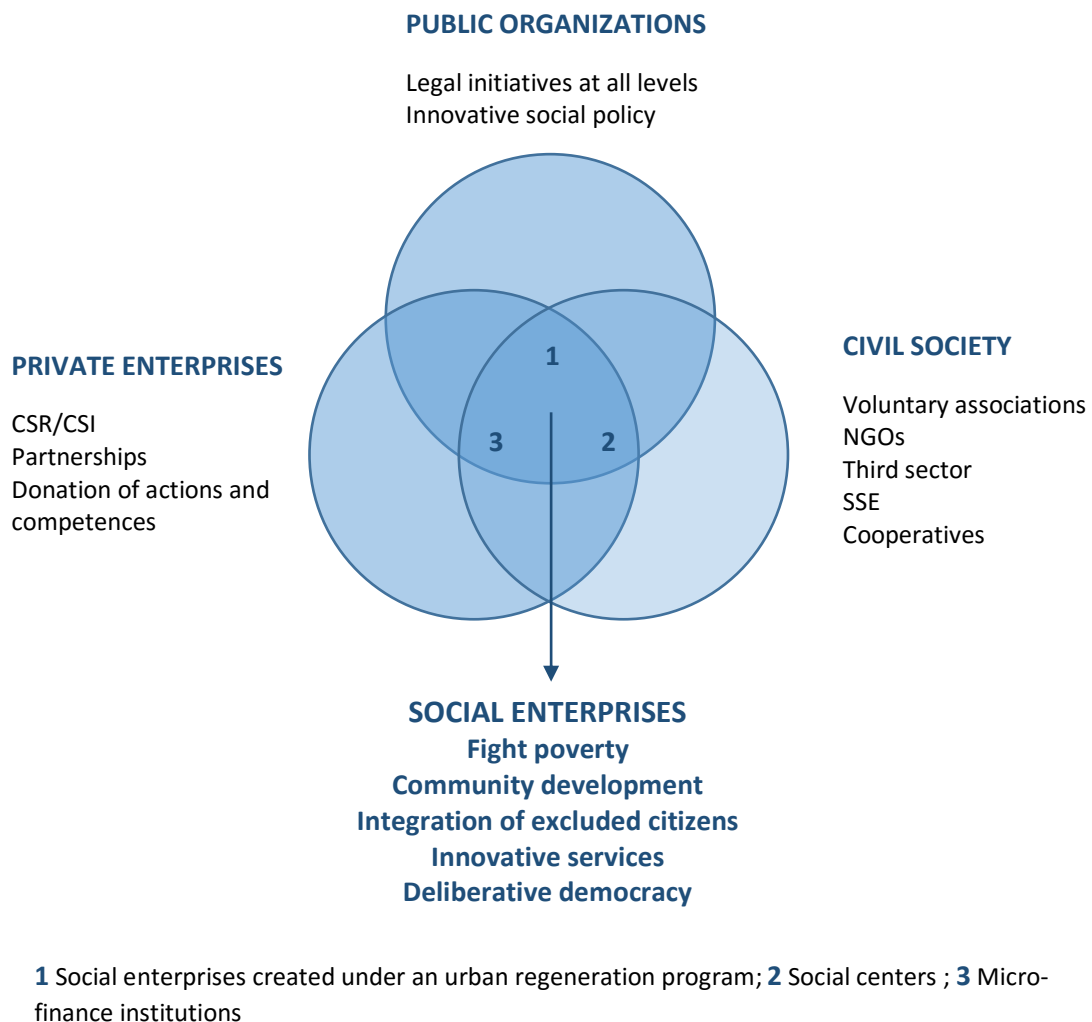


Figure 2: The emergence of hybrid actors (adapted from Hulgard,2010)

The relation between the social enterprise and the civil society, that is to say citizens, is an important relation to investigate. Indeed, social enterprises can be close to communities like associations are. Thus they can be a new effective tool that allows the participation of citizens to the public life. If the social enterprise really aims at impacting the political decision-making process, citizens may be able to participate and feel like exercising their democratic rights to participate to public issues. This way, the main strength of hybrid organizations like social enterprises may be their input for a better democracy, in a context of crisis of the representative democracy.

## 1.2- Modalities of citizens' participation

### 1.2.1- Democracy and citizens' participation. The role of associations

Participation of citizens is said to be at the basis of our democracies but we have to define in what consists this participation. Citizens can participate by voting; it is the fundamental right of a democracy. They elect directly some representatives who themselves can elect other ones. Like this, we set up a representative democracy. Representatives have to justify themselves to citizens since they should accomplish what they have promised to do, the reasons why citizens have voted for them. Nonetheless, one can acknowledge the limits and problems of the representative democracy: citizens can remain deeply unsatisfied with their representatives. Representatives can be considered as too “technocrats” and too far from the aspiration of “normal citizens”. Nonetheless, representative democracy holds thanks to three advantages: representatives are numerous so they have the legitimacy to embody the vision of citizens; secondly, it permits a clear separation of tasks so a better management as some people can be specialized in a field and so be the expert who knows what is best for the territory; and, thirdly, the bureaucracy entailed by the representative democracy assures an equal treatment to all citizens. The issue of the distance between citizens and their representatives can be considered as a reason for the decentralisation as explained at the beginning (see paragraph 1.1.1). Moreover, the direct election of local representatives like the mayor in Italy from 1993 should be a big improvement: citizens can exercise a true democratic control on the person who can influence his everyday life. Nonetheless, the new situation implied by the passage from government to governance can put the mayor in a powerful position when he decides who do what and what we do, as we have already pointed out (see paragraph 1.1.1). As a result, citizens can remain disillusioned by their local representatives too. The actual problem behind representative democracy is that citizenship is designed as a right to consume: citizens are in a passive situation and do not participate at all to the debate of public issues. It is true that some organizations have been created in order to self-organize citizens so they can have an impact: in this regard the work of some associations is remarkable. Nonetheless, public authorities need to give some space to these organizations of the civil society and, more generally, pave the way to a new conception of democracy that puts the participation of citizens at the centre of it.

Indeed, besides the notion of representative democracy, scholars compare to other forms of democracy: the deliberative democracy, the participatory democracy and the radical pluralist democracy (Silver, 2010). These different types of democracy emphasize the importance of participation of citizens but they see it in different ways. The deliberative democracy, obviously, highlights the importance of deliberation: free public deliberation is the basis of the policy debates and ensures the respect and recognition of each citizen. The equal treatment of citizens makes deliberation independent of their social position, own resources and capacities and let space to the expression of pluralism in an inclusive process. In the participative democracy (or even associative democracy as we will see below), the keystone of participation is considered as being more citizens' organizations than the individual citizen himself. Civil society organizations can represent excluded segments of the population. Indeed, deliberative democracy can remain a mirage if the ones who need the most to access deliberation arenas, namely deprived populations, remain excluded from deliberations. Thus civil society organizations can empower citizens and help them exercise their right to participate. Also, they

are considered as actual “schools of democracy” as they can teach civic values and general interest to their active members and therefore build social capital. When one gives importance to local civic organizations, the link with the inputs of community is important to consider. Lowndes acknowledge this importance by emphasizing the link between citizenship and urban politics (Stoker, 1995, p.160). Citizenship, more than an individual passive right, can be seen as the participation in the community. Citizenship carries with it obligations to take part in the development and functioning of the community. So that citizenship does not put citizens as a consumer but as a community participant. Besides, both deliberation and participation help getting things done and are more than “just” providers of democracy. Citizens’ involvement in governance improves public authorities’ efficiency, local knowledge of civil society organizations also participates to this improvement of the efficiency and can overcome public authorities’ weaknesses. This pursuit of consensus is criticized in the radical pluralist democracy which takes into account the downsides of citizens’ participation: games of power are impossible to avoid and the pursuit of equality and inclusiveness in consensus is pointless, the essence of deliberation is to exclude some parts of the population or manipulate it, a remark well summed up in the quotation of Schattschneider: “the flaw in the pluralist heaven is that the heavenly chorus sings with a strong upper-class accent” (Schattschneider, 1960, p. 35). These differences among citizens have to be tackled directly and should not be hidden. Conflict is therefore inevitable but it has to be creative and productive. Radical pluralist democracy can be seen as a critique of the concept of governance: governance allows public authorities to distribute responsibilities among citizens (civic participation) and privates (participation through public-private partnerships) in order to offload their own responsibility and cut expenditures. And like this, public authorities can short-circuit conflicts.

Our study of hybrid organizations is well placed in the participatory democracy as it gives importance to civil society organizations and their contribution to democracy and effectiveness in a co-creation process with public authority. In *Associations and democracy: between theories, hopes, and realities*, Fung conducts a deep analysis of the link between associations and democracy. This analysis applies to our study of hybrid organizations as they may share the characteristics features of associations- which, by the way, remain a very large term that encompasses many different realities. The scholar defends the potential of associations to “revitalize” participatory processes as they can create opportunities for face-to-face relationships between citizens and policy makers. Moreover, in some specific kinds of associations, the actions of member inside the association can have a politic dimension:

*“When a member exercises direct voice over an association’s decisions regarding its purposes, strategies, and actions, the exercise is itself valuable as a social, collective, and potentially political act.[...] In liberal democracies, secondary associations make their own rules of internal governance. When those rules follow participatory democratic principles, associations can indeed provide their members with a measure of participatory democratic experience.”* (Fung, 2003, p.531)

We can acknowledge here the importance of the type of associative structure in order to validate that the association really sustains democracy. Indeed, Fung defines six “paths” through which associations sustain democracy. For the participative democracy, we can

concentrate on two of them: civic socialisation and direct governance. Civic socialisation because the participation of citizens in association can educate them and gives them civic virtues (attention to the public good, habits of cooperation, toleration, respect for others, self-confidence...) and skills (making decisions in meetings and planning them, making presentations and speeches, writing a letter) that will then benefit the democracy. So what type of associations may ensure the best civic socialisation? First, certainly the associations with a horizontal organization which ensures a dense network of face-to-face relationships, organize meetings and hold local activities. More precisely, the ones with a public (opposed to private) purpose, inclusive (opposed to exclusive) membership and with social and civic (opposed to strictly political) missions may have more impact on democracy. Moreover, as Putman and Diamond put it, an association with a democratic functioning may have a lot more impact on democracy: *“If civil society organizations are to function as “large free schools” for democracy [...] they must function democratically in their internal processes”*<sup>1</sup>. (Diamond 1999, p.227). Thus the best form of association to impact citizens’ civic virtues and skills is the one with a democratic functioning. The second path towards democracy that interests us is direct governance. Civil society organizations can truly be seen as an input of local governance and get involved in policy processes, for the sake of democracy but also efficiency. One extreme vision is the one held by the associative democracy with the scholar Hirst who promotes a whole restructuring of the civil society, public and private spheres in order to give a greater role to associations. In his book, *Associative Democracy: New Forms of Economic and Social Governance*, one can read:

*“First that the state should cede functions to such associations, and create the mechanisms of public finance whereby they can undertake them. Second that the means to the creation of an associative order in civil society are built-up, such as alternative sources of mutual finance for associative economic enterprises, agencies that aid voluntary bodies and their personnel to conduct their affairs effectively, and so on. This is [...] intended to be [...] a gradual process of supplementation, proceeding as fast as the commitment to change by political forces, and the capacity to accept tasks by voluntary associations allows”.*(Hirst, 1994, p.20)

We see here the clear reference to the other spheres and the need of a new kind of associations that would have more power (since for example they would gather different sources of financing) and so be able to participate in the local governance.

We can acknowledge the good impact civil society organizations can have on participation and democracy. Now, we need to come back to the necessity of defining better the link between a social enterprise as we have defined it in the previous part and its members. Indeed, not all social enterprises permit the expression of an active citizenship as they do not guarantee a democratic functioning, a compulsory requirement to ensure an adding value for participation and democracy according to the congruence theory of Diamond and Putman.

---

<sup>1</sup> Diamond, 1999

### 1.2.2- The relation between communities and social enterprises

As we have already pointed out previously (see paragraph 1.1.3), the realities behind the umbrella-term “social enterprise” are multiple. We focus our work on a democratic participation of citizens to the local governance as the solution for a renewed democracy. Therefore, it is legitimate to ask ourselves what is the link between democracy and social firms. In other words, which kind of social enterprises –if they exist– does guarantee a democratic participation of citizens to the local governance? The answer is to be found in the nature of the link between a community and a social enterprise. This link will depend on the degree of dependence of the social enterprise to the three types of actors (see paragraph 1.1.1): the social initiatives closer to the civil society are supposed to be more democratic as depending more of the control of citizens. On this subject, social cooperatives seem to be the most democratic expression of social firms. A cooperative is “an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social, and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly –owned and democratically– controlled enterprise”<sup>1</sup>. The main differences that assure the democratic functioning wanted by Diamond and Putman are listed as follows:

- The value of each partner is not measured by his capital but by his implication in the enterprise.
- The access to the co-operative and become a partner is an open process
- The partners are on the board and control the co-operative: their vote do not depend on the capital they own but on the principle “one person one vote”

Public authorities recognize the potential of co-operatives, and in particular social co-operatives, for a renewed democracy and a better active citizenship. Romano Prodi, as President of the European Commission (between 1999 and 2004), stated that what makes co-operatives so special is that they combine an entrepreneurial orientation with the added value as being “schools of participation and active citizenship”, as Fung puts it. Their input is essential to Europe since “participation is at the very heart of European values and we cannot remain passive in the face of its decline”<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, a founder of the European research network EMES about social enterprises, Lars Hulgard, analyses the European tradition about social enterprises and one of the two features that distinguishes it from the American tradition is that of the deep link that associates social enterprises “to the issue of democracy and participation” (Hulgard, 2010, p.15).

Nonetheless, at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, we have seen the rise of social organizations that were deeply rooted in the community, particularly in the United Kingdom. These organizations, true “bottom-up” initiatives, have a deeper link with their community of reference than regular cooperatives can have. Moreover, the democratic participation of citizens is the essence itself of this new type of hybrid organization: members want to have an impact on the welfare of their own community and for this they set an enterprise which puts the community at the very centre. These initiatives have been named “community enterprises” in England. The idea of a “community enterprise” is the co-participation of many different local actors around the project held by the community which has been recognized as mobilizing. It

---

<sup>1</sup> Definition of the ICA, International Co-operative Alliance

<sup>2</sup> Speech of Romano Prodi in Brussels in February 2002 to the European Co-operative Convention.

defines communities of interest, of goals or of practice around a “place-based”<sup>1</sup> dimension which characterizes community enterprises. The input of the community is the continuous learning process and the sharing of common local knowledge which creates an actual identity, a high degree of identification between participants and the community. Thus the community enterprise gathers a complex network of local ties that is inscribed in a dynamic process establishing a shared identity (Melucci, 1996).

Public authorities from some countries, particularly in Europe, have been sensible to the need of accompanying these new structures thanks to a dedicated framework since, as we will see, they can constitute really good partners in general interest projects. We take the example of two of these legal frameworks: the *Société Coopérative d’Intérêt Collectif* in France, part of the social and solidarity economy and the *Community Interest Company* in the United Kingdom.

### 1.2.3- Two examples of legal forms of community enterprises: the SCIC in France and the CIC in the United Kingdom

In France, the *Economie sociale et solidaire* (ESS, social and solidarity economy) is defined as “a participative and place-based economy which aims at addressing social needs that are not fixed by other organizations”. We can notice right here the reference to the territory: this economy is “place-based”: the process is not the one where one start from an idea and then replicate it in order to reach the critical mass and often even overreach it in order to gather more capital. Here the process is to start from the local problem and fix it with a locally-designed solution. Thus, enterprises from the ESS recognize the importance of territories. Symmetrically, territories should recognize this new form of enterprise, that is to say public policy and especially the *Politique de la Ville* –Policy of the City– should take into account the potential of the ESS to fix issues crippling territories. A ministerial convention from 2013<sup>2</sup> between the delegated ministry of the ESS and the delegated ministry of the City recognized the necessity to link the *Politique de la Ville* and the ESS: indeed, they have many in common but in reality they work independently of one another.

The ESS can adopt very different forms depending on the kind of structure that manages projects. The structure that is closer to the argument we are developing is the cooperative with collective interest SCIC (*Société coopérative d’intérêt collectif*). Created in 2001, this new form of enterprise has to satisfy the following features:

- Multistakeholders: the project has to associate different kinds of actors: the beneficiaries (clients, users, inhabitants of the neighbourhood), the employees and the contributors (at least one of these is compulsory: associations, local authorities, private firms and volunteers). The idea is to create a space where all stakeholders can inform, communicate, share and act. For example, in projects really rooted in the territory as exemplified by the reclaim of an abandoned urban space, the direct involvement in the enterprise of local authorities can be an asset. In terms of stakeholders’ involvement,

---

<sup>1</sup> See paragraph 2.1.2, in urban policies of regeneration this controversial concept of « place-based » will even be more important.

<sup>2</sup> Convention d’objectifs pour les quartiers prioritaires 2013/2015 entre le ministre délégué auprès du ministre de l’économie et des finances chargé de l’économie sociale et solidaire et de la consommation et le ministre délégué à la ville.

the SCIC can be seen as the intersection of a classic for-profit enterprise (involvement of all physical or legal person under the private law willing to invest time or money), societies regulating PPP<sup>1</sup> (involvement of legal person under public law), a consumer cooperative (involvement of users and beneficiaries), an association (involvement of volunteers) and a SCOP<sup>2</sup> (involvement of employees)

- Need to satisfy the general features of cooperatives namely the democratic governance “one person equals one vote”
- Have for purpose the production of goods or services of collective interest that presents a social utility

It is probably the unique status in France that can integrate so easily local authorities and volunteering in an organization that, although coming under a social utility, remains a commercial activity as well.

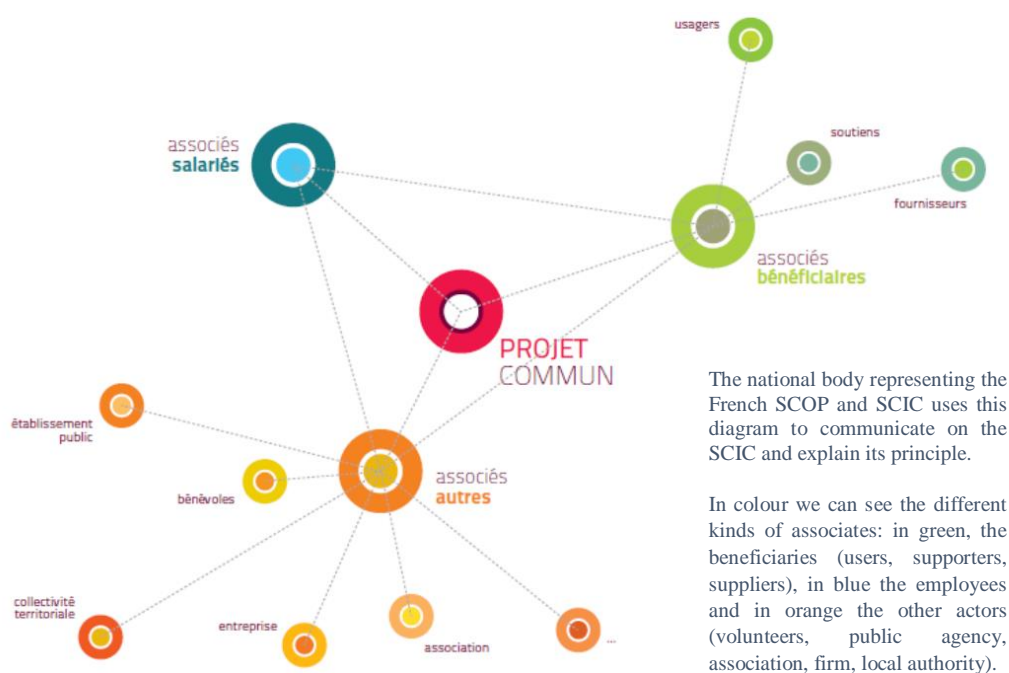


Figure 3: Block diagram summarising the diversity of multi-stakeholders in a SCIC (taken on the website [www.les-scic.coop](http://www.les-scic.coop))

Since their creation in 2001, the SCIC have had less success than expected and less than the SCOP, another form of cooperative that acts only for the interest of the employees and not for a collective interest. The SCIC might need more support from local authorities in order to be really effective and attractive. Indeed, one thought that people would use this new tool for civic entrepreneurship rooted on their own territory, *the banlieues* –the suburbs– for example, but this reasoning may rely too much on the endogenous and not enough in the need of many exogenous incentives. The same report of 2013 (see third note p.19) admits this failure but still thinks that this structure is the right one to fix social issues, especially in deprived neighbourhood.

<sup>1</sup> PPP: Public and Private Partnership

<sup>2</sup> SCOP is another legal status for enterprises in France : Société Coopérative et Participative whose capital and decision is held by employees

In the UK, we can find a similar structure under the name *CIC Community Interest Company*, really similar in the name to the French SCIC. If this represents a legal form of enterprise, it is also called in an unformal way more centred in the function than on the legal structure: *community enterprise*. As for the SCIC, we need to underline the diversity of these structures but they share the same precise and concise idea as the SCIC: have an economic development strongly rooted in the territory, with in the case of the community enterprise a huge emphasis on the community part. Community enterprises share the following characteristics:

- The enterprise is community-led which means that it can be endorsed, or simply engage directly, with local people
- The lead partner is a charity, a social enterprise, not-for-profit or a cooperative organization
- The enterprise benefits a specific geographical area and aims at answering a local social and economic need or opportunity

This kind of structure is deeply rooted in the local and has more examples –compared to SCIC in France– of initiatives acting on urban regeneration and the provision of local services benefiting the local welfare. Indeed, a special subsystem called Community Development Trust (CDT) has been created to gather all the community enterprises answering a need of spaces and local services. The CDT develop their activity around the provision of spaces for work (co-working spaces for example), commercial activities (local production markets for example), welfare and sport, education and professional formation, social services for disadvantaged populations (old people and disabled). They share with the SCIC the multi-stakeholder dimension and the civic entrepreneurship that should bring solutions to deprived neighbourhoods. An example in the field of urban regeneration is provided paragraph 2.3 with the Westway Development Trust.



### 1.3- The rise of the *cooperative di comunità* in Italy

#### 1.3.1- Defining the *cooperative di comunità*

The two examples in the paragraph 1.2.3 have shown how some European countries have decided to promote a new kind of social enterprises (and of social cooperatives in particular) where the link with the community and the territory is emphasized. With this kind of social enterprises, the relation with the community is crucial and entails that often this new kind of enterprise is a bottom-up initiative where the concept of social entrepreneurship takes on full meaning. The entrepreneur acts like a citizen and vice versa.

In Italy, there is not yet a legal status for this kind of social firms but it does not prevent from observing throughout the country a vivid debate on the project. Some years ago, we can acknowledge the emergence of the concept with some authors using the expression “*impresa sociale di comunità*” (Cottino and Zandonai, 2012, p.11), “*impresa con forte radicamento comunitario*” (Cottino and Zandonai, 2012, p.11). The following citations are relevant of the rising interest of Italian scholars for the link between community and social firms:

- “social firms with strong ties to a community can intervene more efficiently in processes whose goals are of the “general interest” in a precise territorial context. [...] The entire governance system of social enterprises, as a whole, can be redesigned like an actual communitarian coalition” (Cottino and Zandonai, 2012, p.11).
- “the local development and community development and the evolution of non-profit organization in the sense of entrepreneurship” (Borzaga, Zandonai, 2013, p.6)

LEGACOOOP, in 2011, gave a first definition to what is called the *cooperative di comunità*: “First of all, a *cooperativa di comunità* needs to have an explicit social goal that produces benefits for a community, partners have to be part of this community or at least consider to be part of it. These goals should be reached through the production of goods or services that will impact on the fundamental aspects of the social and economic quality of life of the community. Therefore, the typology of the cooperative does not count that much compared to the goal of improving the living conditions of the reference community. [...] The cooperative needs to be a collective initiative, i.e. promoted by a group of citizens that participates to the cooperative as users or makers in order to contribute to the growth of the community” (LEGACOOOP, 2011, p.7). We already see here the huge emphasis on the community: the emphasis is not anymore on the type of activity (as it happens in the consumers’ cooperative) but on the goal, very general, of the economic and social quality of life of the community. Since this date, many Italian organization, groups of researchers contributed to the debate of the *cooperative di comunità*. This rising interest is not due to the novelty of the concept. Indeed, the concept has already been used but it was restricted to a narrow panel of activities. Indeed, the production of energy and the water supply can be called the historical activities of the *cooperative di comunità* in Italy. But today, the concept opens itself to a whole new range of sectors. These sectors just need to rediscover and exploit territorial resources that can be tangible (dismissed areas, cultural heritage, local culture) and intangibles (human capital). Thus, the *cooperative di comunità* can be multisector and combine all the activities that can serve the benefit of the reference community.

EURICSE, a European network of research on social cooperatives and enterprises, has released in June 2016 a White Paper on the communitarian cooperation, this paper gathers the views and opinions of the main Italian researchers in this field of study<sup>1</sup>. Thus the definition delivered in the paper might be the most up-to-date one and also the most concise:

“According to us, the *cooperativa di comunità* could be defined as a firm that verifies the following features:

- It is a firm: it can produce goods or services through a continuous and stable process, including goods of “common” property or of public property and allocate them in a way that guarantees their sustainability.
- It is a cooperative: owned and managed, entirely or for the main part, by people (partners) in the basis of inclusive and democratic principles
- It is rooted in a community: its objective is the improvement of the living capacity of a local community, residents of a territory as well as a group of people that share the same values, culture, interests, resources or projects
- It is opened: all members of the community can access the provided goods or services.
- It is a long-term construction since it is asset-locked: the assets acquired by the initiative cannot be redistributed among partners. This makes the communitarian enterprise intergenerational and inalienable”. (EURICSE, 2016, p.32-33)

We find in this definition all the principles encountered until this point of the paper. Nonetheless, two elements are new. First, the meaning of “community” is developed: it can be geographical or depends on the same interest: the difference between community of place and community of interests is precised but does not intervene in the definition of a *cooperativa di comunità*. Secondly, the asset-lock puts the *cooperativa di comunità* on a long-term footing and makes it depend on long temporalities.

Three typologies of *cooperativa di comunità* comes with the definition and give us a more explicit idea of what a *cooperativa di comunità* does:

- **Production or management of goods or services of general interest for the community**  
In this field, the actors can be the user cooperatives and other social cooperatives: The first ones for an alternative to the insufficiencies of the public administration in many sectors (alternative and renewable energies, transport, telecommunications); The second ones for social services often considered by investors as not profitable.
- **Management and valorisation of public or private goods and infrastructures** It deals with firms involved in the regeneration and the requalification of real estate resources and abandoned or underused spaces. These new available spaces are used to create services for the community according to the specificities of the territory.
- **Management of activities and interventions for the local economic development**  
In this case, the *cooperativa di comunità* acts like an “agent of the local development”: the cooperative designs a development strategy for the territory with the involvement of all local actors. The cooperative is responsible for the good use

---

<sup>1</sup> Carlo Borzaga, Jacopo Sforzi, Flaviano Zandonai, Riccardo Bodini and Pierangelo Mori. The lector can find in the bibliography the articles and books used to make this work for each of these authors

of participative democracy and for the good development of community's interests. We find here the transformation processes of deprived neighbourhood through economic development, the relaunch of the local entrepreneurship, the valorisation of the local production.

We gather this classification in the following table:

Typologies of <i>cooperative di comunità</i>	Production or management of general interest services for the community	Management and valorisation of public or private goods and infrastructures	Management of activities and interventions for the local economic development
Role of the <i>cooperative di comunità</i>	Providers of public services and social services not profitable enough for regular investors	Managers of underused or dismissed spaces	Agent of local development
Examples of fields of action	Alternative and renewable energies, transportation, telecommunications	Wide range of services settled in these areas (bar, cultural space...)	Revitalization of deprived neighbourhoods, relaunch of entrepreneurship, valorisation of the local production

Figure 4: Typologies of *cooperative di comunità* (author's elaboration)

The urban regeneration processes that we study in the second part of this work can be located under the last two typologies. Indeed, as we will acknowledge, some new kind of social enterprises, owned and managed by citizens through bottom-up processes, are intervening in the acquisition of dismissed areas (and we will see the tools they use to achieve it) in order to put some new local services (mainly cultural and social). Through this process, some initiatives can be considered as agent of local development as they succeed in mobilizing all the local forces of the territory.

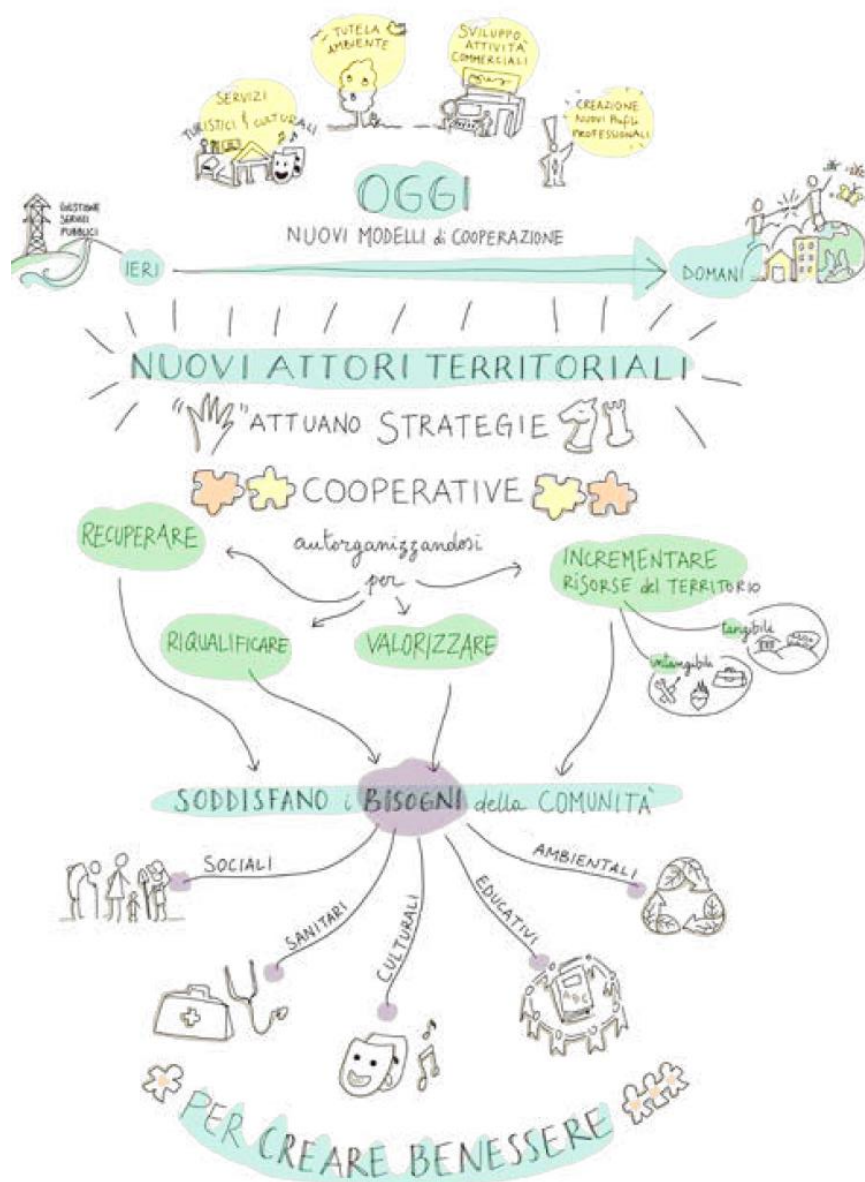


Figure 5: Concept of the cooperative di comunità (taken from EURICSE, 2016, Libro bianco)

### 1.3.2- The Italian policy framework for the *cooperative di comunità*

As the phenomenon of *cooperative di comunità* remains new, it is difficult to provide an actual policy framework for this new kind of actor. We can only define some guidelines that should orientate the work of policy designers and more generally the debate between all kinds of actors. The design of a proper policy framework will take time as the actors to mobilize by nature for hybrid organizations, are multiple. It will suppose the mobilization of many levels of public authorities (European, national, regional, municipal) to provide the best accompanying.

Nonetheless, since 2014, some regions in Italy are aware of the need of a legal framework to promote communitarian cooperation. Among them, some laws are even using explicitly the term of *cooperative di comunità*. As we will focus on the city of Milan, we can mention the law L.n. 36/2015 “*Nuove norme per la cooperazione in Lombardia*”. We can find some interesting

elements linked to our words and showing that things are moving and local authorities are more and more aware of the existence of hybrid organizations:

- In the eleventh article of the law, the term “*cooperative di comunità*” appears, understood as “cooperatives that promote the participation of citizens to the supply of public services, even local ones, and of public interest, through the valorisation and management of common goods (as exemplified by health, culture, environment, education) or the collective acquisition of general interest goods and services”.
- In the fifth article, the Region tackles the issue of acquisition of assets, physical spaces in particular (the part that we will be more interested in as we focus on urban regeneration). The Region sustains the acquisition of infrastructures needed by the management of public services.

Besides, some important elements are not evoked and might raise some issues and obstacles on the path of development of the communitarian cooperation. Indeed, compared to the study of SCIC in France and CIC in the United Kingdom, two main points are missing:

- There is no reference to the mode of governance of the organization: there is no constraint about stakeholders and in particular about the necessity to have a multi-stakeholder governance. Therefore, the participation of different actors from the community’s partners, like associations, foundations, municipalities, is not framed.
- There is no asset-lock, putting at risk the pursuit of a long-term general interest by the *cooperative di comunità*.
- There is no mention of the necessity of a non-discriminatory access to the provided goods and services.

Otherwise, despite these lacks in the regional laws, municipalities –and in particular metropolitan cities like Milan– can adopt a few guidelines in order to accompany the development of communitarian cooperation. In the context of a good collaborative governance (see paragraph 1.1.2), it is not only a matter of policy design but also of good practices in order to work in a collaborative manner with citizens. To this matter, we can distinguish two kinds of levers of action. A first type aims at accompanying the existing spontaneous bottom-up processes auto-organizing local communities. A second type focuses on the establishment of the local conditions necessary for the emergence of bottom-up processes like the *cooperative di comunità*.

For the first kind of policies, more direct, the challenge is to define how to facilitate the transformation of existing bottom-up processes towards an actual *cooperativa di comunità*. For example, how to identify and guide an association with a high social impact and a more limited economic power which could be more economically efficient, more ambitious developing the most appropriate structure for its organization. In this way, we can make sure to fully exploit the “hybrid potential” of the organization that can have a high social impact on the community and, at the same time, use all the benefits of an economic activity.

Nevertheless, the second type of policies, more undirect, is absolutely necessary. Indeed, it is not sure that this kind of bottom-up innovation even exists. Indeed, the risk is to take these bottom-up processes for granted as if the population has still the capacity to initiate

a self-organized structure. This is particularly true in deprived neighbourhoods where citizens do have less opportunities and less capacities for self-organization. Thus, here is the issue: should the benefits of *cooperative di comunità* and all the public effort that may accompany their development be circumscribed to neighbourhoods that already know how to organize, with a deeper sense of civic involvement or entrepreneurship? Obviously that does not seem fair, that's why public authorities need to follow at the same time a second guideline which explores the conditions, the good factors that imply the emergence of a communitarian entrepreneurship spirit and eventually of a *cooperativa di comunità*. For this second guideline, we completely fall in the field of public planning and specifically local development as it implies the study of the territory at a local scale, its resources and existing institutions. How to involve all the actors of a territory in order to exploit the territorial capital existing in all communities? In which ways should the municipality play its role of facilitator? How to design programs targeting the improvement of local stakeholders' involvement and self-organizational capacity? These are the questions that each study field should tackle, urban regeneration in particular. And the answer is not easy to find: some policies have been designed during the 90s in order to promote local development and the involvement of local actors through a horizontal cooperation, in line with the decentralization we referred to. These policies aimed at accompanying this new possibility for concertation and for cooperation. Nonetheless, the results were really mitigated due to two main reasons according to researchers: the management of this new kind of processes was highly complex (many different tools and fields to be articulated to set up an affective project) and the process of decentralisation was not accompanied by a decentralisation of the financing system.

In the last 20 years, the European Commission have tried to favour the development of local initiatives and to remind the importance of communit-led initiatives. Some programmes may have found a certain success: the LEADER programme<sup>1</sup> gave birth to interesting projects in deprived rural areas. However, these were too punctual: once the project finished it seemed that the good forces left the territory: there was no long-term activation of local forces. Things may have changed thanks to the European money but not thanks to an exploitation of local resources. The problem is that local structures should function alone and thus should be helped to exist in a long-term perspective. For this matter, the big advantage of community enterprises is to deeply and directly imply local actors. More recently, the Community-led Local Development programme (CLLD) applies the LEADER method to deprived urban areas and focuses even more on the innovation coming from communities. According to the European Commission, the CLLD will:

- “encourage local communities to develop integrated bottom-up approaches in circumstances where there is a need to respond to territorial and local challenges calling for structural change;

---

<sup>1</sup> The LEADER programme (an acronym in French meaning links between actions for the development of the rural economy) is designed to support rural development projects initiated at the local level to revitalize rural areas. LEADER I ran from 1991 to 1993, LEADER II from 1994 to 1999, and LEADER+ from 2000 to 2006. In the current programming period (2014-2020), the LEADER method has been extended to urban areas under the Community-led Local Development (CLLD) programme.

- build community capacity and stimulate innovation (including social innovation), entrepreneurship and capacity for change by encouraging the development and discovery of untapped potential from within communities and territories;
- promote community ownership by increasing participation within communities and build the sense of involvement and ownership that can increase the effectiveness of EU policies;
- assist multi-level governance by providing a route for local communities to fully take part in shaping the implementation of EU objectives in all areas”.

The three first goals are strictly related to our considerations as they develop the three ideas of encouraging bottom-up processes, developing social innovation entrepreneurship and designing new modalities of citizens’ involvement and participation.

### 1.3.3- Some concrete levers of action

Keeping the same distinction between measures that act directly or indirectly on the development of community cooperatives, we can classify the most relevant recommendations from the EURICSE’s *Libro Bianco* for our study.

Concerning the “direct” measure, that is to say the empowerment of existing structures (associations, charities, cooperatives) that develop an activity close to the principles of the *cooperative di comunità*, it includes:

- The necessity of launching innovative experimentations in urban contexts. These pilot-initiatives must have the capacity to individuate good development processes of communitarian entrepreneurship.
- The identification of actors who accompany the development of the *cooperative di comunità*, particularly in order to increase management abilities as projects are highly complex as explained above.

Concerning the “indirect” measures, aiming at facilitating forms of local participation that will eventually lead to the emergence of communitarian entrepreneurship, especially in deprived neighbourhoods, the EURICSE’s suggestions which are:

- The recognition and strengthening of citizens’ participation in the *cooperative di comunità*, its adding-value for social ties and local democracy.
- The reform of territorial governance tools (like public and private partnerships) in order to recognize the *cooperative di comunità* as an actual partner in policy design and not just in implementation processes. This involvement can be understood on the model of the English Development Trust (see as example the requalification of the area under an elevated motorway in London, paragraph 2.3).
- Introduce new status that would allow bottom-up initiative to receive funding from very different sources and manage them easily (as for the CIC and the SCIC, paragraph 1.2.3).

In both cases, one measure that can serve the development of communitarian entrepreneurship in urban regeneration is the facilitation of asset transfers in favour of communitarian initiatives.



## II. *Cooperative di comunità* and urban regeneration policies

The first part of this work has attached importance to the establishment of basic concepts about the hybrid organizations of social entrepreneurship. In particular, the notion of the *cooperative di comunità* has been specified and especially its potential as a self-organized democratic participation of citizens. In the paragraph 1.3.2, we started adopting an urban focus when talking about neighbourhoods and urban planning. The object of the second part of this work is to consider this urban approach in details. We will give attention to a rising field of interest for social entrepreneurship and therefore a field where the potential of the *cooperative di comunità* can be exploited: urban regeneration.

In the first section, we will see what can be the points of convergence, in Italy, between projects and programs of urban regenerations and initiatives coming under a process of social entrepreneurship. These points of convergence might be the trigger point towards social innovation in urban regeneration projects. The second section will review two Italian initiatives as good practices of social enterprises working in urban regeneration processes and close to being *cooperative di comunità*. The first one is the *Bollenti Spiriti* initiative that, despite its top-down starting as the program is promoted by the public administration, was the trigger point to the rise of bottom-up expressions. The second one is *Via Baltea* initiative in Turin that can be considered as a good example of a *cooperativa di comunità* in urban regeneration in Italy. The third section will go to show the example of a very successful English community enterprise acting in urban regeneration. This work will be the basis for the field study of related initiatives in Milan in the third part.

### 2.1- Points of convergence of urban regeneration programs and social enterprises projects.

#### 2.1.1. Defining urban regeneration and the point of convergence with social entrepreneurship

The term “urban regeneration” comes from the United Kingdom where it designated at first the large public urban redevelopment programs in deprived urban areas. These developments supposed a physical renovation of physical assets (dismissed buildings, under-used areas ...) associated with ambitious economic policies aiming at attracting new businesses for example. Today, this terminology has still quite a success and labels the urban transformations of deprived neighbourhood through an involvement of many different actors. Cottino well summarizes the definition of urban regeneration programs:

*“urban regeneration policies need to be understood as the management of processes aiming at establishing new connections between different constitutive elements of the urban reality –in particular between those which constitutes the hardware (physical assets, environment, spaces) and the software (social and economic factors, immaterial, ...)-, by matching some resources and the available elements (spaces but not only) that*

*would sustain new modes of living in the territory and would guarantee the feasibility”*  
(Cottino, 2012, p.9)

Thus, urban regeneration is conceptualized more as a process than a result. Indeed, even providing a good plan upstream, it is necessary to activate a process of mobilization of local resources and local actors. That is the only way to establish new perspectives of sustainable development and to put it in the long run. As we will see in Claudio Calvaresi’s interview (see part III.), we need to insert “time” inside the list of variables: the only manner is to create synergies among existing local forces.

We can individuate three guidelines that summarize the challenges of every urban regeneration development:

- The analysis of the territorial contest: the way we approach the territory and the state of mind can impact the whole process. The case of the peripheries is relevant: for many years the approach was the one of “needs”, “issues”, “obstacles” rather than a more entrepreneurial approach with words like “project”, “potential”, “local resources”. The adding value of social entrepreneurship could be the good mix between “bottom-up” and “top-down” that will give place to improvisation and situations that no technocrats have thought about upstream.
- The functions that physical spaces can develop: when we talk about urban regeneration, it very often implies a physical space that needs to be renovated and a function that should be allocated to this newly available space. Beyond the final decision and the outcome, what is most interesting is the process itself. Indeed, the availability of an empty space in the city does constitute a big opportunity for the development of the local community, more than a simple program. Space has this very special power to mobilize people since it can easily be grasped by a wide part of the population. It is transparent. It makes clear what is at stake. It is the perfect place for experimentation, for a *laissez-faire* in order to empower local citizens and make them exercise their active citizenship. For this, the territory needs to be capable of welcoming the participation and again, hybrid organization might be the best expression.
- The modalities of activation of resources to make the project feasible: since an urban regeneration project often implies real estate assets and/or lands, the research and the management of resources may be more difficult than in any other general interest service. The challenge is first to identify the resources that are available in the territory. “Resources” do not only mean financial resources. Indeed, deprived neighbourhoods often have non-financial resources that should be recognized as crucial for the feasibility of the project. Like this, an organization managing urban regeneration should have the tools that would allow it to build complex contribution schemes, in particular financial ones.

Within this point of view, we understand better and easier how social entrepreneurship will be located inside urban regeneration programs since the *cooperative di comunità* are precisely emphasizing the potential of participation of communities. The participation through

entrepreneurship is one manner but still favours the mobilization of local resources. The *cooperative di comunità* could constitute a new space that could host the mobilization of different actors around, for example, the reuse of spaces. Thus, the *cooperative di comunità* truly become place-based democratic enterprises.

### 2.1.2-The existing Italian non-profit organizations working in urban regeneration

We want to provide in this part a more concrete approach to the involvement of non-profit organizations in urban regeneration processes. More specifically, we explore the importance of the phenomenon in Italy and in Milan concerning the acquisition and management of real estate assets for social goals. To this purpose, we exploit a set of data extracted from the databases of the Italian national institute of statistics ISTAT.

From 2001 to 2011, we acknowledge a rise in the number of non-profit organizations with a variation of 28%. Meanwhile, the number of public and private organizations has remained stable. Therefore, there is an indisputable increase of interest towards non-profit organizations in Italy. Nonetheless, as we have already noted in the first part of this work, the non-profit sector is broad and diversified: we need to identify some subsectors that contribute to the urban regeneration. The entry of the classification made by ISTAT that get closer to the principles of urban regeneration is “economic development and social cohesion”. It is quite a small part of all the organization non-profit (see fig. 6) with 3.3% of the total amount, but still a dynamic sector: we acknowledge an increase of organizations of 72% which is really high compared to the increase of 28% for all the non-profit organizations. This takes place in the best sectorial performance.

culture, sport and recreation 0,57	social assistance and civil protection 0,10		education and research 0,09	
	trade-union representation 0,06	economic dvlpmt & social cohesion 0,03	politics activity 0,03	
		international cooperation 0,02	env. 0,02	religi on 0,02
	health 0,04	philanthropy 0,02		

Figure 6: Field categories of non-profit organizations made by ISTAT and their importance in the metropolitan city of Milan (author's elaboration)

Besides, in this category, the ISTAT distinguishes three sub-categories that are: promotion of economic development and social cohesion, care of housing assets, working insertion. All these three categories can directly contribute or not to the urban regeneration processes: directly

in the case of the promotion of social cohesion and care of housing assets, indirectly for working insertion that are often one of the multiple dimensions of an activity of urban regeneration (we will acknowledge it for the initiatives interviewed in the third part of this work).

Moreover, this category has the highest concentration of non-profit entrepreneurship which is normal since urban regeneration processes requires the capacity to manage complex developments: social cooperatives represent half of the total (see fig.7) and only 3.7% of all non-profit organizations (we adopt here a national scale for more relevant figures). Nonetheless, we can notice the huge presence of social cooperatives for the sub-category of “working insertion” and the almost absence of them for the two first categories that are more (because directly) related to urban regeneration.

	Recognized associations	Non-recognized associations	Social cooperatives	Foundations	Others	Total
Promotion of economic development and social cohesion	704	2 033	129	111	257	3 234
Care of housing assets	44	147	8	19	20	238
Working insertion	128	2 484	3 654	151	293	7458

Figure 7: Economic development and social cohesion: legal forms (author's elaboration)

Finally, we can also acknowledge the importance of social capital for the category (see fig.8) as the three sub-categories rely on a diversified workforce, included a huge importance of volunteers, especially for the two first categories directly related to urban regeneration (almost 90% of the total workforce for both categories).

	employees	external	temporary	volunteers
Promotion of economic development and social cohesion	3 639	2 137	73	39 760
Care of housing assets	172	65	2	2 081
Working insertion	69 824	5 502	323	15 896

Figure 8: Economic development and social cohesion: social capital (author's elaboration)

These results are not as convincing as we would like to but they show that, if the importance of non-profit in urban regeneration in Italy is quite low, we have to keep in mind that, as said, the sector remains one of the most dynamic one. Also, this analysis is very partial as there is no “urban regeneration” category. In fact, urban regeneration is a complex field that gathers different realities and modes of action. Therefore, some initiatives among the ISTAT categories can be part of an actual urban regeneration development. For example, some organizations of the wide category of “culture, sport and recreation” (57% of the total) might be a regeneration

process where the cultural part is so important that the initiative was listed in this category and not in the “promotion of economic development and social cohesion” one.

### 2.1.2- Avenues of work for the convergence of social entrepreneurship and urban regeneration. Place-based debate.

In order to set a draft of guidelines aiming at the convergence of social entrepreneurship and urban regeneration, we can adopt the more general set of interventions as we did before (see paragraph 1.3.3) and apply it to the specificity of urban policies and regeneration programs. Therefore, we distinguish between measures that will act on existing non-profit organizations so they have more adapted tools to respond to urban regeneration issues and measures that act on the conditions for the emergence of bottom-up initiatives acting for the regeneration of some parts of a neighbourhood through the creation of community enterprises, the *cooperative di comunità*.

In both cases, one measure that can serve the development of communitarian entrepreneurship in urban regeneration is the facilitation of asset transfers in favour of communitarian initiatives, particularly for public buildings and public spaces (dismissed buildings, underused lots). Municipalities could identify those structures, regenerate them to make them usable and make a call for initiatives to fill these newly available spaces with local innovative services. This strategy would be part of a general place-based urban regeneration policy but the place-based approach is highly controversial in Italy and in Europe in general. The *cooperative di comunità* in urban regeneration, being by nature the result of a place-based vision as we already named “place-based enterprises” (see paragraph 1.2.2), strongly participate to the promotion and development of place-based policy. Nonetheless, there is no evidence that the territorial focus is more efficient than domain or sector-based policies.<sup>1</sup> An area-based intervention could logically be an efficient way to address local-specific issues and boost the economic situation of deprived neighbourhoods. However, the focus on neighbourhood can make little sense in some situations where there is not such a “neighbourhood effect” and that it does not demonstrate that a critical representation of the target population does exist. For cities in which there is not a high and clear division of neighbourhoods, the place-based approach may happen to be a lot less efficient and adapted. Another risk of such a place-based approach is the clear stigmatisation of some neighbourhoods and of some their residents which can even feel disconnected from this top-down interest and not treated as fairly as other citizens. In the worst situation, it can raise important local social conflict as different categories of population may have to compete to access resources, support and funds.

---

<sup>1</sup> VAN GENT (W.P.C) (et al) (2009), *Disentangling neighbourhood problems: Area-based interventions in Western European cities*, Urban Research and Practice, Vol. 2, p. 53-67, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group

## 2.2- Two good Italian practices

### 2.2.1- Puglia region: *Laboratori urbani* and *Bollenti spiriti*

The program of *Laboratori Urbani* (2006-2010) launched by the Puglia Region might be one of the most ambitious and successful policies –throughout Italy– supporting initiatives that could be defined as *imprese sociali di comunità*. The program was ambitious by its dimensions: 54 million euros have been invested in total over the period 2006-2010, 151 buildings were requalified, 169 municipalities were involved, 71 projects for *imprese di comunità* were being financed, 100,000 sqm. of reused spaces are affected by these initiatives. The project has been financed by the fund CIPE-FAS<sup>1</sup> of the Ministry of the Economy and the Ministry of Youth Policies up to 44 million euros and co-financed by the involved municipalities of up to 10 million euro.

First, the Region has individuated and requalified the dismissed spaces (suggested by each municipality). Then, via a public call for bids, these available spaces have been assigned to organizations (firms, cooperatives, associations, temporary groups of organization gathering together) that verify the conditions of the *vademecum* decided by the Region. A quarter of the assessment of the projects is made upon the criteria of “the rooting in the territory (users’ catchment area of the *Laboratorio*) and the capacity to involve and animate the local associative, youth and cultural systems, directly or in collaboration, in the activities and services held in the space.” To this purpose, each local network individuated non-profit organizations (associations, ONLUS<sup>2</sup>, religious organizations, foundations, cooperatives) interested in using the *Laboratori*. For each initiative, the redaction of an executive plan (*Piano Esecutivo di Gestione*) was compulsory and this process of redaction was constrained by the *vademecum*: all the actors of the previously identified local network have to be part of the plan.

The same *vademecum* defines some standard for each project in order to keep a general strategy. Among others, we can find some points related to our thesis:

- Services targeting the local youth community: the initiative has to get round a need of the local youth community (lack of a service, better supply of some goods...)
- Regular public meetings
- Welcome of local activities: neighbourhood meetings, public conferences, seminars, workshops, party for self-financing held by local associations
- Incubation of micro-entrepreneurship activities: aiming at transforming activities of associations and volunteering in actual local entrepreneurship activities.

One good practice falling under this program is the creation of a social enterprise in the *Laboratorio Urbano Ex-Fadda* in *San Vito dei Normanni*. A group of six local organizations –

---

<sup>1</sup> The CIPE (*Comitato Interministeriale per la programmazione economica*) is a national organism of the Italian government. The FAS (*Fondo per le aree sottoutilizzate*, Fund for underused areas), now named the FCS (*Fondo per lo Sviluppo e la Coesione*, Fund for Development and Cohesion), is the financial tool for the underused areas of Italy.

<sup>2</sup> ONLUS (Organizzazione Non Lucrativa di Utilità Sociale) is an Italian status for associations, created in 1997, and stands for non-profit organization with a social purpose.



five cultural associations and a private firm working in communication— has done a huge work of urban regeneration and most of all of mobilization of local actors. They started by opening a nursery school and a coffee shop. But thanks to the acquisition of new spaces through the program of *Bollenti Spiriti*, they had the possibility to increase their activity. They opened a participative self-construction process in which 100 volunteers of the local network participated. The *Ex-Fadda* activated in the dismissed spaces thirty realities: micro-entrepreneurship, associations and informal groups in a wide range of fields (local development, photography, music, arts, drama, new technologies, handcrafts, events, sport, social agriculture). The social enterprise has a threefold goal:

- The bottom-up process of regeneration with co-design sessions and self-construction process
- The activation of local non-profit organizations
- The local community building which aims at creating horizontal links between users and providers, managers and citizens.

The governance of the social enterprise is made by a board composed of representatives from the associations and the private firm which initiated the *Laboratorio*. It is responsible for it. The *vademecum* imposed by the Region restrains the rights of the private firm and obliges the reinvestment of all the benefits in the asset of the *impresa di comunità*. This is a good illustration of the necessity of hybrid organizations that should be capable of gathering different realities: different actors with different legal forms, different tools for participation, different ways of financing. The *Ex-Fadda* inside the *Bollenti Spiriti* program is one of this institutional set up (in a good sense of it) capable of taking advantage of all the innovative features coming under different inputs: innovative legal ties the *vademecum* of the Region, innovative ways to involve citizens with the participative self-construction process, innovative way to see the intervention of a private firm.

The *Bollenti Spiriti* program still exists today and has grown in size with the launch of many other initiatives: Principi Attivi (from 2008), Laboratori dal Basso (2013-2014), Scuola Bollenti Spiriti (from 2014) ...



Figure 9: Illustrations for the Ex-Fadda  
on the left: a public meeting held in the requalified space of the Ex-Fadda and on the right: an on-going co-construction process with local residents in the Ex-Fadda (picture taken from their website).

### 2.2.2- City of Turin: *Via Baltea - Laboratorio di Barriera*

*Via Baltea - Laboratori di Barriera* is a space in the city of Turin that hosts numerous different activities for the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. In a former printing shop, the services are hosted in a 900 sqm space and consist in a coffee shop, a social bar, a kitchen club, a co-working office, a bakery, the jazz school of Turin, a space for drama activities, a research centre studying community building, a free space for local inhabitants and local associations that can exchange on new innovative projects and form new ties. The global aim of the managers of this hybrid space is clear: they want to succeed in “integrating commercial and productive activities with a particular attention to local social impact and the auto-production of social links in the neighbourhood”.

The space is located in the neighbourhood *Barriera di Milano* in the city of Turin. It is located in the north of the city, 10 km from the historical centre. It is a former industrial neighbourhood that has to face an urban functional requalification and a regeneration of its physical assets. As a neighbourhood situated in the periphery of a large city, it suffers from the related social problems (delinquency, unemployment...).

The space is managed by a consortium:

- a cooperative, *Sumisura s.c. risorse per l'ambiente e la città*, working in urban regeneration and local development.
- a social cooperative, *Art.4*, acting to the working insertion of disadvantaged populations.
- an association working in social promotion *Sumisura*

They collaborate with about twenty local associations and social cooperatives working in diverse fields such as alternative energies, housing, local development.

The importance of local impact, the fact that the initiative provides local services for citizens, its democratic management and the direct involvement of local actors make it an actual *impresa di comunità*. Moreover, its success and its importance in size explain why it is considered as a reference for Italian cities.



Figure 10: Illustrations of Via Baltea  
on the left: the bar of Via Baltea and on the right: the space of the courtyard exploited as an opportunity for local meeting and exchanges between residents, users and managers (pictures taken from their website).



### 2.3- The Westway Development Trust in London<sup>1</sup>

Westway Development Trust was set up in 1971 for community benefit to develop the land left derelict when the A40 Westway elevated motorway was built through West London. Westway Development Trust works to benefit the diverse local community through a huge range of projects and initiatives in areas as varied as school sports, services for ethnic minority communities and adult education. Westway Development Trust may be the most advanced and successful community enterprise working in urban regeneration.

As for many initiatives of this kind, the initial trigger was a conflict (see also in part III the programme developed in Milan). In the case of the Westway Development Trust, the contestation following the construction of the elevated highway was massive. Indeed, the construction of the highway envisaged the demolition of 600 dwellings and the transfer of 2,500 inhabitants in a neighbourhood in an already deprived situation (one of the worst in London with a high rate of immigration). The highway would eventually aggravate this situation with air and noise pollution.

After four years of contestation, different protestation committees created the North Kensington Amenity Trust, first name of the WDT. The Trust received from the Ministry of Transportation about 100,000 sqm of spaces under the highway. In order to decide what functions to put in this space, the WDT launched during the 80s a long process of co-involvement of local associations. Thanks to a good cooperation with the borough of Kensington and Chelsea, the Trust received the funding necessary to regenerate physically the area. The transformations that were being engaged deeply modified the neighbourhood and the infrastructures still exist today. From the beginning, a balance between for-profit activities and services for local associations was found in order to assure the feasibility of the project. 20,000 sqm of commercial activities have been realized, 96 firms and 230 jobs were created. New offices for associations aiming at the local welfare have been set.

In the ultimate years, the WDT has provided many new spaces for local services thanks to a new partnership with the London Education Authority for an amount of 600,000 pounds. This way, the WDT was engaged in realizing infrastructures for the local youth. The Trust realized the Westway Sport Center which hosts spaces for sport activities. Local schools have a proprietary access to it and the components of the community have special prices. Then, the “profit” of the WDT kept rising, allowing the Trust to carry on with new services and commercial areas. The actual characteristics of the Trust are:

- The value of its assets is evaluated to 25.5 million of pounds
- 90,000 sqm of space are managed: 80% for community services and 20% for commercial areas
- 170 people are directly working for the Trust and 230 are working in the commercial and social firms hosted in the requalified areas.
- The WDT is auto-financed by the sports centre (3.6 million euros), the rents of offices and commercial areas (2.8 million) and financed by private donations (1 million). Out of this 7.4 million, 4 million euros are used for maintenance and 3.4 million euros are reinvested in community funding that finances diverse activities

---

<sup>1</sup> Sara Le Xuan, researcher, contributed to this section through an interview on the basis of her book: LE XUAN S., TRICARICO L. (2014), Imprese comuni: Community enterprises e rigenerazione urbana nel Regno Unito, Maggioli ed.

developed by local citizens. These “subsidies” are decided by formal and informal groups of citizens. With this money, the WDT is also financing the requalification of new buildings in close collaboration, again, with the Borough council as it is part of an official Borough local development framework.

It took 40 years to the WDT to become the most important English community enterprise in terms of impact of social services provided. Its influence in the world of community enterprises has been huge and might continue to be really important. The WDT founded the Development Trust Association, organization that co-ordinates the action of community enterprises at the national level. The Trust supported a lot of programs aiming at facilitating the creation of community enterprise and their work: for example, the Trust led to the abrogation of the Development Land Tax, a tax that firms had to pay when they regenerated urban spaces.

In reference to what was said before in this work, we can identify four elements of success of the Westway Development Fund:

- Its ability to form strategical partnerships
- Its capacity to achieve a cross-sectorial work, for example through a partnership with the London Education Authority justified by the youth community target.
- The co-design and collaboration with local authorities (namely both boroughs of Kensington and Chelsea)
- The involvement in policy design processes and not only in implementation as we can acknowledge the role of the WDT in the local development framework.

In the UK, the *Third Way* launched by Tony Blair in 1997 has guaranteed a general national framework for community initiatives. The urban agenda has been reoriented towards area-based programs. Indeed, if, before, programs targeted a general amount of population of around 25,000 inhabitants, this target shrank to reach 1,000 to 4,000 inhabitants. In 1998, the program *New Deal for Community* (NDC) was launched and aimed at empowering local communities as the leaders of the *Local Urban Renaissance*. Indeed, only these organizations can have the local knowledge to lead effective urban regeneration and should become the main actors of renewed local governance (see part I). In order to promote a good local governance, the *Local Strategic Partnerships* have been created and aimed at gathering together local authorities, local entrepreneurship, community organizations (neighbourhood associations) and volunteers.

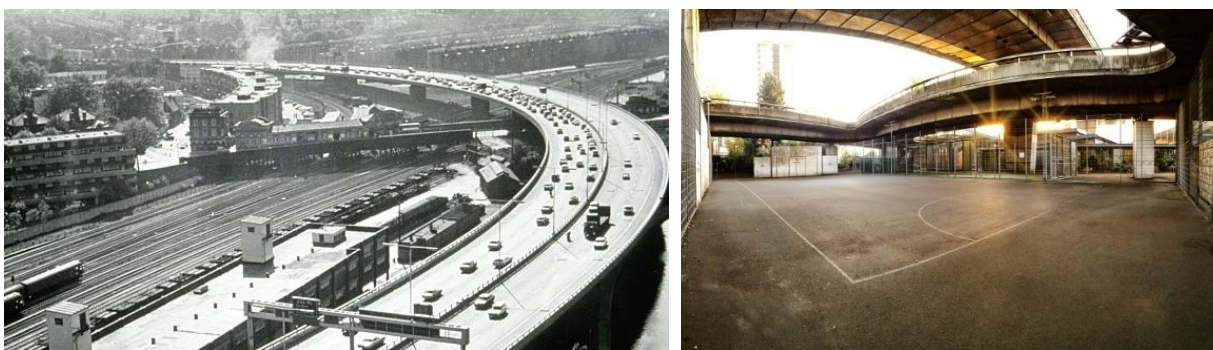


Figure 11: Illustrations of the Westway development trust  
on the left: the highway and on the right: an idea of the physical organization under the highway with a part of the sport facility (pictures taken from their website).

These three initiatives have shown practical applications where the concept of *cooperative di comunità* takes its full meaning, even in Italy. The role of Italian *cooperative di comunità* in urban policies remains a rising phenomenon which still has to develop its full potential. Indeed, the development of the *cooperative di comunità* has started in rural areas where the sense of community and isolation may have favorably privileged the first experiments<sup>1</sup>. A dedicated and well-tailored urban agenda may accompany the creation and rise of the *cooperative di comunità* in urban areas. Urban areas like in Milan are already conducting their own experiments with numerous bottom-up initiatives that may exercise social innovation in their everyday life activities.

---

<sup>1</sup> Mori, 2014

### III. Territorial innovation in bottom-up initiatives in Milan: towards the *cooperative di comunità*?

The metropolitan area of Milan is full of examples of initiatives led by citizens that are trying to address local issues in a wide range of sectors (education, housing, local welfare, health, mobility...). The project of *Segnali di Futuro* (which have been interviewed see below) has engaged a work of identification and classification of these civic experiments in order to highlight the diversity and existence of a civic background in Milan which might be a fertile ground for the rise of social innovations. The engagement of these citizens is in itself a social innovation as they find out innovative processes for the resolution of common issues. Some of these initiatives are acting on urban regeneration processes and programs since they are engaged in the acquisition of land or physical assets or the management of infrastructures for the provision of local services impacting the local welfare. The main challenge for actors interested in the development of these initiatives (the municipality of Milan, associations, researchers, foundations...) is to accompany their consolidation. The field work that follows provides a set of interviews that aims at understanding at which point of this process of consolidation the actors of the local governance of Milan have arrived.

#### 3.1- Framing the field study

Ten interviews have been conducted. Eight out of the initial ten are reported in the following pages since they are considered as being the most relevant to give a general overview of social innovation coming from Milanese communities. Each interviewee represents one actor of the Milanese social innovation landscape with his own status (municipality, foundation, for-profit, consultancy, cooperative, association) and role (facilitator, researcher, self-organized initiative). Actors have been chosen according to their importance, their relevance and in order to compose a panel covering a broad-spectrum of status and roles.

For each case, we provide first cold data in a table with the general characteristics of the actor, the localization of the project they manage in the metropolitan area of Milan and a brief paragraph on the main goals, tools and history. Then, the main findings drawn from the interview are explicated in the light of the previous analysis conducted in the first two parts of this work. In particular, we will try to feature the outlook and opinion of each actor on the following queries (adapted to the status and role of each actor):

- The kind of the process of acquisition of urban space.
- The nature of the interface with the municipality and other actors of the local governance (foundations, banks ...). In particular, if these initiatives have an actual influence on the design and implementation of public policies.
- The relevance and their awareness of the *cooperativa di comunità* concept and the need for a specific legislation on the subject or at least a dedicated way of handling public policies related to this new kind of enterprise.

Finally, regarding the form adopted to handle the interviews, it has been the same for all of them: a short presentation of the field-study was provided to the interviewee at the beginning with the main questions which needed more in-depth answers. Then, the frame was loose and

adaptable in consonance with the wishes of the interviewee. This led to very profuse and enriching exchanges of an average 90 minutes' duration. We do not provide a script of the interview as it would be too long and fastidious but the records are available on demand.

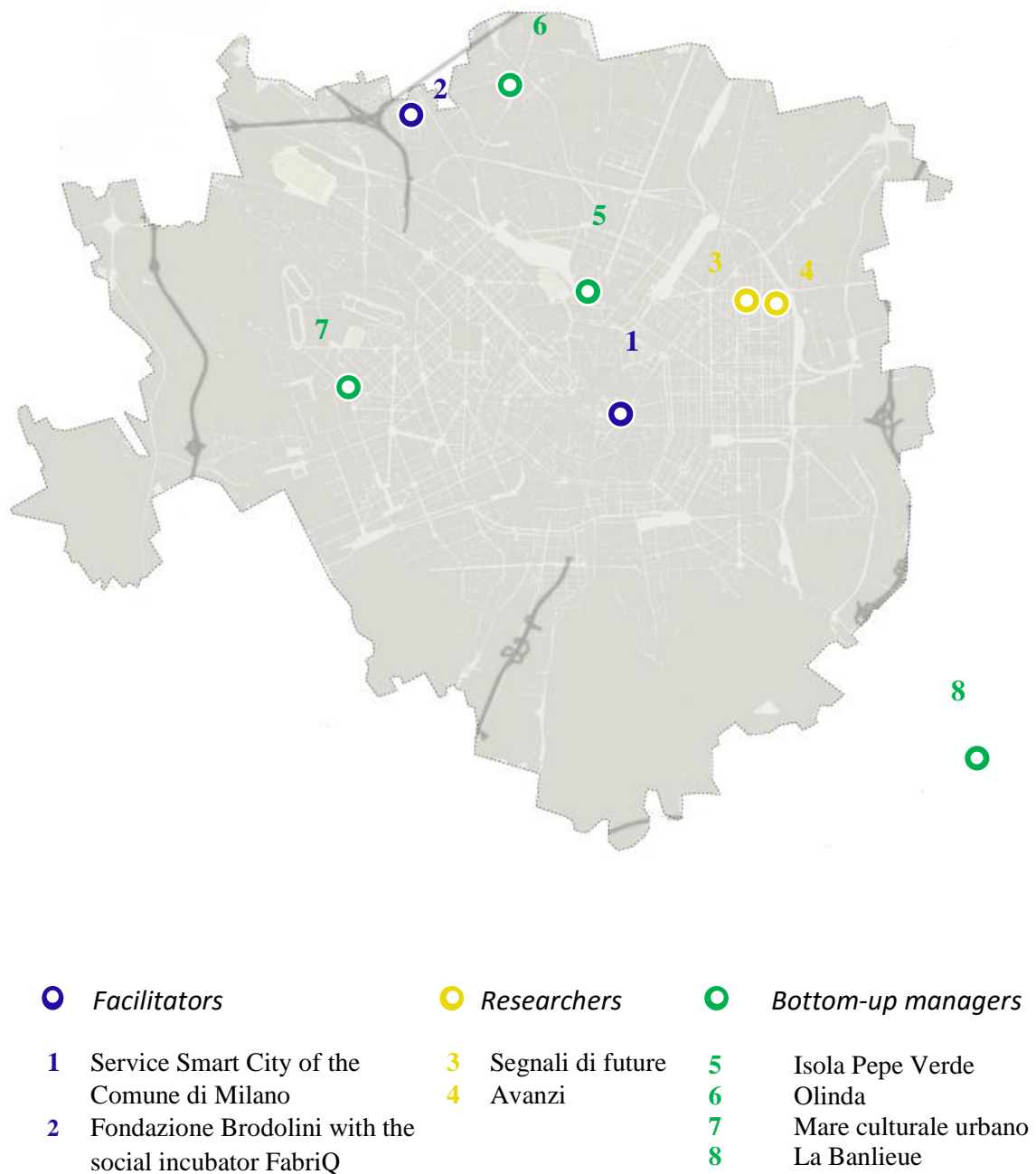
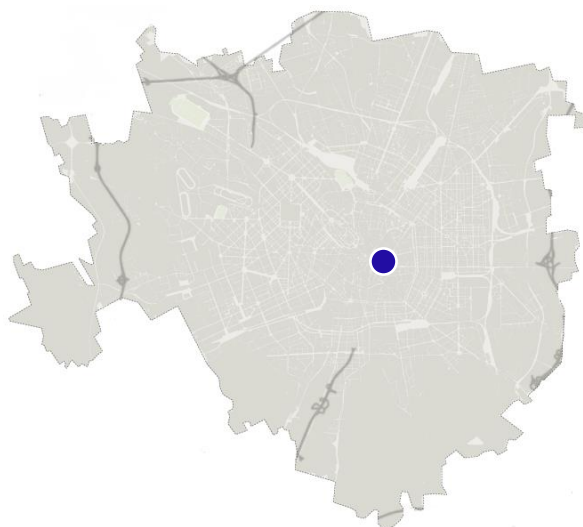


Figure 12: Interviews in their territorial context (author's elaboration)

## 3.2- The interviews

### 3.2.1- The point of view of the administration: the municipality of Milan

MAIN ACTOR	COMUNE DI MILANO
PROJECT	-
STATUS	MUNICIPALITY
ROLE	FACILITATOR
WHEN	-
COOPERATION WITH OTHER ACTORS	LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS PRIVATE FIRMS FOUNDATIONS



*“We need to rethink the link between welfare and development, between social impact and economic production, putting people and their capacity to improve their own condition at the centre”*

Cristina Tajani, Assessor work policies, economic development, university and research of the Municipality of Milan.

The interview of one public authority is important and key in our study since the role of local authorities remains crucial in a collaborative governance. Local authorities have to handle the role of facilitator and co-create project with other actors and in particular the organizations of the civil society. The interviewees of the municipality of Milan are Lucia Scopelliti, in charge of the Smart city program and Rossana Torri, a researcher from the *Politecnico di Milano* cooperating with the municipality.

A key document, published by the municipality in April 2016, is the white paper on social innovation<sup>1</sup>. In this document, the municipality sets its vision of a “smart city”. A smart city is not only a city that well exploits the brand new technologies but also a city where innovative processes are found in order to address major urban issues. In particular, some new actors can be activated so they can play a major role and they can be more efficient than a public authority, what the document names “keystone organizations”. We cannot help but think of our *imprese di comunità* as a good candidate to take this role. Nonetheless, the document does not mention

<sup>1</sup> COMUNE DI MILANO (2016), *Libro bianco sull’innovazione sociale, accelerare l’ecosistema locale per l’innovazione sociale*



them, neither the interviewees even if they have an idea in what it consists. It does not seem that we are that advanced on this matter.

Another concept risen by this document that can be linked to the *imprese di comunità* and showing that things are moving forward, is the concept of “*cantiere aperto*” (literally an opened construction yard). The old vision of financing the single project may be outdated, the municipality wants to move towards the financing of *cantieri aperti*, that might be platforms or organizations with the capacity to gather actions of other projects, allowing more flexibility in terms of financing and temporalities. Here again, compared to what was explain below part II, the link with the *imprese di comunità* is clear. Indeed, *imprese di comunità* are often hybrid spaces that have this capacity to attract different sources of financing and that let the actors develop their own activity in relation to the global aim of the enterprise.

The interviewees admit that the concept of *impresa di comunità* does not really exist in Milan. Only some initiatives are getting closer to it. For example, the phenomenon of “social streets” is developing in Milan: unformal groups of citizens are very locally organized (at the scale of a street or a square) in order to carry common projects of common interest. Nonetheless, these initiatives remain very timid and do not embody enough the entrepreneurial dimension essential to the *imprese di comunità*. However, the interviewees declare that the concept of *imprese di comunità* is very interesting and challenging, especially for its adding-value about citizens’ participation. Milan is on the path towards this concept but what remain to do is huge. The municipality is aware that many actors are dealing with this opportunity: The European Commission (that funds some projects in Milan linking economic and social goals), academics like researchers, citizens themselves and the initiative *Isola Pepe verde* (see interview in paragraph 3.2.5) are kind of a symbol. At the national scale, some initiatives can be found and that are more representative of these new hybrid organizations.

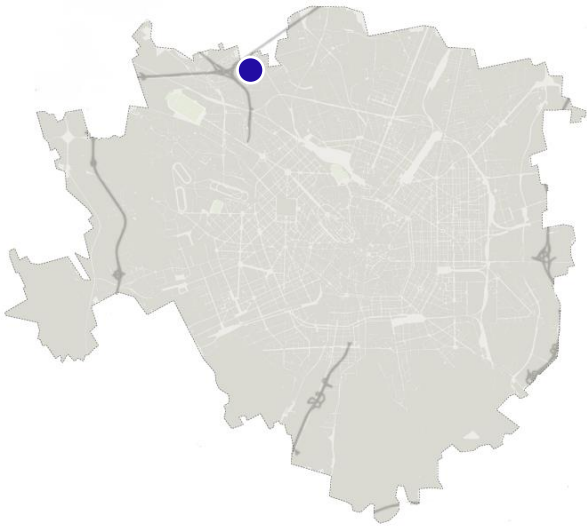
Besides, some experiments have been launched by the municipality in the last five years that aimed at activating local actors and local resources and thus can be linked to the second type of guidelines we have highlighted (see paragraph 1.3.3). The cooperation and co-creation in partnership with a large audience of both social professionals and economic agents such as social cooperatives, social firms and for-profit with some social activities and impacts (specific call for bids) are rising. The *raison d’être* of the smart city department is precisely to build up a cross-sectorial platform for the meeting of social and economic goals. For that matter, municipal teams are aware of the need for co-design and the building of trust between all actors. Concerning citizens’ participation the municipality tries to set a general framework to introduce a large range of modes of participation. If for now the participation through entrepreneurship is not high in the agenda, some other classic programs (found in other European cities) have been created and according to the interviewees, Milan has been slow to catch on. Now things are moving in the right direction. We can argue it is normal that an employee of the municipality says so. However, all the other interviewed actors, especially citizens engaged in social entrepreneurship, agree on the fact that a lot has been done in the last five years and many processes have been unlocked. Thus, for the participation we can highlight the participative balance and the crowdfunding platform EPPELA. Still linked to the second type of guidelines,

the interviewees highlight three programs that can be considered as the activation of a co-creation process and thus of a potential the *cooperative di comunità*:

- Provide some space to regenerate for the BAAM! Initiatives that became *mare culturale urbano* (see interview paragraph 3.2.7). The municipality is thus aware of its key role in the delivery of urban spaces.
- The social incubator FabriQ in *Quarto Oggiaro* (see interview paragraph 3.2.2) which seeks to activate and federate local actors with social entrepreneurship. Its challenge of the mobility (*mobilità solidale*) is especially relevant to the co-design processes with citizens and local association.
- The development of fab labs seen as the keystone of regeneration processes that can aggregate the local community around projects in the most deprived neighbourhoods. They can make community, *fare comunità*, to take the words of the interviewees.

3.2.2- The *FABRIQ* incubator managed by Fondazione Brodolini : an innovative activator of local entrepreneurship

MAIN ACTOR	FONDAZIONE BRODOLINI
PROJECT	FABRIQ
STATUS	PRIVATE FOUNDATION
ROLE	FACILITATOR
PROJECT LAUNCHED IN	2013
COOPERATION WITH OTHER ACTORS	COMUNE DI MILANO



*“More than a regular incubator, FabriQ is an incubator or the territory. [...] We want social innovation to come from the bottom and to this purpose it needs to be accessible to every citizen [...] We want to make every tool needed at the disposal of everyone so they can have an impact on the territory where they are living”*

Debora Greco – Fondazione Brodolini

*Overview*

*FabriQ* is an incubator of the municipality of Milan specialized in social innovation: it offers a 9-month process of incubation and aims at transforming enrolled teams in social innovators capable of impacting targeted social fabrics and communities. *FabriQ* is doing a job of



integration in a deprived neighbourhood of Milan trying there to promote social entrepreneurship.

*Fondazione Giacomo Brodolini* is one of the two organizations managing the incubator, the other organization is *Impact Hub*. It's a non-profit private foundation promoting a social dialogue and more interaction between policy makers, institutions, the civil society, researchers and the private sector, on topics related to social cohesion and economic development. With *FabriQ*, the foundation designed what they call a "Think and do Tank". *Impact Hub* is in charge of the business part, namely the traditional process of incubation, and *Fondazione Brodolini* work more with the territory. Here, the territory is *Quarto Oggiaro*, a poor neighbourhood in the north-west periphery of Milan. Isolated from the city by two rail tracks, the neighbourhood developed a strong local identity with a dynamic associative life. Nevertheless, the neighbourhood is going through a deep crisis and the associations may not be able any more to address urgent issues.

The interviewee is Debora Greco, a manager of open and social innovation projects in *FabriQ*. She graduated in "Management of social enterprises, non-profit and cooperatives". *FabriQ* raises the question of the empowerment of the local population. Indeed, community enterprises can be supported through the activation of local resources: we are giving citizens the tools to develop their activity having an impact on the territory. In a period of scarcity of public subsidies, local initiatives, especially associations, need to find some innovative models in order to carry on their activity. They can be helped by organizations coming from outside the community. It is the ambition of the *Fondazione Brodolini* with *FabriQ*.

#### *Overcoming the distrust of local communities: the difficulties for a public initiative*

*FabriQ* dedicated the first two years to build relationships with existing local associations and the incubator is currently "co-creating and co-designing"<sup>1</sup> programs with ten of them. Thus, if the arrival of *FabriQ* in the neighbourhood seemed to be a "top-down" action, the programs do respond to a "bottom-up" dynamic: we start from a local problem and we try to give a local response. At first, the incubator was seen as "something of the municipality" by the residents who were at first wary or did not expect much from this new public facility. That is why *FabriQ* managers had to engage this long work of awareness and explanation towards existing local associations. Today, the interviewee has noticed that this strategy starts working since some residents understand the purpose of the incubator, are interested in it and no longer see it as a classic public intervention in the neighbourhood. Moreover, the interviewee acknowledges that the main obstacle towards citizens' involvement is, for a start, to make them enter by themselves the building and come to discuss. The incubator has been protected by fences due to the fear of the residents of the building, which makes difficult to welcome spontaneous arrivals. The managers re-opened a dismissed basketball fields in the courtyard after a time-consuming process in order to compel with procedures. They also tried to organize an event but here again the obstacles were too numerous and it was not realized. Thus the interviewee underlines how such simple things can become tough since you have to respect procedures or become squarely impossible to realize because the organization may not want to take the risk. The advantage of hybrid organization is that they have this entrepreneurial mindset for developing, even small,

---

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from the interview

innovative procedures. For this, the public administration may be too slow and not adaptive enough.

#### *Internal and external resources and cooperation*

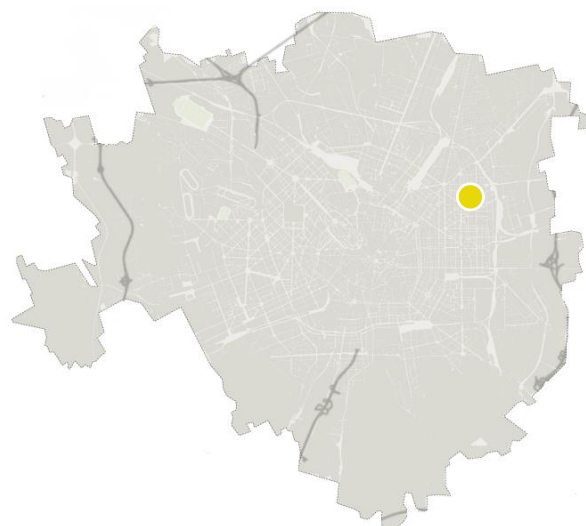
We can illustrate the tension between interior and exterior in the resources of community enterprise through the innovative project launched by the *FabriQ* and *Fondazione Cariplo: Mobilità solidale*. In *Quarto Oggiaro*, a local association was in charge of transportation for elderlies to drive them to hospital or other medical infrastructures for several years. The service had a lot of success: only a quarter of the demand can be satisfied, users even deferred their medical appointment in order to get an available car. In a context of the crisis, the service needed to be more profitable, so the association was gradually seen as an enterprise. In order to address this issue, a call is being organized by *FabriQ* and everyone can apply, even foreign organizations. Like this, the probability to come up with an innovative and effective solution is much higher. Nonetheless, and that is the main point, once the winner chosen, the project should be managed by both the winner and the old association. In this way, *FabriQ* makes sure that the project keeps a social impact (the temptation is high for applicants to propose a pure transport system without considering the importance of the social dimension). This example is interesting as it is an innovative development of a local association. Innovative because the association may encompass a new actor that can potentially be for-profit for its economic wealth. Together, they develop a hybrid institutional arrangement between local initiative and economic performer.



Figure 13: Illustrations for FabriQ  
from left to right: 1. *Quarto Oggiaro* neighbourhood (own picture), 2. the first entrance of *FabriQ* with its fence (own picture), 3. the second entrance in the courtyard. (own picture).

### 3.2.3- The project *Segnali di futuro* managed by Avanzi: a classification of innovative bottom-up processes

MAIN ACTOR	AVANZI
PROJECT	SEGNALI DI FUTURO
STATUS	PRIVATE CONSULTANCY
ROLE	FACILITATOR
PROJECT LAUNCHED IN	2014
COOPERATION WITH OTHER ACTORS	TRIENNALE MUSEUM



*“Segnali di Futuro is an experimental project wich bring the capcity of innovation on the stage and the networks of the Milanese metropolitan area. Activities, actors, paradigms of innovation are in constant mutation, between sucesses and failures : a vitality that needs to be known and promoted, because it builds a part of our future*

Stefano Pareglio, manager of *Segnali di Futuro*

#### Overview

*Segnali di futuro* is a research project aiming at mapping all the bottom-up initiatives currently occurring in Milan and showing that citizens are capable of organizing themselves to respond to their own needs that impact the quality of their daily life. These needs are organized in five categories with their own subcategories:

- Exchange (markets, recycling, trade, value)
- Know (creativity, culture, formation, education)
- Live (housing, welfare, social cohesion, urban regeneration, public spaces)
- Make (agriculture, handcraft, food, work, manufacturing)
- Move (environment, care, energy, mobility, sport)

The project is managed by the private consultancy *Avanzi - Sostenibilità per azioni* and the Milanese design museum of Milan the *Triennale*. The interviewee is the person in charge of the project at Avanzi: Sara Le Xuan, junior researcher, graduated in urban, regional and environmental planning and policies. She specifically studied the community enterprises in the UK and shared her findings in the book: *Imprese comuni: Community enterprises e rigenerazione urbana nel Regno Unito.*<sup>1</sup> This interview was the occasion to collect the thoughts

---

<sup>1</sup> This book and Sara Le Xuan also contributed to the redaction of the paragraph 2.3 on the Westway Development Fund

of a person mastering the phenomenon of community enterprises with a good knowledge of the Milanese context as she is currently working on it.

#### *The importance of the constitution of the community.*

Sara Le Xuan organizes her reflection upon community enterprises around the very concept of community. Indeed, the key step on the process of constitution of a community enterprise related to urban development issues is the constitution of the community. The “community” should not be taken for granted like if it were a clear, immutable and precise part of citizens. What makes a community, what defines it, what legitimates it are all the questions that should find a precise answer in order to, firstly, constitute a real community enterprise and, secondly, be an efficient one. The community enterprise, understood as a new way of participation, is often the consequence of the disillusion felt by citizens who cannot impact some public decisions they consider as unfair. Therefore, they need to get involved often through illegal ways, which in urban development means the illegal occupation of public land. All this mobilization constitutes a community of interest: they have the same interest which is the withdrawal of a public development and the institution of their own project. The fact that community enterprises is the consequence of a conflict was really clear at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when many redevelopment project were launched (cf the Westway Development Trust in London). Nowadays it is more common to find examples of community enterprises as the consequence of the scarcity of public intervention due to a lack of money than a pure direct conflictual situation. A community interest is more often formed around a common problem – even faced by the municipality– than a conflict. For example, the cooperative *è nostra* which gathers citizens interested in producing, managing and using their own source of renewable energies is not born thanks to a conflict but thanks to the acknowledgment of the limited capacities of municipalities to tackle environmental problems and therefore the need for different ways of addressing issues.

#### *What administrations are supposed to do to promote community enterprises?*

Sara Le Xuan came back to the recent debate on *cooperative di comunità* and the need for a legal definition: “Much more can be done through different ways”. With a new status we could kind of loose the spontaneity that characterizes these initiatives. Two directions should be explored by administrations in order to promote community enterprises, and they match with the previous guidelines we explained:

- provide physical space for citizens. Indeed, acquiring physical assets for the development of an activity might be the toughest stage. In particular, municipalities should well know the dismissed or under-used areas that could be offered to community enterprises
- activate the potential of local communities. Some deprived neighbourhoods might not be able to catch the opportunity of community enterprises due to a lack of civic culture or/and need of accompanying. Municipalities must keep supporting some programs like the *Laboratori di quartiere* and the *Contratto di quartieri*.



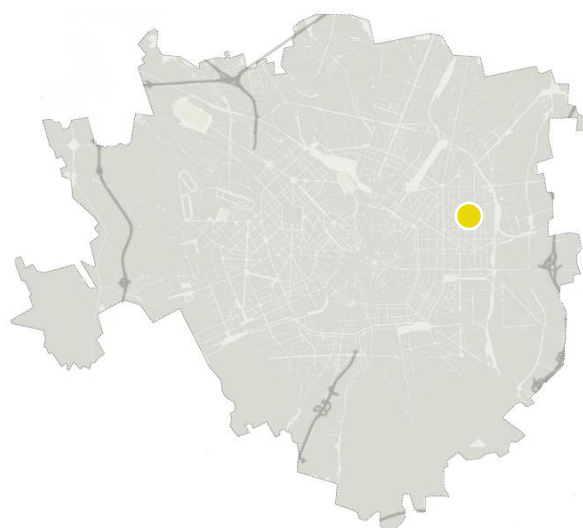
## Territorial innovation in bottom-up initiatives in Milan: towards the cooperative di comunità?



Figure 14: Illustrations for Segnali di Futuro map with the Segnali di Futuro, each style of marker defines one of the five categories (taken from their website).

### 3.2.4- The consulting firm AVANZI, Claudio Calvaresi, the rising relevance of the cooperative di comunità.

MAIN ACTOR	AVANZI
PROJECT	-
STATUS	PRIVATE CONSULTANCY
ROLE	RESEARCH
FROM	1997
COOPERATION WITH OTHER ACTORS	MUNICIPALITY PRIVATE FIRMS



#### Overview

*Avanzi – sostenibilità per azioni* is a group of entrepreneurs, consultants and researchers that creates innovative solutions for sustainability, namely the equilibrium between private interests and the collective welfare, and its application through initiatives, projects and concrete experiments that address environmental and social issues. *Avanzi* proposes also a co-working space named *Barra A*, an incubator of social firms *Make a Cube*<sup>3</sup>, a bar and a restaurant named *UpCycle*.

The interviewee is Claudio Calvaresi, a senior consultant at *Avanzi*. His main activities are linked to governance and policy design, public policy analysis and community planning. In particular, regarding community planning, he is interested in citizens' participation in public policies, for example through the project *Ponte Lambro Neighbourhood Contract* with the setting of a neighbourhood laboratory for the regeneration of this Milanese neighbourhood. At

*Avanzi*, he got a growing interest for community organizations through community hubs and bottom-up innovations (organization of conferences about community hubs, namely new hybrid urban spaces for different activities along the day, community enterprises in rural areas...).

His contribution to this work has been essential in order to understand the key concepts around community enterprises and how we need to change our vision of private and public organization in public policies and in urban regeneration in particular. We are specifically dealing with the inputs that researchers, consultants, guides can have on the development of community enterprises.

### *General remarks on city makers*

The general debate on the *impresa di comunità* and on the *cooperative di comunità* in particular should be linked to the question of who makes the city today. Who are the new city makers? What is the degree of involvement of these city makers in the process of city-making? The classic process of city-making is linear and punctual: programs are organized through a diagnosis, an implementation and an assessment. It is a process with a clear beginning and ending where city makers are politics and technicians from public authorities. Nowadays, there is an inclination towards more opened and inclusive processes with different kinds of city makers. First, we evolved from pure technicians from a public authority to consultants, researchers, assessors, planners, guides. A wide range of jobs that are working on the city in universities, for-profit agencies, associations. They accompany the regeneration of neighbourhoods through more dialogue with local civil society and may manage a more long-term approach than before. They may be more capable of conducting cross-sectorial policies as well. We are currently experiencing another step which represents an important change of paradigm. A step that goes beyond the former accompanying by engaging actual protagonists of the city. New city makers are the protagonists of the neighbourhood where an issue needs to be addressed: the ones who can find a solution are the ones who experience the problem and feel the necessity to find out some solutions. The *impresa di comunità* is a good institutional arrangement of these kinds of actors and should be seen as an organization of protagonists who are the best people to bring inclusive and long-term solutions. One challenge for an equal treatment of all citizens of the city is to potentiate these kinds of initiative and activate it in the most deprived neighbourhoods.

### *Interface between local communities and local authorities*

Indeed, often, the potential of communities needs to be activated from the outside. It is never a black and white situation where communities are full of proposition and municipalities remain deaf to their initiatives. In this work of activation of the local potential, the input of consultants and researchers should not be undermined. Thanks to his experience, Mr. Calvaresi can tell that the development only from the inside, with self-organized communities willing to remain totally independent, cannot work. It is precisely the confrontation with the actors coming from the outside like the municipality that things happen.<sup>1</sup> Thus the interface between these initiatives

---

<sup>1</sup> We can refer here, at the regional scale but the idea inside/outside remains the same, to the report of Fabrizio BARCA for the European Commission about a European area-based policy. A territory cannot develop just from inside resources.

and local authorities in particular should be well-designed and be targeted by specific policies or good practices.

### *The relevance of community enterprises and their potential impact on public policies*

Community enterprises could be one of this new place where the interaction between all the actors could be set, with a proper legal status facilitating the birth of more hybrid initiatives. On the French model of the SCIC, the *impresa di comunità* should represent the enterprise expression of a project gathering different actors acting at the same level, without one being used as a tool by other actors. Therefore, the term participation of citizens becomes outdated and even limiting as it directly implies a passive/active setting with municipalities and give the idea that citizens can only come up when a project has been predesigned by local authorities<sup>1</sup>. It is not only an aspiration to change reality since actual and current initiatives launched by citizens are taking the lead: they do not just participate but they make the other actors participate. So, the word co-creation must be more adapted to qualify these new processes. Indeed, in the Pact of Amsterdam<sup>2</sup> signed on the 30<sup>th</sup> of May, 2016, in the paragraph about “civil society, knowledge institutions and business”, the expression “co-creation” is used rather than “participation”: “Ministers agree to recognise the potential of civil society to co-create innovative solutions to urban challenges, which can contribute to public policy making [...] and strengthen democracy in the EU”.

Besides, it is true that initiatives that can be identified as being an *impresa di comunità* remain rare and small, especially in urban regeneration and contributions to the local welfare. At first, their development has been limited to rural areas where both the needs and the capacity of residents were higher. Nowadays, things are evolving and one should not undermine the potential of community enterprises, and the *cooperative di comunità* in particular, for improving urban areas. Eventually, the rise of the *impresa di comunità* will lead to a whole new conception of actors. Indeed, if we usually classify actors with a distinction for-profit/profit<sup>3</sup>, a new point of view could be actors that manage “urban commons” and actors who do not. Like this, we do not discriminate city-makers –that is to say urban commons managers– according to their own functioning, for-profit or not, democratic or not. Thus, we recognize the multiplicity and diversity of actors and classify them more in line with what they do and less according to how they do it.

---

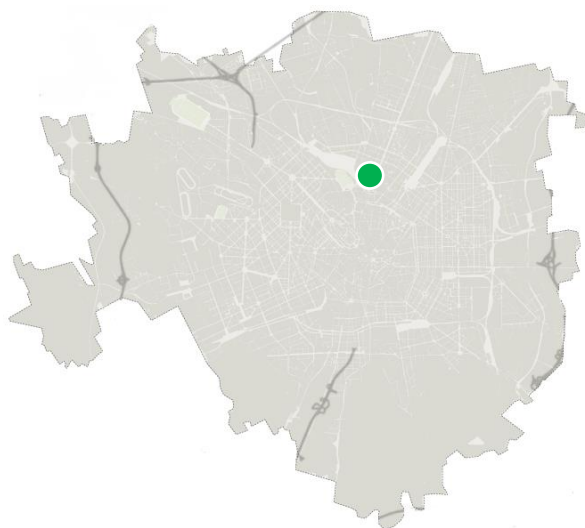
<sup>1</sup> Cf the paragraph 1.2.1

<sup>2</sup> After the Riga declaration (June 2015), the Pact of Amsterdam is another milestone on the path towards a European urban agenda; it is an agreement signed by the EU Ministers responsible of Urban Matters during an informal meeting held in Amsterdam.

<sup>3</sup> That is what we did when we classified actors in paragraph 1.1.2

### 3.2.5- *Isola Pepe Verde*; the cooperative di comunità seen as the management of a common good

MAIN ACTOR	ISOLA PEPE VERDE COMITEE
PROJECT	ISOLA PEPE VERDE
STATUS	ASSOCIATION
ROLE	SELF ORGANIZED INITIATIVE
PROJECT LAUNCHED IN	2011
COOPERATION WITH OTHER ACTORS	COMUNE DI MILANO



#### *Overview*

This initiative takes place in the recently deeply transformed neighbourhood around the railway station of Porta Garibaldi. An important urban transformation has seen the apparition of high-rise buildings which are now co-existing with the traditional urban fabric of the neighbourhood of Isola whose identity has always been strong and noteworthy. Indeed, the neighbourhood is historically inhabited by a working class which has developed a civic activism state of mind. Therefore, they got opposed against the requalification of some areas that would imply the demolition of buildings and green areas part of the local identity. In 2010, the demolition of the public garden of via Confalonieri and of the “stecca degli artigiani” - in order to provide space for a new real estate development - constituted the turning point for launching a social movement gathering inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Some of these inhabitants had already an experience related to civic claims. They developed a “communitarian garden” on a property of the municipality of Milan and founded a cultural association in 2011. Through the gathering of signatures, they asked the *Consiglio di Zona 9* and the Municipality of Milan the concession of the spaces. One year after, a first convention has been set with the municipality for the management of the communitarian garden. It is through this convention that the movement was authorized to use this urban space. They do not own the space so they depend on the will of the municipality. From this year, the initiative has evolved rapidly towards a laboratory for the aggregation of many projects around the use of spaces. The space is used and managed in an opened and participative way.

#### *The local activation of a collective good*

The building of this community enterprise defines itself from a local activation for the production of a collective good of and for the community. A community seen as all the people using and managing collective resources, becoming actual managers that respect terms of use based on knowledge, trust and transparency between all members and users of the common



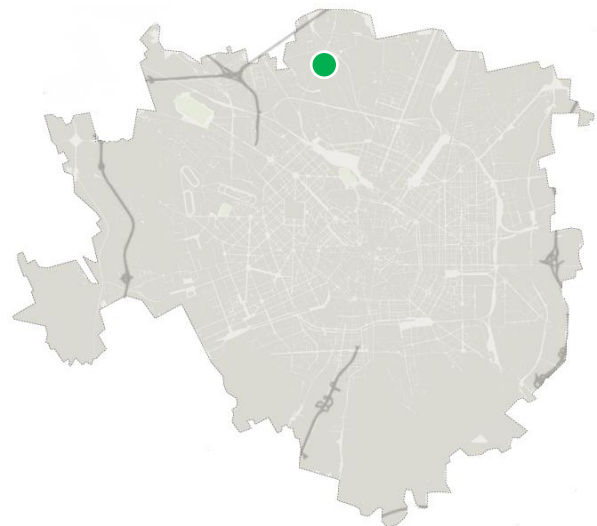
good, the existence of a system of rules and institutions (like the *Consiglio di Zona 9*) already consolidated in the territory.



Figure 15: Illustrations for Isola Pepe Verde from left to right: 1. The garden seen from the street Via Pepe, 2. One of the high rise buildings of Porta Nuova, 3. Some infrastructures attached to the garden (kitchen, benches, roof) (own pictures)

### 3.2.6- The success story of Olinda

MAIN ACTOR	OLINDA COMITEE
PROJECT	OLINDA
STATUS	COOPERATIVA SOCIALE
ROLE	SELF-ORGANIZED INITIATIVE
PROJECT LAUNCHED IN	1996
COOPERATION WITH OTHER ACTORS	COMUNE DI MILANO



*“In the last twenty years, a lot of innovative projects have been created and all of them compose a kind of local cultural system for the social citizenship: this local system is a mix of social firms, culture and local welfare.”*

La Fabbrica di Olinda

#### Overview

*Olinda* is a collective project born in 1996. The very first goal was the urban requalification of the ex-psychiatric hospital Paolo Pini in the northern periphery of Milan (see map): a huge amount of space was made available and could constitute an adding value for the

neighbourhood. A project was needed in order to mobilize people and make things happen. The integration of mentally retarded citizens has been the engine of the requalification as a nod to the previous function of the land. A community of interest was thus mobilized and helped at the requalification of buildings.

Then, the initiative has opened itself to the rest of the city through larger punctual attractive events and festivals (*da vicino nessuno è normale*) but also thanks to permanent infrastructures: a ristorante, a hotel, a theatre and a residence for artists. All these new services promoted the integration of mentally retarded people to carry on with the initial project.

#### *The interface between community of interest, the neighbourhood and the community enterprise*

The interviewee helped us understand how one of the most successful bottom-up initiatives in Milan works, its relation with the community of interest, the city and the neighbourhood. Indeed, what's also interesting with this community enterprise is that the targeted community is not the one living in the neighbourhood. But the requalification of such a huge space has inevitably an impact on the local resident community and it is precisely this exterior impact that is interesting to discuss.

The notion and typology of community is indeed more central than ever in the case of Olinda and raises again the question of the notion of community in "community enterprise". As we explained above the community holding the initiative here is the community of interest related to the integration of mentally retarded citizens. This community engages an enterprise by requalifying a huge part of land at the scale of the neighbourhood. Nonetheless, this enterprise has been more at the beginning centred on the insertion of mentally retarded than on the involvement of the neighbourhood. The managers of Olinda recognized that the risk was to constitute a ghetto and to finally come up with a project that was very far from the initial requalification process if they remained ignorant of the territory. Years after, we can acknowledge that the inhabitants of the neighbourhood have been the last ones (of the groups of community of interest, inhabitants of the city, inhabitants of the neighbourhood) to accept the initiative and start to feel like being part of it. That's why we should ask ourselves if Olinda is a real "community enterprise": it uses the resources of the territory to have an impact on the welfare of the community of interest but the impact on the territory itself seems to be much more limited, in particular for the welfare of local communities.

#### *A hybrid and multiform enterprise*

Another interesting thing with Olinda is its management: it includes substructures with the status the most adapted to its function:

- *La Fabbrica di Olinda* is a *cooperativa sociale Onlus* and is in charge of the integration of mentally retarded people through different social firms: *BarRistorante Jodok*, *Bistrot Olinda*, *OlindaCatering*, *OstellOlinda*, *TeatroLaCucina*
- *Olinda associazione* is a cultural association Onlus and is in charge of cultural programs promoting the integration of mentally retarded people.
- *Il Giardino degli Aromi* is an association Onlus with a social utility

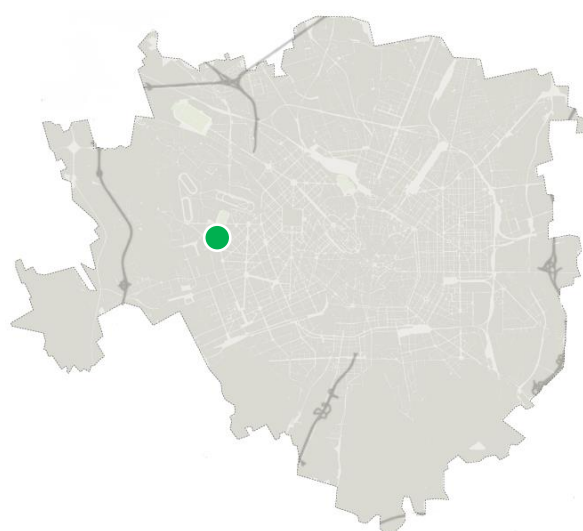
The reason for this multiplication of forms is due to the complex Italian legal forms of enterprises, according to the type of employee, if there are volunteers, if the structures makes profit or not... It is a good illustration of the possible necessity of a new legal framework like the SCIC in France that would lighten this legal burden. The interviewee said that he was not able to know if this multiplication of legal forms that represents the same reality was an actual burden that may impact the efficiency of Olinda. Nevertheless, he acknowledges that it can raise some difficulties in the everyday management of activities. Thus, it is difficult to know if a new status like a SCIC would really benefit the initiative. The insitutionnal arrangement citizens are able to build up are at the core of social innovation. It might be preferable to let the spontaneity goes on as suggested by Sara Le Xuan in paragraph 3.2.3.



Figure 16: Illustrations for Olinda  
 from left to right: 1. an aerial view of the area of the ex-hospital, (taken from Google maps) 2. An event hosted by Olinda (taken from their website).

### 3.2.7- *Mare culturale urbano*: a platform to gather local resources and beyond

MAIN ACTOR	MARE CULTURALE URBANO COMITEE
PROJECT	MARE CULTURALE URBANO
STATUS	SOCIAL START-UP
ROLE	SELF-ORGANIZED INITIATIVE
PROJECT LAUNCHED IN	
COOPERATION WITH OTHER ACTORS	COMUNE DI MILANO FONDAZIONE CARIPLO



#### Overview

The creators of *Mare culturale urbano* define their initiative as an “attempt to build a new model of territorial development of peripheries”. They start from here and that’s really interesting: they do not start with what they do but what they want to achieve, the concept before

the operative project. They point out three guidelines that orient their work (also very easy to find on their website so very clear):

- the deep link with local dynamics (community, actors, residents)
- the international exchange of experiences and practices
- the activation of processes revolving around social inclusion, urban regeneration and cultural innovation.

Their operative activities consist in developing temporary artistic residencies which aims at having a social impact on the local community. Italian and international experts and artists are invited in a large range of fields: drama, dance, cinema, digital culture, ...

Two spaces can host those residencies: *Cascina Torrette* and *via Novara 75*, close to each other and situated in the West periphery of Milan, near the stadium of *San Siro*. These spaces host a coffee shop, a restaurant, co-working spaces, rehearsal rooms, available spaces for the community, green spaces, a public courtyard on a total amount of surface of near 7 700sm, opened every day from 8 a.m. to 2 p.m.

The legal status of the initiative is a social firm registered as an “innovative start-up with a social vocation”.

#### *The relation with the local community*

The fact that the initiative is not organized as a “cooperative” does not secure the real participation of citizens, and put into question the legitimacy of *mare culturale urbano* as a real community enterprise. The choice of being a “start-up with social vocation” is explained by Debora Greco in the interview of FabriQ (see paragraph 3.2.2): today, this status can give access to many grants, subsidies and other kinds of assistance which justify its utilization to start a social activity. Moreover, the initiators are not the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Nonetheless, *mare culturale* really seek to imply local residents in order to make them actors of the initiative. That’s why it is getting closer to our concept of community enterprise. Indeed, the process has been designed in order to have the maximum impact on the local community: a study was conducted (*zona sette mon amour*) with experts and researchers in order to find out what are the local potentials. The inhabitants were also involved in the process of urban regeneration of *Casina Torrette* through auto-construction workshops, local cultural groups were invited to perform at events, the ambition is to make a new public meeting point for local people in the courtyard of the *Cascina*. But we can remark that even if we talk about urban regeneration, the reference community is not always the residents. Here, the reference community could be the people interested in developing culture in Milan. Like this, *mare culturale* is even more a community enterprise.

#### *The acquisition of urban space*

In this case, it is the good illustration of how other institutional actors can facilitate the acquisition of urban space for bottom-up enterprises. For the *Cascina*, the management of the space has been authorized by the foundation *Housing Sociale*. For the space of *via Novara 75*, *mare culturale* won a call for bids made by the municipality of Milan. This shows the integration of a foundation and a public authority in the process. The interviewee says that this



is key to the development of a startup implied in urban regeneration process as the acquisition of land and buildings is an entry barrier difficult to overcome.

*The importance of unformal relations with the municipality*

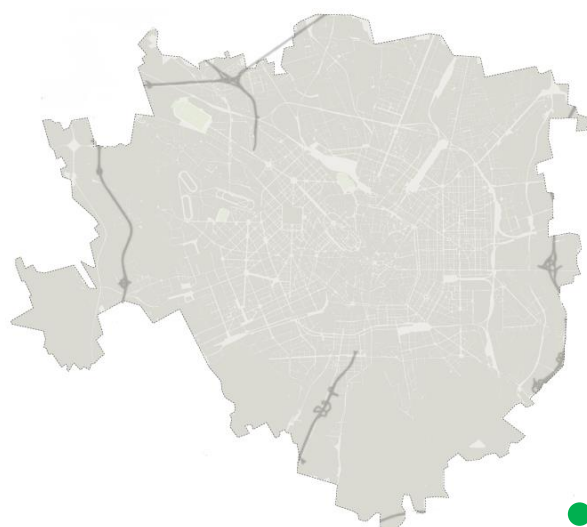
Another key point highlighted by the interviewee is the unformal relation with the municipality of Milan. Indeed, according to *mare culturale*, the municipal team was really a facilitator and they have worked all together in the same direction. It has been the common work of different bodies of the municipality: culture, social policies, work, green areas. This good cooperation has been key to the development of the project: the entailed shared trust allows faster processes every time the needs something, even simple, from the municipality. Indeed, it is not a matter of local law and legislation in general but of a co-creation of a project that gather different actors around the same interest for the city. This project is a good example of the collaborative governance.



Figure 17: Illustrations for Mare culturale urbano from left to right: 1. the entrance of the Cascina with in the background the high-rise buildings of San Siro neighbourhood (own picture), 2. The courtyard with the terrace of the bar (taken from their website), 3. One example of an event hosts by Mare culturale urbano (taken from their website).

**3.2.8- La Banlieue: a successful bottom-up initiative in the path to the cooperative di comunità.**

MAIN ACTOR	LA BANLIEUE COMITEE
PROJECT	LA BANLIEUE
STATUS	CULTURAL ASSOCIATION
ROLE	SELF-ORGANIZED INITIATIVE
PROJECT LAUNCHED IN	2011
COOPERATION WITH OTHER ACTORS	CASCINA SAN FRANCESCO FOOD FILM FESTIVAL PARCO AGRICOLO SUD MILANO GRUPPI DI ACQUISTO SOLIDALE



« We ask our institutions of all levels to stop the infertile controversies about reciprocal, exclusive and competitive competences in order to assume coherency and responsibility, together with the organizations of the civil society which develops a public function, and to see subsidiarity as the shared criteria of good behaviours oriented towards the welfare of our communities”

*La Banlieue*

### *Overview*

*La Banlieue* was created five years ago by a group of women coming from different backgrounds but having in common the activism on the territory and the wish to create a space promoting the culture of sharing. Just the name is an explanation of the activity: it is a tribute to all these neighbourhoods situated in the outskirts of big cities and suffering a lack of local public services. San Giuliano Milanese is one of this area for the city of Milan, most of all concerning cultural initiatives and the provision of public spaces where citizens can meet.

The point of the activity is indeed to provide a space for the meeting of citizens and the numerous associations of the neighbourhood. There is not a specialization concerning the typology of events but at the contrary, it is highly eclectic and depending on the inputs of citizens ‘participation.

The initiative aspires to get more and more opened on the territory and the community interested in the values of sharing they embody. Today, *La Banlieue* has already come partnerships with local actors of the sharing world. We can cite the groups of fair purchase, the local producers of the natural park Parco Agricolo Sud Milano.

### *On the path towards an actual cooperative di comunità*

I got interested in the initiative of *La Banlieue* on the advice of Claudio Calvaresi (see the interview p.25). According to him, it is one of the example coming from the initiative *Segnali di futuro* (see the interview of Sara Le Xuan paragraph 3.2.3) that illustrates the process leading to the creation of an *impresa di comunità*. Indeed, the initiative is now run by the initial group of volunteers who are spending a part of their free time for the upkeep and development of the association. As the initiative grows bigger both in terms of mobilized persons and organizations and in terms of impact, one of the associates thinks of quitting her job and taking a full-time work in the association. Here, the step which is about to be passed is crucial: a person takes all her working time to work for the welfare of the community the initiative created.

Moreover, another interesting aspect of this initiative is that it is a good illustration of the multidimensional nature of the *impresa di comunità*: they run a business activity (*La Banlieue* does it with the *osteria* and the events they host), they respond to a public issue (the lack of cultural facilities in the neighbourhood) and they embody values that aim at modifying behaviour end even public policies. A quick check of their website (<http://www.labanlieue.eu/da-soli-non-si-cambia.html>) allows the lector to see the numerous public debates the initiative is interested in:

- Open data and public access to internet for deprived neighbourhoods

Territorial innovation in bottom-up initiatives in Milan: towards the cooperative di comunità?

- Social citizenship (see the quotation at the beginning of this record)
- Policies for disabled populations
- Sustainable mobility
- Time banks



Figure 18: illustrations for La Banlieue

*from left to right: 1. the building hosting the Banlieue initiative in San Giuliano Milanese (own picture), 2. One example of an event hosted by La Banlieue (taken from their website).*

### 3.3- General conclusions about the interviews

Transposing one by one the interviews of different actors that are related to the emergence of the *cooperative di comunità* in Milan aimed at showing the diverse situations and interests that characterize each kind of organization. The point of view and ideas that matter the most for each actor has been exposed and the structure we obtain might appear too loose. That's why we sum up here the main findings of that interviewing process by coming back to the three guidelines (see paragraph 3.1) and give some highlights deduced from the interviews.

□ **The kind of process characterizing the acquisition of urban space**

With the interviews we have the confirmation that this step is really crucial to the success of a *cooperativa di comunità*. Indeed, acquiring space is essential for a *cooperativa di comunità* acting in urban regeneration and can be a tough step as it implies the good management of funding and accrued responsibility. The means to rehabilitate physical assets can be really demanding in money, time and resources, like for *mare culturale urbano* where the Cascina has remained abandoned during more than 30 years and it took the implication of many local residents to help restoring it. It is at the step that we can acknowledge the power of a hybrid organizations like a community enterprise since they can gather the inputs of many different sources of resources, like citizens, foundations and for-profit firms. When it comes to have the right to exploit a plot of land, the owner is a key actor. If it is the municipality, like for example the cases of *Isola Pepe Verde*, *mare culturale urbano* and *FabriQ*. the public authority has to be cooperative and be more than just a provider of space but a real partner of the project. Indeed, the municipality needs to remain present to help future activities, like *mare culturale urbano* cooperated with many different bodies of the municipality of Milan. Also, the managers of *Isola Pepe Verde* were really worried imagining that the right wing candidate would become mayor as they already knew that he would not have kept the initiative and make them move out. In the situation where the municipality provides the space, the initiatives remain really dependent on the good will of municipal teams. Foundations too can be really helpful if they have some physical assets they want to valorise. Finally, we can remind here that in the regional norm of Lombardy that recognizes the existence of *the cooperative di comunità* one article is dedicated to assisting the acquisition of infrastructures necessary to the management of public services: physical assets owned by the region could be another resource for community enterprises.

□ **The nature of the interface with the municipality and other actors of the local governance: cooperation, conflict and dependence.**

*From the point of view of the bottom-up initiatives:*

Concerning the relation with the municipality, the co-design of projects is essential: it is no more a question of how the initiative can influence the “bad guys” of the municipality but how everyone can work together for the general interest of citizens. It is not a black and white situation and the interviewees highlighted that



for the last five years, the relation with the municipality was framed by trust. And inclusion. But still, if we want to consider the real influence of these initiatives in policy design, we can acknowledge that the impact is small. Indeed, this kind of influence can be exercised by big structures. The example of the Westway Development Trust is relevant: the Trust had an impact because it is huge and it has been a powerful network as it has been working on the community since 40 years.

Another limit claimed by scholars of the relation between bottom-up initiatives and the municipality is precisely the lack of conflictual situations in these processes of cooperation and co-design. The strength of conflict is to offer an actual alternative in case of an important negligence of the municipality. Such an alternative would be out of the existing schemes, making actual change happens. In the case of cooperation, it is difficult to determine to what extent a bottom-up initiative is really obliging and constraining the municipality to accept this frontal hostility and change the initial *status quo*. It is all about the balance between bottom-up and top-down which can go from actual local resistance to a mere contractualization between the local group (like the *cooperativa di comunità*) reduced to a basic provider and the municipality. Initiatives like *mare culturale urbano* can be qualified as more “top-down” (because the municipality authorized this activity in the space it owns). Even if it may exploit and strengthen the local social capital and increase the local participation, its actual impact on the municipality and therefore on policy design could be contested. The interviewee clearly said the initiative depended on the good will of the municipality and other for-profit actors. This dependence puts into question the significance of the action and interrogates the passage from illusory participation to a true active citizenship. One could argue with the example of *Isola Pepe Verde* which is born in a real conflictual situation and thus might be a good example. Nonetheless, despite coming from pure conflict, then the action was inscribed in a regular framework with nothing conflictual at all. The fear to see a new mayor coming and who could prevent them from continuing interrogates the actual independent power of *Isola Pepe Verde* regarding the local administration.

*From the point of view of the municipality:*

In the interface with local initiatives like the *cooperative di comunità*, the role of the municipality should not be reduced to limitation, constraining and exclusion. If we put in perspective the interviews of the municipality of Milan and of the initiatives, it is clear that the municipality is responsible for the general coherence and strategy at the city scale. It is through the design of a program like the Smart City one that the city of Milan can keep following guidelines on the long-term and therefore favour a certain kind of initiatives. By assuming this role, the municipality makes sure that the sum of all the small numerous bottom-up Milanese initiatives mapped by *Segnali di Futuro* comes up with a global adding value for the city. A global value that goes beyond all the specificities of themes and places embodied by each of these initiatives. The risk for the municipality is to fail at tackling this diversity by producing fragmented policies unable to federate citizens around a

common vision for their city. In this regard, the cross-border approach adopted by the Smart city program and by *Segnali di future* is relevant of this attempt to gather initiatives by processes rather by fields or places in order to come up with a general inclusive framework. It is in this framework that the *cooperative di comunità* may find their own role in order to carry an actual adding value for the strategy of development of Milan.

The relation with other actors is also key since resources are scarce so every local resource should be exploited. And that's precisely the specificity of a community enterprise: to gather different dynamics. Even the for-profit world should not be undermined when it comes to implement the projects of the local community. In fact, they can be useful actors like in the case of *mare culturale urbano* which has been able to furnish their space with discounted furniture coming from a local firm which has been sensible to the initiative.

In the case of community enterprises, the relation with the reference community might be the most important one. It might constitute the weakest point in the Milanese initiatives as some of the interviewees were not organized in cooperatives but in social firms. If they do imply the community, it may not be enough as this community is not legally involved (and the legal framework can really bound the entrepreneurship activity).

□ **The relevance of the *cooperative di comunità* concept and the awareness of actors:**

As we have seen in the interview of the municipality of Milan, there is an increasing awareness of the existence of hybrid organizations that can be useful partners for urban regeneration and the provision of local public services. The academic world in Milan is also interested in this. It is relevant to remark that many important document have been published in the last two years and even in the last months: in 2015 the new norms for cooperation in Lombardy, in 2016 the white paper of the municipality of Milan about social innovation in 2016, more generally in Italy the white paper of Euricse about the *cooperative di comunità* in 2016.

In a nutshell, none of the bottom-up initiatives identified in Milan can be strictly defined as a *cooperativa di comunità*. Nonetheless, all the bottom-up initiatives already share the necessary feature of the place-based dimension and rooting in the territory. This link with the territory can be more or less tight according to the condition of its creation. For *Isola Pepe Verde* and *La Banlieue*, the territory created the conflict for the first one and the need for the second one and the solution was necessarily place-based with a local mobilization in a true bottom-up process. For *mare culturale urbano*, the territory came in a second time and was not the initial trigger but the resources following the initial phase and that have helped the initiative. Also, the territory became a subject of study for the initiative. Finally, *Olinda* was the less locally rooted but was highly impacted by the local scale since it developed in the space of the former hospital. Realities are multiple, changeable and specific to the issue and the local context. However, they share the same trends of bottom-up innovation, generator of shared

value and identity and process of enterprise in an urban context. The financial crisis has accelerated the rise of bottom-up innovations and civic engagement has become compatible with entrepreneurship. In a context of scarcer opportunities, citizens have to reinvent themselves and civic entrepreneurship may be a solution. In Milan, this factor has been accompanied by a municipal team that has really been in favour of this new vision of the link between entrepreneurship and public policies. Through the Smart city program, the municipality tries to adapt and design innovative public projects that may facilitate the financing and functioning of new hybrid forms of enterprise that are engaged in the production of social value. The municipality may even partner with other actors in actual co-design processes. Thus, more than a mere response to market or municipal failures, the involvement of citizens' organizations is an actual way of participating which contributes to the local democracy and active citizenship. All the interviewees are contributing to this participation at the local scale and to the consolidation of the *cooperative di comunità* in Milan. Today they represent mainly associations but the rising involvement of their members and their growing importance may lead them to create actual *cooperative di comunità*.

## Conclusion

The link between entrepreneurship and public policy is the keystone of the study we have just achieved. Hybrid organizations are currently restyling this relationship by being at the border between regular enterprises and classical public policy makers. Thanks to them, numerous barriers have been overcome and all actors of the local governance are now aware of the complexity of policy making processes which may and have to imply more hybrid structures than before. Even classic for-profit firms may recognize the usefulness of adopting a general interest approach taking into account the concept of social value in their projects. Besides, some of these structures are relying on communities' involvement what makes their strength and potential for building better policy processes. Thus they are also at the border with civil society organizations and experiment social innovation since they revisit policy making processes. Some other organizations, by their democratic functioning, can truly be legitimate actors that favour an egalitarian participation and strengthen local democracy and active citizenships. The *cooperative di comunità* gather all these concepts as self-organized democratic, inclusive and institutionalized organizations capable of having economic power, fix social issues, ensure a strengthening of social capital and contribute to the expression of democracy through citizens' participation. Thus, the *cooperative di comunità*, more than being a mere conflictual reaction to a lack of public services in a context of scarcity of public funding or a way to punctually alleviate market failures and abuses, can embody a new paradigm of an innovative model of local development. In the field of urban policies and regeneration programs, the potential of the *cooperative di comunità* remains to be fully exploited.

The metropolitan area of Milan is engaged on an on-going process of consolidation of bottom-up social innovation movement that might materialize soon as actual *cooperative di comunità*. The municipality, foundations, professionals are both accompanying current promising initiatives and creating the local conditions for the emergence of bottom-up participation in all neighbourhoods of the city, even the most deprived ones. This double assistance may ensure the rise of the *cooperative di comunità* as a model of social innovation development for the city of Milan.



## Bibliography

<http://www.euricse.eu/it/projects/impres-e-cooperative-sociali-e-di-comunita/>, last accessed on April 14<sup>th</sup> 2016

<https://www.che-fare.com/ricerca/oltre-la-rigenerazione-spazi-impres-sociali-sviluppo-locale/>, last accessed on April 14<sup>th</sup> 2016

<https://www.che-fare.com/ricerca/beni-comuni-contratto-sociale-governance-cooperativa-dei-servizi-pubblici-locali/>, last accessed on April 14<sup>th</sup> 2016

<http://www.olinda.org/cittaolinda/citt%C3%A0-olinda> last accessed on June 1st 2016

<http://maremilano.org/>, last accessed on June 1st 2016

<http://www.labanlieue.eu/>, last accessed on June 1st 2016

<https://isolapepeverde.wordpress.com/azioni-e-documenti/>, last accessed on June 1st 2016

<http://www.fondazionebrodolini.it/pubblicazioni/i-quaderni>, last accessed on June 1st 2016

<http://segnalidifuturo.com/>, last accessed on June 1st 2016

<http://www.progetto-rena.it/>, last accessed on June 1st 2016

<http://www.rivistaimpresasociale.it/rivista/item/114-innovazione-dal-basso-impres-comunita.html>, last accessed on July 6th 2016

<http://www.rivistaimpresasociale.it/rivista/item/117-cooperative-comunita.html>, last accessed on July 6th 2016

<http://www.rivistaimpresasociale.it/rivista/item/115-energia-impres-comunita.html>, last accessed on July 6th 2016

<http://www.interieur.gouv.fr/Actualites/Dossiers/La-decentralisation-a-30-ans>, last accessed on August 3rd 2016

[http://www.alternatives-economiques.fr/-les-societes-cooperatives-d-interet-collectif--scic-fr\\_art\\_350\\_27916.html](http://www.alternatives-economiques.fr/-les-societes-cooperatives-d-interet-collectif--scic-fr_art_350_27916.html), last accessed on August 3rd 2016

<https://www.biglotteryfund.org.uk/global-content/programmes/england/power-to-change/ptc--what-is-a-community-enterprise>, last accessed on August 3rd 2016

<http://www.avanzi.org/>, last accessed on September 1<sup>st</sup> 2016

<http://www.agenziacoessione.gov.it/it/index.html>, last accessed on September 2<sup>nd</sup> 2016

- BALDUCCI A. (2003), *The social production of public goods in the fragmented city*, ACSP-AESOP Third Congress: The Network society. The New Context for Planning.
- BARCA F. (2009), *An agenda for a reformed cohesion policy, a place-based approach to meeting European Union challenges and expectations*.
- BOONSTRA B. (2015), *Planning Strategies in an Age of Active Citizenship, A Post-structuralist Agenda for Self-organization in Spatial Planning*, PhD series InPlanning, book
- BRIATA P., BRICOCOLI M., TEDESCO C. (2009), *Città in periferia, politiche urbane e progetti locali in Francia, Gren Bretagna e Italia*, Carocci.
- COMUNE DI MILANO (2016), *Libro bianco sull'innovazione sociale, accelerare l'ecosistema locale per l'innovazione sociale*.
- COTTINO P., ZANDONAI F. (2012), *Progetti d'impresa sociale come strategie di rigenerazione urbana: spazi e metodi per l'innovazione sociale*, Euricse Working Paper, N.042 | 12.
- COTTINO P., Usi del riuso, Communitas, COTTINO P., ZANDONAI F. (2012), *Progetti d'impresa sociale come strategie di rigenerazione urbana: spazi e metodi per l'innovazione sociale*, Euricse Working Paper, N.042 | 12.
- DEMOUSTIER D., VALLAT D. (2004), *Économie sociale et solidaire et Politique de la Ville*, RECMA Revue international de l'économie sociale N°296, pp. 70-82
- EME B. (2004), *Gouvernance territoriale et mouvements d'économie sociale et solidaire*, RECMA Revue international de l'économie sociale N°296, pp. 42-55
- ENJOLRAS B. (2004), *Économie sociale et solidaire et régime de gouvernance*, RECMA Revue international de l'économie sociale N°296, pp. 56-69
- EURICSE (2016), *Libro bianco - La cooperazione di comunità, Azione e politiche per consolidare le pratiche e sbloccare il potenziale di imprenditoria comunitaria*
- EUROPEAN COMMISSION (2014), *Community-Led Local Development*.
- FARERI P. (a cura di GIRAUDI M.) (2009), *Rallentare, il disegno delle politiche pubbliche*, FrancoAngeli/DIAP.
- FOSTER S., IAIONE C. (2016), *The city as a common*, Yale Law and Policy review, pp. 281-349
- FUNG A. (2003), *Associations and democracy: Between Theories, Hopes, and Realities*, pp.515-538
- HARVEY D. (2013), *Rebel cities: from the right to the city to the urban revolution*
- HARVEY D. (2003), *Right to the city*, 27 INT'L J. URB. REGIONAL RES.939
- HULGARD L. (2010), *Discourses of Social Entrepreneurship – Variations on the Same Theme?* Emes Working Paper, WP 10/01.
- INFORMAL MEETING OF EU MINISTERS RESPONSIBLE FOR URBAN MATTERS (2016), *Establishing the Urban Agenda for the EU, "Pact of Amsterdam"*

- JUDGE D., STOKER G. and WOLMAN H. (eds.), (1995), *Theories of Urban Politics*, Sage, London.
- LAURIA M. (ed.), (1997), *Reconstructing Urban Regime Theory. Regulating Urban Politics in a Global economy*, Sage, Thousand Oaks
- LE GALES P. (2003), *European cities. Social conflict and Governance*, Oxford University Press
- LE XUAN S., TRICARICO L. (2014), *Imprese comuni: Community enterprises e rigenerazione urbana nel Regno Unito*, Maggioli ed.
- LEFEBVRE H. (1968), *Le droit à la ville*, Anthropos
- LEFÈVRE C. (1998), *Metropolitan Government and Governance in Western Countries: A Critical Review*, in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 22, n° 25, pp.9-25.
- LEGACOOOP (2011), *Guida alle cooperative di comunità*.
- LEGACOOOP (2016), *Cooperative di comunità, opportunità di sviluppo e lavoro per il bene comune*
- LIENARD Y.A. (2016), *Du service public au service citoyen: la SCIC, un statut adapté à cette ambition*, RECMA Revue internationale de l'économie sociale, n°340, pp.65-76
- MELUCCI A. (1996), *Challenging Codes. Collective Action in the Information Age*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- MEMBRETTI A. (2007), *Centro sociale Leoncavallo building citizenship as an innovative service*, *European Urban and Regional Studies* 14(3): 252-263
- MIRAFTAB F. (2008), *Decentralization and Entrepreneurial Planning in Victoria Beard, Faranak MirafTAB and Chris Silver (eds.) Planning and Decentralization: Contested Spaces for Public Action in the Global South*. New York: Routledge. (pp.21-35)
- MORI P.A. (2014), *Community and cooperation: the evolution of cooperatives towards new models of citizens' democratic participation in public services provision*, Euricse Working Paper
- MOULAERT F., MARTINELLI F., GONZALEZ S., SWYNGEDOUW E. (2007), *Introduction: Social Innovation and Governance in European Cities. Urban Development Between Path-Dependency and Radical Innovation*, *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 14(3), pp. 195-209. n. 63 | 14.
- OSTROM E. (1990), *Governing the Commons: the evolution of institutions for collective action*
- PELLIZZONI L. (2008), *Politiche pubbliche e nuove forme di partecipazione*, *Partecipazione e conflitto*-2008, n.0, pp. 93-116.
- SASSEN S. (2015), *Who owns our Cities and Why this Urban Takeover Should Concern Us All*, *Guardian* (Nov.14, 2015)



## Bibliography

SILVER H., SCOTT A. and KAZEPOV Y. (2010), *Participation in Urban Contention and Deliberation*, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Volume 34.3, pp 435-477

THOMAS O. (2003), *Démocratie participative et gouvernance urbaine : la permanence d'un mythe*.

TRICARICO L. (2014), *Imprese di Comunità nelle Politiche di Rigenerazione Urbana: Definire ed Inquadrare il Contesto Italiano*, Euricse Working Papers, 68 | 14.

VAN GENT (W.P.C) (et al) (2009), *Disentangling neighbourhood problems: Area-based interventions in Western European cities*, Urban Research and Practice, Vol. 2, p. 53-67, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group

VENTURI P., ZANDONAI F. (2012b), *Innovazione sociale e imprese sociali*, short paper Aiccon

ZANDONAI F. (2011) (a cura di), *I beni della comunità. Asset comunitari tra tradizione emodernità*, *Communitas* n. 51.

