

# Policy Design in Demographic Decline

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Development strategies for demographic decline  
in Italian 'Inner Areas' as innovative projects of citizenship?

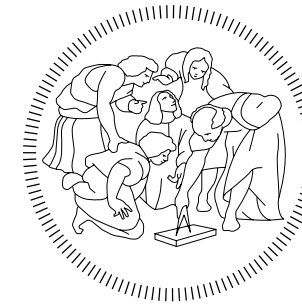


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Faculty ..... **AUIC** // School of Architecture Urban Planning Construction Engineering  
academic year ..... 2015-2016



# POLITECNICO MILANO 1863



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# Index

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<b>Abstract // ita</b> .....	<b>14</b>
<b>Abstract // eng</b> .....	<b>15</b>
<b>Research's limits</b> .....	<b>16</b>
<b>Acronyms</b> .....	<b>17</b>
<b>Introduction to the research</b> .....	<b>19</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Depopulation and cities: positions and challenges</b> .....	<b>20</b>
1.1. The theoretical debate on shrinkage in Europe .....	24
1.1.1. Europe's engagement on healing abandonment processes .....	25
1.2. Depopulation in Italy? Data and findings .....	31
1.2.1. Demographic perspective.....	31
1.2.2. Municipalities' perspective.....	32
1.3. Abandonment of Italian small centers: the urban practice between experimentation and rationalization	35
1.3.1. The revitalization approach: small abandoned towns as cultural commodities?.....	36
1.3.2. The rational approach: the fusions of small towns, is it enough?.....	38
1.3.3. The istitutional approach: Comunità montane.....	40
1.4. Depopulation, from a statistical phenomena to a policy subject?.....	41
1.4.1 From cities to areas? Is depopulation an rural or urban issue? .....	42
1.4.2 A crossroad for depopulation theories and tools in Italy. The EU's backing.....	44
<b>Chapter 2: The National Strategy for Inner Areas</b> .....	<b>46</b>
2.1. A national call to redefine policy design in marginalized and depopulated territories .....	48
2.2. How much of the Italian territory is at stake? .....	49
2.2.1. Altimetric factors .....	50
2.2.2. Transport and peripherality .....	51
2.3. The right to access to basic services as inherent matter of citizenship .....	56
2.3.1. Local development processes as a "vested right" of citizenship?.....	57
2.4. SNAI's devices and operability .....	58
2.4.1. Actions and actors .....	58
2.4.2. Multi funding strategies.....	60
2.4.3 Financial allocation for local projects .....	61

2.4.4. Additional objectives for implementing local and communitarian governance .....	62
2.5. The Inner Areas' challenges .....	64
2.5.1. Reframing the condition of marginality and territorial stigmatization .....	64
2.5.2. From subsistence culture to cooperation.....	65
2.5.3. Beyond the administrative limit: a territorial-identity approach.....	66
2.5.4. Citizenship as ideal proxy for the revision of planning and political practice .....	66
<b>Chapter 3: Montagna Materana's Inner Area</b> .....	<b>68</b>
3.1. Montagna Materana introduction .....	70
3.1.1. Introduction.....	70
3.1.2. History of the area .....	72
3.1.3. Montagna Materana before SNAI. Local development planning tools' evolution .....	73
3.2. Montagna Materana's Inner Area, iter and process .....	76
3.2.1. Project Iter .....	76
3.2.2. Structures of interaction among stakeholders.....	78
3.2.3. Operability of the Strategy.....	78
3.2.4. Finance allocation in Montagna Materana.....	81
3.3. Montagna Materana's project.....	84
3.3.1. General outline.....	84
3.3.2. Agriculture.....	84
3.3.3. Tourism.....	87
3.3.4. Accessibility. ....	88
3.3.5. Education .....	92
3.3.6. Healthcare.....	96
3.4. Living the Montagna Materana, witnesses and impacts.....	100
3.4.1. Interviews and site visit.....	100
3.5. Montagna Materana, what forms of citizenship claim?.....	102
3.5.1. Citizenship as a project. ....	102
3.5.1.1. Citizenship's goods per capita: just a matter of balance?.....	102
3.5.2. Citizenship as a process.....	103
3.5.2.1. Depopulation and citizenship. Has SNAI underestimated the burden of depopulation f or Montagna Materana?.....	103
3.5.3. Interchangeable citizens? Migrations and mutations of local inhabitants.....	104
3.6. Conclusions and critical points.....	105
3.6.1. Margins of reversibility: can Montagna Materana invert its demographic decline? .....	105

3.6.2	<i>Margins of innovation between three seasons for local development: Comunità Montana, GAL, Inner Area</i> .....	107
3.6.3	<i>Margins of integration between resources and their mobilization in Montagna Materana</i> .....	109
	3.6.4 <i>Final conclusions and open questions</i> .....	110
<b>Chapter 4: Alta Valtellina's Inner Area</b> .....		<b>112</b>
4.1.	Alta Valtellina introduction .....	114
4.1.1	<i>Introduction</i> .....	114
4.1.2	<i>History of the area</i> .....	116
4.1.3	<i>Alta Valtellina before SNAI. Local development planning tools' evolution</i> .....	118
4.2.	Alta Valtellina's Inner Area, iter and process.....	120
4.2.1	<i>Project Iter</i> .....	120
4.2.2	<i>Structures of interaction among stakeholders</i> .....	122
4.2.3	<i>Operability of the Strategy</i> .....	124
4.2.4	<i>Finance allocation in Alta Valtellina</i> .....	125
4.3.	Alta Valtellina's project.....	128
4.3.1	<i>General outline</i> .....	128
4.3.2	<i>Accessibility</i> .....	128
4.3.3	<i>Environment and agriculture</i> .....	132
4.3.4	<i>Tourism</i> .....	135
4.3.5	<i>Education</i> .....	137
4.3.6	<i>Healthcare</i> .....	140
4.4.	Living Alta Valtellina, witnesses and impacts .....	142
4.4.1	<i>Interviews and site visit</i> .....	142
4.5.	Alta Valtellina, what forms of citizenship claim? .....	144
4.5.1.	<i>Citizenship as a project</i> .....	144
4.5.1.1	<i>Surplus or deficit? The paradoxes of a tourism-oriented territorial economic model</i> .....	144
4.5.2	<i>Citizenship as a process</i> .....	146
4.5.2.1	<i>The project of an Alpine Identity</i> .....	146
4.6.	Conclusions and critical points.....	149
4.6.1	<i>Margins of reversibility: is Alta Valtellina in demographic decline?</i> .....	149
4.6.2	<i>Margins of innovation among stakeholders: is SNAI encouraging new comers into the decisional arena?</i> .....	151
4.6.3	<i>Margins of integration between resources and their mobilization in Alta Valtellina</i> .....	152
4.6.4	<i>Final conclusions and open questions</i> .....	155

<b>Chapter 5: SNAI as an innovative project of citizenship?</b> .....		<b>156</b>
5.1.	Inner Areas as innovative projects of citizenship design? .....	159
5.1.1.	<i>Is depopulation a policy issue?</i> .....	159
5.1.2	<i>Conclusion's structure</i> .....	160
5.2.	Direct questions. What sort of policy design? .....	161
5.2.1	<i>SNAI as an economic measure of territorial nature</i> .....	161
5.2.2	<i>The relevance of Inner Areas' recognition and its methodological limits</i> .....	161
5.3.	Transversal issues. SNAI as an exercise for governance and policy innovation? .....	164
5.3.1	<i>Italian governance levels in question. Is SNAI innovative and multi-scalar?</i> .....	164
5.3.2	<i>Questioning Institutional capacity in the two case studies</i> .....	167
5.3.3	<i>The three dimensions of citizenship. How to size them?</i> .....	171
	5.3.3.1 <i>Evaluation of the three dimensions of citizenship in the two case studies</i> .....	172
	5.3.3.2 <i>EDUCATION</i> .....	172
	5.3.3.3 <i>HEALTHCARE</i> .....	172
	5.3.3.4 <i>ACCESSIBILITY</i> .....	172
	5.3.3.5 <i>Final comments on essential services</i> .....	173
5.4.	Lateral issues. SNAI's open questions.....	175
5.4.1	<i>Weaknesses: gaps between SNAI's aspirations with local realities</i> .....	175
	5.4.1.1 <i>Systemic thinking versus episodic projects</i> .....	175
	5.4.1.2 <i>Inner Areas' interpretation of endogenous values to enhance. Touristic-driven proposals limitations</i> .....	175
5.4.2	<i>Opportunities for of Inner Areas</i> .....	176
	5.4.2.1 <i>Capacity-building witnessed from past experiences. Leader programmes, from project to approach</i> .....	176
	5.4.2.2 <i>A re-discovered importance local scale</i> .....	176
	5.4.2.3 <i>Inner Areas as the overlap space of endogenous and exogenous resources</i> .....	177
5.5.	Open questions on contemporary citizenship design in marginal areas.....	179
5.5.1	<i>Who created the Inner Ares? Questioning State's responsibilities in demographic decline and territorial marginalization</i> .....	179
5.5.2	<i>Inner Areas' systematic exclusion. The need to create a counterbalance to metropolitan cities' attraction to slow down demographic development</i> .....	180
5.5.3	<i>Inner Areas' latent exploitation. The necessity for a super-vision of local practices against deprecations: speculation on second homes in Valtellina and land exploitation in Basilicata</i> .....	182
5.5.4	<i>Inner Areas' disillusion from Central State aid. Legacies from disastrous territorial events in Montagna Materana and Alta Valtellina</i> .....	184
5.5.5	<i>Spatializing politics. Correlation between forms of systemic mistrust and characters of European territorial contexts?</i> .....	185
<b>Sources and bibliography:</b> .....		<b>190</b>
<b>Web sources and sitography</b> .....		<b>197</b>



## Abstract // ita

Negli ultimi decenni, inaspettate dinamiche di densificazione stanno ricostruendo differenti schemi di sviluppo urbano nel mondo. Mentre alcune città accrescono in popolazione altre attraversano un processo di declino, ove complesse interrelazioni tra spopolamento, alterazioni economiche, spostamenti sociali e impoverimento spaziale sollevano molte sfide ai policy makers.

In Italia, l'emanazione della Strategia Nazionale Aree Interne (SNAI) nel 2012 ha posto l'accento su queste questioni, puntando all'esplorazione di nuove possibilità per invertire il declino demografico e permettere a territori depressi di emergere dalla stagnazione. La SNAI assume caratteri interessanti, in quanto articola le tematiche di spopolamento con riflessioni sui servizi essenziali ai cittadini, inquadrando il tutto in una visione su tutta la nazione, entro la cui necessità di innovazione è spesso sollecitata. La progettualità che propone la SNAI è spesso alimentata dalla ricerca di forme e processi di 'cittadinanza' sia in termini di diritti da garantire – attraverso misure di ricalibratura di domande pregresse sui servizi essenziali – ma anche nell'ottica dei doveri da conseguire – in rispetto al sussidio comunitario, revisione strutturale delle capacità istituzionali locali e misure di sussistenza verso le aree marginali italiane. La tesi si interroga su: come spopolamento è divenuto un 'policy driver' nella SNAI? Come il 'progetto di cittadinanza' entra nelle problematiche dello spopolamento? In che misura la SNAI è innovativa?

Nel primo capitolo, la ricerca esplora le ragioni per cui lo spopolamento è divenuto oggetto di policy nel mondo, e come questo ha guidato l'articolazione di una strategia nazionale per l'Italia, analizzando attraverso le municipalità la portata e la scala dello spopolamento in Italia e le sue contingenze causali. Il secondo capitolo descrive i contenuti della SNAI, registrandone gli sforzi innovativi sulla redistribuzione di risorse qualitative e riorganizzazione delle competenze locali. I capitoli tre e quattro sono dedicati a due casi studio, rispettivamente Montagna Materana in Basilicata e l'Alta Valtellina in Lombardia. Le analisi si concentrano sull'attuale distribuzione e performance dei servizi locali – con particolare attenzione ai tre servizi essenziali ai cittadini: accessibilità, servizi scolastici e sanitari. Inoltre la ricerca affonda sulle problematiche empiriche delle aree attraverso interviste e approfondimenti su questioni locali rilevanti. Il quinto capitolo scorpora le tematiche e i principi fondativi della SNAI, valutandone le aspirazioni con gli impatti reali nei due casi studio. Gli ultimi paragrafi restituiscono le domande aperte sul progetto di cittadinanza contemporaneo nelle aree marginali d'Italia ma anche in altri contesti nel mondo.

## Abstract // eng

In the last decades, unexpected densification dynamics are reshaping different patterns of urban development worldwide. While some cities increment their population others experience a process of decline, where complex interrelations between depopulation, economic shifts, social displacement and spatial depletion upraise several challenges for policy makers.

In Italy, the emanation of the National Strategy for Inner Areas (SNAI) in 2012 has putted the accent on these matters, aiming to explore new possibilities to invert demographic decline and enable depressed territories to emerge from stagnation. SNAI assumes interesting characters, as it articulates the thematic of depopulation with the reflections of essential services for local citizens, framing it in a nationwide vision, within which a call for innovation is often requested. SNAI's vision is therefore alimeted by the research of forms and processes 'citizenship' both in terms of rights to guarantee – through measures of retrofit pre-existing demands of local essential services – but also with a view on duties to accomplish – in respect to communitarian aids, structural revision of institutional capacities and subsidiary measures in Italian marginal areas. The thesis questions: how depopulation became a policy driver in SNAI? How citizenship design enters in depopulation issues? To what extent SNAI is innovative?

In the first chapter, the research explores the reasons why depopulation became a policy subject around the world, and eventually how drove the articulation of a national strategy for Italy, analysing through local municipalities' the burden and the scale of depopulation in Italy and its causal contingencies. The second chapter describes the contents of SNAI, and questions its innovative exerts on the redistribution of qualitative assets and reorganization of local competences. Chapters three and four are dedicated to two case studies, respectively Montagna Materana in Basilicata and Alta Valtellina in Lombardy. The analysis focus on current distribution and performance of local services – with particular attention to the three citizens' essential services: accessibility, education and healthcare. Furthermore the research deepens empirical issues of the areas through interviews and insights on local relevant questions. The fifth chapter breaks down SNAI's founding themes and principles, evaluating its aspirations with the actual local impact on the two case studies. The last paragraphs deliver open questions to contemporary citizenship design in Italian marginal areas but in other contexts in the world.



## Research's limits

This thesis has acknowledges a series of limits that have influenced the analysis of information and eventually their elaboration.

- ▶ A limited number of case studies. As the National Strategy of Inner Areas provides 60 possible case studies, among which 21 as pilot-areas, for the purpose of the research the analysis where carried mainly on the two cases of Montagna Materana in Basilicata and Alta Valtellina in Lombardy. Consequently, the evaluations of SNAI programme in this research suffers of a limited point of view, which might be enriched by further studies on other project areas in the future.
- ▶ Outdated data from census years. Most of the data gathered belong to the last National Census carried in 2011. At the present year (2017) several information may have been changed. However, wherever possible, the gathering of information included also non-institutional data from other institutional or autonomous sources, which had more updated data but yet, not officially delivered from governmental bodies (as OSM data).
- ▶ Incompatibility on the amount of data provided by local databases of geographical information systems. That is discriminant for a quantitative comparison between the two case studies. While Lombardy has a rich DBT in GIS (as it is a formal requirement established by its Regional Law), Basilicata has a very basic portal of open data that is to a certain extent poorer of information.
- ▶ State of completion of SNAI programme. As the national strategy has been launched relatively soon (from 2013) its state of completion on local Inner Areas is still pending in most of the cases. At the current year, none of the Inner Areas have formally launched any physical project, while they're currently engaged in the programming phases of the strategy. In the future, more concrete evaluations may be carried as projects will be on site.
- ▶ Language. Most of the documents read for the purpose of the research where written in Italian. It implied on one hand an additional difficulty to effectively translate in English terms and concepts, for the syntactical difference between the two languages, plus, as not-native speaker, despite the texts revisions from professionals, the written text can suffer of translation limits.

## Acronyms

<b>AI</b>	Area Interna / Inner Area
<b>APQ</b>	Accordo Programma Quadro
<b>AV</b>	Alta Valtellina
<b>CM</b>	Comunità Montana
<b>CTAI</b>	Commissione Tecnica per le Aree Interne / Technical Committee for Inner Areas
<b>DPS</b>	Dipartimento per le Politiche di Sviluppo / Department for Development Policies
<b>FCC</b>	Fondo Comuni Confinanti
<b>GAL</b>	Gruppo Azione Locale / Local Action Group
<b>LR</b>	Legge Regionale / Regional Law
<b>MM</b>	Montagna Materana
<b>TPL</b>	Trasporto Pubblico Locale / Local Public Transport
<b>PIT</b>	Piano Integrato del Territorio / Integrated plan of the Territory
<b>PTCP</b>	Piano Territoriale di Coordinamento Provinciale / Territorial Plan for Provincial Coordination
<b>PRG</b>	Piano Regolatore Generale / General Plan
<b>PGT</b>	Piano di Governo del Territorio / Plan for Territorial Government
<b>PON</b>	Programmi Operativi Nazionale / National Operative Programmes
<b>POR</b>	Programmi Operativi Regionale / Regional Operative Programmes
<b>SNAI</b>	Strategia Nazionale Aree Interne / National Strategy for Inner Areas
<b>FSIE</b>	Fondi Strutturali e di Investimento Europei / European Structural and Investment Funds
<b>FEARS</b>	Fondo Europeo Agricolo per lo Sviluppo Rurale
<b>FC</b>	Fondo di Coesione
<b>FEAMP</b>	Fondo Europeo per gli Affari Marittimi e la Pesca
<b>FSE</b>	Fondo Sociale Europeo   European Social Fund
<b>FESR</b>	Fondo Europeo di Sviluppo Regionale

## Introduction to the research

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From 2007 the half of the world population became 'urban'<sup>1</sup> (UN, 2007). This demographic shift from rural to urban areas, is the result of migration dynamics towards developed combined with the fact that more people born and raise in cities (UN, 2007). This gradual transition towards cities has been witnessed, studied and described since the most ancient times, but starting from the second industrial revolution the attraction of population towards urban centers soon appeared as inevitable and unstoppable. As productive activities grew, the more acute became the distinction growing urban system and a depopulating rural territory – still today we weight urbanization rates in the shares urban population over the rural one – the but real implications are way far from being just a binary distinction from a growing “urban” reality and a declining “rural” territory.

Thus, territories and cities naturally grow and decline in cycles which are determined by macro-level processes, such as economic activity and changes in political regimes or economic policy (Martinez-Fernandez et al. 2012a)<sup>2</sup>. Many may find solid proofs that global processes speeded up this urban migration, but it would be a very partial reading of way more complex mutations that societies experienced along the latest decades. Globalization rather than be the justification of migration can be used rather to acknowledge how competitive gains produced for some [territories] at the expense of others (Krugman, Venables 1995 ;Scott, 2009)<sup>34</sup>.

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1 United Nations Population Fund (2007), State of World Population 2007: Unleashing the Potential of Urban Growth

2 Martinez-Fernandez, C., et al. (2012a), 'Shrinking Cities: Urban challenges of globalization', International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 1-13.

3 Krugman, P., & Venables, A. J. (1995). Globalization and the Inequality of Nations. The quarterly journal of economics, 110(4), 857-880.

4 Scott, A. J. (2008). Social economy of the metropolis: Cogni-

In this so-called “Urban Era” (where urban population is expected to reach the 66% by 2050, (UN Revision, 2014)<sup>5</sup>, as some cities are reaching their critical mass densification-related issues appears as the most urgent matter to deal with. But while for densification consequences on cities and social structures has been largely discussed (congestion, pollution, sprawl, slums, etc.) regarding the other side of the coin, the abandonment of territories, only recently has been systematically studied by researchers and scholars.

In the face of this epochal urban growth, to talk about dissolution of inhabitants and eventually abandonment of urban centers might appear paradoxical, ambiguous, and sometimes an over-statement. However, there are several proofs that abandonment of territories is rapidly reaching a concerning scale. Several positions are raising in claiming for more innovative approaches in analysing how and where populations decide to locate and more specifically, which is the legacy and cost of abandonment.

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ive-cultural capitalism and the global resurgence of cities. OUP Oxford.

5 United Nations Population Division (2014) , World Urbanization Prospects: The 2014 Revision

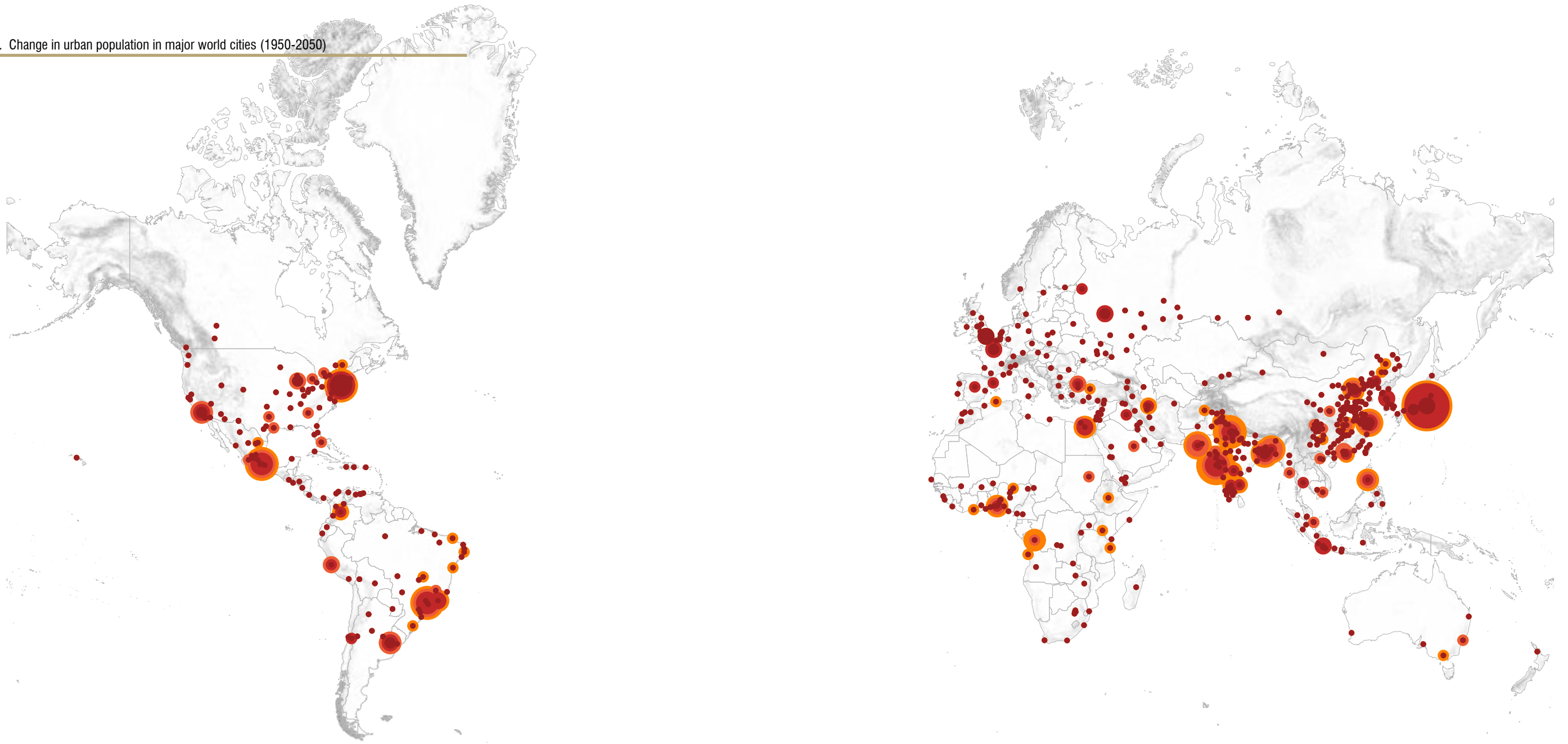


# CHAPTER 1

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**Depopulation and cities:  
positions and challenges**

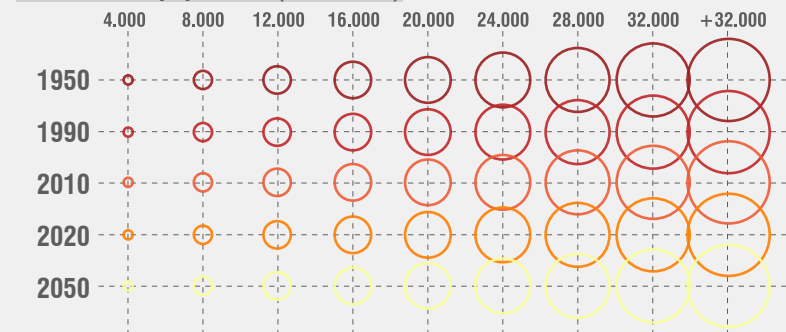
Map 1. Change in urban population in major world cities (1950-2050)



Scale 1: 100.000.000

LEGEND

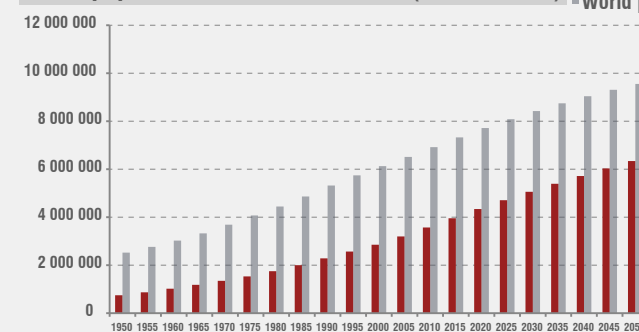
Cities' urban population (thousands)



The map shows the change in urban population in the major world cities ranging from 1950's to 2050. As shown from the diagram, in the future decades a greater growth is forecasted to happen especially both Americas, Africa and Asian countries, while in Europe the size of the urban population won't change drastically staying instead more or less stable to the same amount of urban population reckoned in the 90's.

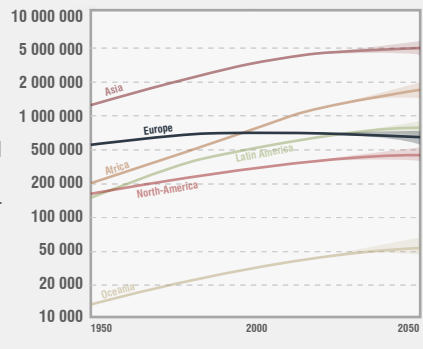
Source: UN The World Urbanization Prospects (2014)

World population from 1950 to 2050 (in thousands)



In the overall analysis of growth of total population and its relative share with urban population, clustered by continent, is pretty evident that Europe, compared to other continents will grow still in population.

Source: UN The World Urbanization Prospects (2014)



## 1.1. The theoretical debate on shrinkage in Europe

While shrinkage process has been extensively discussed in the American planning theory, abandonment and 'shrinkage' processes were a taboo subject in Europe and systematically disregarded as a dominant development trend (Wiechmann, 2009). Within the administrative systems, traditionally oriented towards growth objectives, shrinkage was considered to be intractable, or simply a problem which only concerned company towns in the US.

This refusal can be partially justified by the burden that shrinkage has in the US that is way more visible and acute. The withdrawal of large industrial firms left several cities of the former Steel-Belt on the east coast - but also on the eastern one - as a brain-drained towns, and soon the problem became systemic and of national concern (Hollander, 2001)<sup>1</sup>. In Europe the identification of the reason for shrinkage and abandonment processes is more variegated, as we're dealing with a very diverse set of identities, political assets, urban tissues, histories and so forth. The complexity and the variety of possible evidences of shrinkage processes in Europe created several different positions:

The skepticals reassert shrinkage processes in Europe are not critical or even do not exist at all. The main criticism that these opinions bring up to the discussion can be clustered in the following topics:

- ▶ **Europe is facing demographic change rather than decline.** The growing flow of migrants in the last years is surely changing ethnic composition of European cities, so while even if "native" European population is declining (lower natality and/or increase in

elderly rates), foreign migrants are somehow replacing the losses and so they heal the temporary demographic depression.

- ▶ **The difference lies in political attitude, governance and economic models.** European public sector is less dominated by growth regimes compared to the US, and urban markets are more diversified, so less exposed to perverse consequences derived from the withdrawal of large firms (Friedrichs, 1993)<sup>2</sup>.
- ▶ **Confusions and misperceptions between suburbanization and shrinkage.** Many believe to adopt the term "shrinking" for European cities and regions is an overstatement, or a theoretical artifice. The main argument is that shrinking cities were in reality just cities which were experiencing suburbanization. As witnessed of old human ecology scholars (Burgess, 1929)<sup>3</sup>, the abandonment on inner cores or large portion of metropolitan areas were related to social aspects, where the gradual interchange of social classes preside in different times and areas of cities (zones, rings etc.). While neoclassical economic literature underscores people's preferences and trade-offs between land and commuting costs, housing location and features (Audirac, 2009 et al.). Political economy approach brings instead the issue of gentrification to justify the expulsion of "native" deprived citizens.

The supporters of an European shrinkage theory agree that the phenomena is happening, urge to seek for innovative forms of management of the process. It might be interesting to distinguish two kinds of approaches and figures as sub-categories

2 Friedrichs, J. (1993). A theory of urban decline: economy, demography and political elites. *Urban Studies*, 30(6), 907-917.

3 Burgess, E.W. (1925). The growth of the city; an introduction to a research project. In: R.E. Park, E.W. Burgess and R.D. McKenzie (Eds.), *The City*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press

of this position:

- ▶ **The regeneration strategy**, promoted by those which seek from risk of depletion - real or propagandized (Coppola, 2010) - an opportunity to pursue ambitious projects for refurbishment and revitalization of inner cities' spaces. From the 70's oil crisis the challenge restructure local economies and the concurrence of eased market trades, shaped a new set praxis for engaging large partnerships with private operators to sustain ambitious and iconic projects. Scholars acknowledged that regeneration, as a growth-oriented strategy, has intensified the negative consequences of shrinkage because it goes along with a single-minded orientation toward massive investments, which is necessary to break the downward economic spiral but yet unfeasible in the long run (Häußermann and Siebel 1987). European 'regenerated' cities have often widened the gap among social classes and paradoxically exacerbate the very same problem that regeneration projects were aimed to heal (Slater, 2008)<sup>4</sup>.
- ▶ **The "management" of built environment approach**, that focuses into re-theorising planning paradigms under specific strategies engaged always more with the *management* of the depreciated declining cities by combining different thematic fields (social rehabilitation, energy, environment, data collection etc.) with spatial projects in urban voids. Blueprint Buffalo address the problem of flat-vacancies with can serve to resize the development plans of the city by prioritizing in-filling

4 Slater, T. (2009) 'Missing Marcuse: On gentrification and displacement', *City*, 13:2, 292 — 311

and refurbishment projects rather than expansion (Schilling, 2009)<sup>5</sup>, other initiatives instead are focusing on the rehabilitation of local deprived communities through community gardens (Schilling and Logan, 2009)<sup>6</sup>. Here, maybe for the first time in modern urban planning, planners disengage from the illusion of new growth and aspire to conduct a pragmatic deconstruction (Wiechmann, 2009). Not by chance, this position is becoming very incisive in the drafting of communitarian policies, where labels as "smart growth" are becoming very used concepts related to refurbishment of qualitative assets in urban and rural areas.

### 1.1.1. Europe's engagement on healing abandonment processes

Shrinking cities' scholars are constantly exploring the possible reasons leading causal forces of urban retrenchment in Europe. According to the UN, the European urban population grew by 90% between 1950 and 2009, while the total population grew by only 34%. Nevertheless, the UN still projects an increase of the urban population in Europe of just below 10% in the 2009-50 period, while the European population as a whole is predicted to decrease from around 2025.

As fertility remains considerably below replacement rates, in most EU Member States the relatively small EU population growth still observed is mainly due to migration inflows. However, a detailed analysis at regional level reveals a more

5 Schilling, J. (2009). Blueprint Buffalo—using green infrastructure to reclaim America's shrinking cities. *The Future of Shrinking Cities: Problems, Patterns and Strategies of Urban Transformation in a Global Context*, 149-159.

6 Schilling, J., & Logan, J. (2008). Greening the rust belt: A green infrastructure model for right sizing America's shrinking cities. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 74(4), 451-466.

1 Hollander, J. B. (2011). *Sunburnt cities: The great recession, depopulation and urban planning in the American sunbelt*. Routledge.

diverse picture of demographic patterns. The common diagnosis on European shrinkage gives a mixed range of causes of shrinkage, as deindustrialization, post-socialist change, demographic aging and suburbanization (Oswalt, 2006). Cities of Tomorrow report listed three macro-trends for different categories of cities:

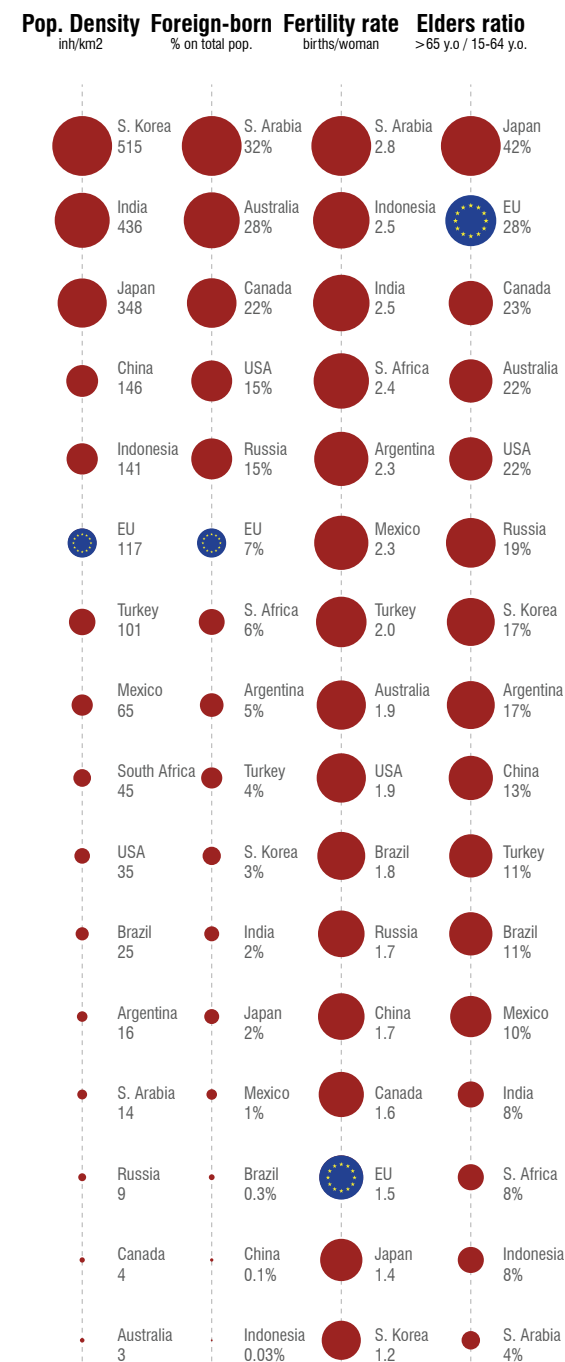
- ▶ Economically dynamic cities. Mainly identified in large metropolitan areas of western Europe connected to the world economy that provide a favourable environment for innovation and economic activity together with attractive living conditions. These cities are experiencing strong population increases through the inflow of highly skilled and less qualified migrants attracted by the cities' economic power and wealth. The biggest challenge for these cities is to operate proper integration strategies to fight social inequalities.
- ▶ Cities with a strong economic background and stagnating or gradually shrinking populations, that are mostly small and medium-sized cities. This phenomena does not necessarily cause serious difficulties, and it may even be an advantage as the density of the urban environment decreases. However, the challenge for these towns is to create flexible urban strategies that can accommodate both upward and downward population changes.
- ▶ Cities within urban areas of complex shrinkage, where both demographic and economic decline can be experienced. These urban areas are mostly located in the Central and Eastern part of the EU (in the Eastern part of Germany and the Eastern regions of Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Romania and Bulgaria), however,

some peripheral areas of Western Europe are also affected (e.g. Southern Italy, Northern England, Northern Scandinavia, etc.). These cities need to focus on strategies to redefine and renew their economic basis as the shrinkage may induce a negative spiral of declining local tax revenues, lower demand for goods and services, loss of jobs, reduced supply of labour and lower investment, resulting in an overall loss of attractiveness.

The growing production of reports, programmes and initiatives are bringing important remarks which are eventually becoming fully embodied by State members political agendas. To study common concerns is fundamental, because links between cities in Europe are considerably more extensive than those on other continents (EU, 2011). The most important dossiers on shrinking cities in Europe have been produced less than a decade ago, as "Cities of Tomorrow: Challenges, visions, ways forward" in 2011, the "Shrink Smart" study funded through the FP7 programme (Bernt, M. et al. 2012) or "COST project: Cities Regrowing Smaller" and "INTERREG projects: dealing with demographic change".

Calls for specific economic policy instruments and proposals for improvements in local governance would therefore appear to be timely and justified. The growing costs of housing, care and transport for older people create a formidable problem constellation for shrinking cities, which face rapidly declining revenues and increasing demands for services. In addition to policy tools which target economic and governance matters, specific social policy interventions addressing welfare services are also needed.

Graph. 3. EU's principal demographic indicators



—Source: The EU in the World: a statistical portrait - Source: Eurostat (2016). The EU in the world. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.  
Data Source: United Nations Population Division - Department of Economic and Social Affairs. Worldbank

## THEMATIC BOX 1.

### The contribution of the American experience: the studies on shrinking cities

One of the most popular term for labelling the process of abandonment of urban centers is “shrinkage”. This particular term has a very strong connotation linked to the North-American experience, but very recently also other nations around the globe are adopting this terminology to investigate on impacts and reasons for demographic decline within urban contexts. The contribution of American scholars was particularly important for the early diffusion of the topic, especially in the early years of the 2000s where the exemplar cases as Detroit, Pittsburg, Flint and many other cities of the Rust-Belt region became paradigmatic in the discussions on reasons and consequences for the abandonment of metropolitan cities and regions. Shrinkage phenomena embraces thus different aspects and empirical evidences:

- ▶ **Demographic decline in a relatively short time frame.** Job-driving migration is a common reason for city shrinkage (Schetke and Haase, 2008)<sup>7</sup>, but also ageing of inhabitants, trends on natalities and mortalities and environmental quality are becoming elements under analysis.
- ▶ **Economic and financial ‘compression’.** A decline in employment, productivity ensues. The out flow of people is then detrimental to the production potential and quality of life in any urban region (Schetke and Haase, 2008). Recalling Albert O. Hirschman<sup>8</sup> we might define shrinkage as a mass-effect of ‘exit’ dynamic of landlords and inhabitants from an

anguished (urban) market (Coppola, 2014)<sup>9</sup>.

- ▶ **Spatial depreciation.** Since the infrastructure of cities is built to support a certain amount of population, its maintenance whenever a declines drastically can become a serious concern. Vacancies of any kind (from residential to office space) generates disturbance by increasing the supply of space, and by consequence a drop in real estate capital values (Schilling, 2009).<sup>10</sup> Even in the dimensioning of planning forecasts, the time required to edit Plans sometimes may mismatch migration trends or deliver unfitting quotas of amenities to a rapidly changing demographic composition. Furthermore, the reciprocal relationship between demographic decline and depreciation of land are also sometimes interchangeable as cause-and-effect, especially on environmental quality and liveability.
- ▶ **Social displacement.** A decline in population does not inspire confidence in a city, and often deteriorates municipal morale (Dewar and Thomas, 2012)<sup>11</sup>. Coupled with a weak economy, the city and its infrastructure begin to deteriorate from lack of upkeep from citizens (Schetke and Haase, 2008) and increases the perception of stigmatization of the

9 Coppola, A. (2014). Pianificare la contrazione: Proprietà, progetto e natura nelle shrinking cities nordamericane (6th ed., Vol. 24, Quaderni). Bergamo: Università degli Studi di Bergamo, Centro Studi sul Territorio, Sestante Edizioni.  
In: ICONEMI – Alla scoperta dei paesaggi bergamaschi

10 Schilling, J. (2009). Blueprint Buffalo—using green infrastructure to reclaim America’s shrinking cities. *The Future of Shrinking Cities: Problems, Patterns and Strategies of Urban Transformation in a Global Context*, 149-160.

11 Dewar, M., & Thomas, J. M. (Eds.). (2012). *The city after abandonment*. University of Pennsylvania Press.



Fig. 1. Detroit 2007 - Source: Google Earth Imagery



Fig. 2. Detroit 2016 - Source: Google Earth Imagery

city and its citizens.

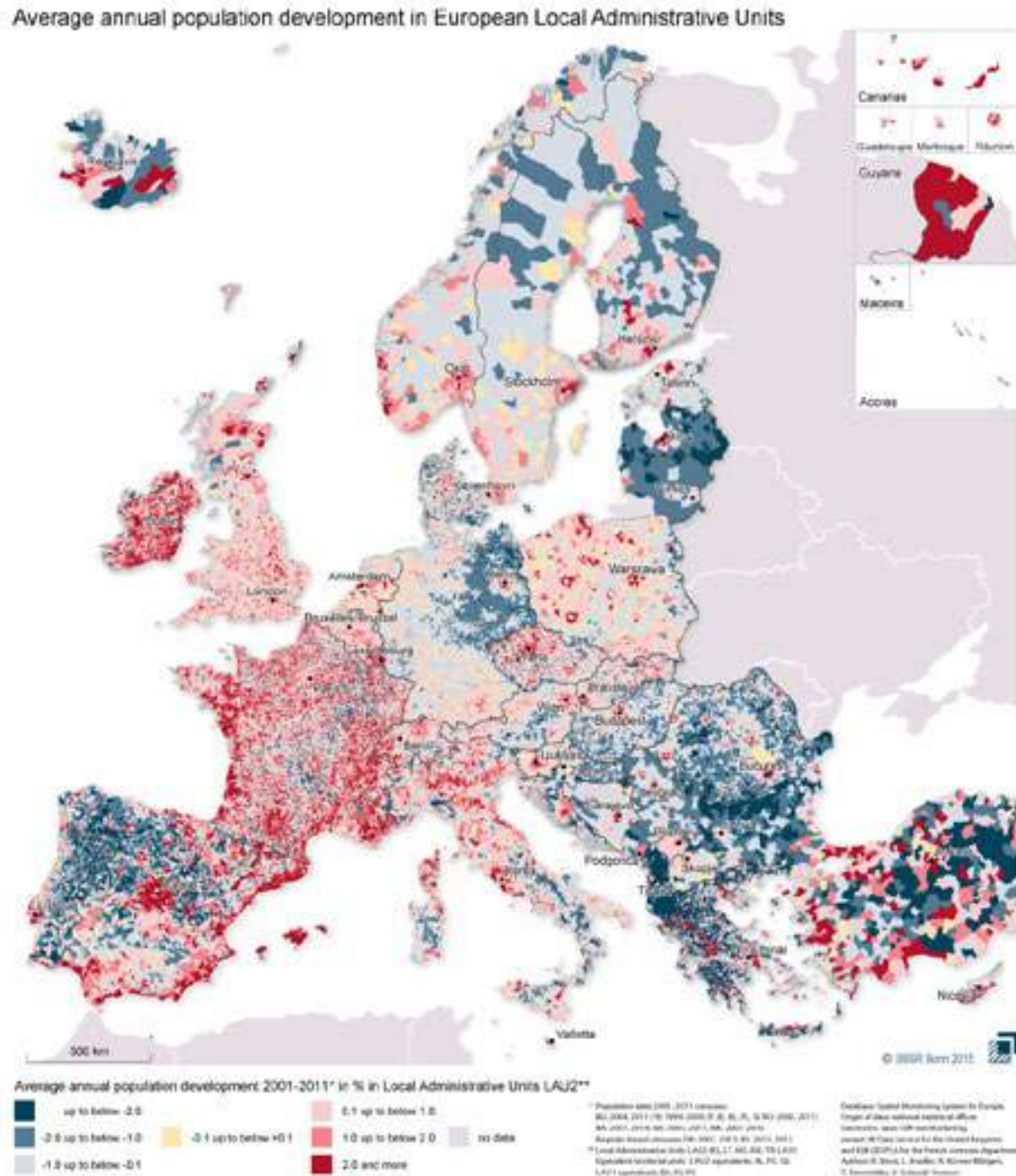
- ▶ **Unsustainable political governance.** Fewer users of public infrastructure may lead to rising costs per head or may even cause the closing of welfare assets schools, libraries, etc. Many governments are trying to reduce taxation for families and firms, but this strategy appears as a weak consolation that in reality may reduce capacities to improve infrastructure – undermining the possibility to develop high-quality public services and improve living conditions for the city itself – but also undermine nearby cities’ fiscal policies (European Mortgage Federation 2012; EU, 2011)<sup>12,13</sup>.

12 European Mortgage Federation (2012). *Hypostat 2011 – A review of Europe’s mortgage and housing markets*.

13 European Union. European Commission. Directorate-General for Regional Policy. (2011). *Cities of Tomorrow: Challenges, Visions, Ways Forward*. Publications Office of the European Union.

7 Schetke, S., & Haase, D. (2008). Multi-criteria assessment of socio-environmental aspects in shrinking cities. *Experiences from Eastern Germany. Environmental Impact Assessment Review*, 28(7), 483-503.

8 Hirschman, A. O. (1970). *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press



—Source: Population development in Europe BBSR Bonn (2015)

## 1.2. Depopulation in Italy? Data and findings

Is Italy declining? How demography changed along the years? Which is the population projection? Can we state that depopulation and eventually abandonment of Italian cities can stand as a concern for the Italian Government and also planning practice?

### 1.2.1. Demographic perspective

Italy has 60.592.547 inhabitants<sup>14</sup> (ISTAT, 2015) and it's the fourth most populous member state of the EU. It's one of the most dense countries among EU state members (200,03 inh/km<sup>2</sup> on an average of 116 inh/km<sup>2</sup>)<sup>15</sup>. Italy has experienced along the decades different moments of demographic growth and stagnation that might be clustered in the following time spans:

- ▶ During the XIX century, till around 1920's the population stood around 22 million of Italian citizens, with very high rates of migration (known as the "Italian Diaspora").
- ▶ From the beginning of the XX century till the end of the 1970's the population grew at 56,4 million, as industrialization and development was highly promoted from the end of the second world war conflict.
- ▶ Between 1981 and 2001 stood still around 56 million. This period of 0-growth of population saw the population relatively unchanged (min 56,4 max 56,8) until the first decennial of the 2000's.
- ▶ The comparison between the latest census years (2001-2011) record an increase of Ita-

lian citizens especially due to the increasing immigration in the country. Regular immigrants today are the 8.3% of the total Italian inhabitants.

From this overall look on demographic data we cannot state that Italy is actually facing a "decline" but rather a change. In fact the contribution of foreign immigrants has retained the count of demographic decline and also increased partially the latest natality rates of families. However, by looking at the distribution of demography on the Italian territory important elements emerge:

- ▶ Foreigners' distribution on Italian Regions is unbalanced and irregular. The Central-Northern regions register the 10% of foreigners while for the South it's just the 3%<sup>16</sup>.
- ▶ Immigrants are more likely to concentrate weather in wealthier regions (as for Lombardia, Veneto, Piemonte) or in the larger cities, where employment opportunities are higher.

Future projections foresee an increase to 63.9 million till 2040 then followed by a decrease (ISTAT, 2011)<sup>17</sup>, while the UN expects a demographic drop already from 2020<sup>18</sup>. So, despite no decline can be actually recorded at the moment, there are different sources which expect in any case a contraction in future's demographic balance. In fact all different forecasts expect a growth variation always around the 0% as natality rates stay low (one of the lowest in the world with 1,43% of birth/woman) and concentration of elders rises (20% of the total population).

<sup>16</sup> Istat (2012) 15° Censimento generale della popolazione e delle abitazioni: anno 2011

<sup>17</sup> Istat (2011) Previsioni della popolazione, 2011 - 2065, dati al 1° gennaio retrieved 10-06-2016

<sup>18</sup> UN (2012) World Population Prospects - Population Division Tables and Data - United Nations. retrieved 10-06-2016

<sup>14</sup> Istat (2015) Bilancio demografico mensile, demo.istat.it. URL retrieved 10-06-2016.

<sup>15</sup> European Commission (2014) "Eurostat-Tables, Graphs and Maps Interface (TGM) table". Retrieved 9 March 2016.



In conclusion, there are no firm evidences that Italy is depopulating. However these are clustered information on the whole nation and merely on age-group classes or citizenship status groups. More interesting findings can be found in the statistical-spatial analysis at the municipalities' scale, as will be shown in the following paragraphs.

### 1.2.2. Municipalities' perspective

As illustrated in the previous paragraph, Italy is one of the most populated EU state member and has a density of inhabitants higher than EU average. The information collected on a demographic basis so far showed that Italy as a whole is not depopulating. Such condition is of course influenced by the large array of data, that provide a comprehensive and maybe too generalized view. By analysing data at the municipal scale there are thus very peculiar situations which help to frame some peculiarities of the Italian administrative systems and how single cities can be harmed by the risk of depopulation.

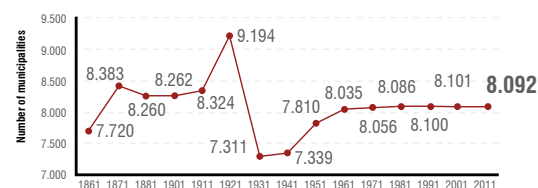
First of all it is necessary to understand how the municipal system is composed nationwide. A peculiarity of the Italian urban-scape is characterized by a polycentric model, where not only large cities but especially small ones constitute the "back bone" of Italian administrative system and territorial model (Bonfantini, 2012). Such condition is of course influenced by the millennial history of the nation. The cumulative process of atthropization along the centuries has still very visible marks not only in the landscape but also in the administrative composition of the whole nation.

The first official records of the whole Italian cities can be traced at the unity of the nation (1861) where there were 7.720 municipalities. As shown in the graph the number of Italian municipalities

where subjected to some changes<sup>19</sup>:

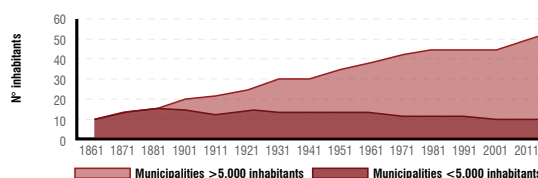
- ▶ From the early ages after the unity, various territorial annexations (as Veneto and the Papal State in 1886 and after WWI also Trentino-Alto Adige, Trieste, Gorizia, Istria e Zara etc.) the number of municipalities increased till its maximum point of 9.194 in 1920's.
- ▶ At the end of WWII the number of cities decreased at 7.810 for the cession of some north-eastern territories to the ex-Yugoslavia and also the establishment of the Italian Republic, that affected local governance and administrations.
- ▶ With the constitution of the Regions during the 1970's, Italy's territorial and administrative systems stayed almost unvaried as today.

Graph. 1. Number of municipalities in Italy from the Unity of the nation till 2011



—Source: IFEL - Ufficio Studi autonomie locali e sistemi territoriali su dati Ministero dell'Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio e Istat

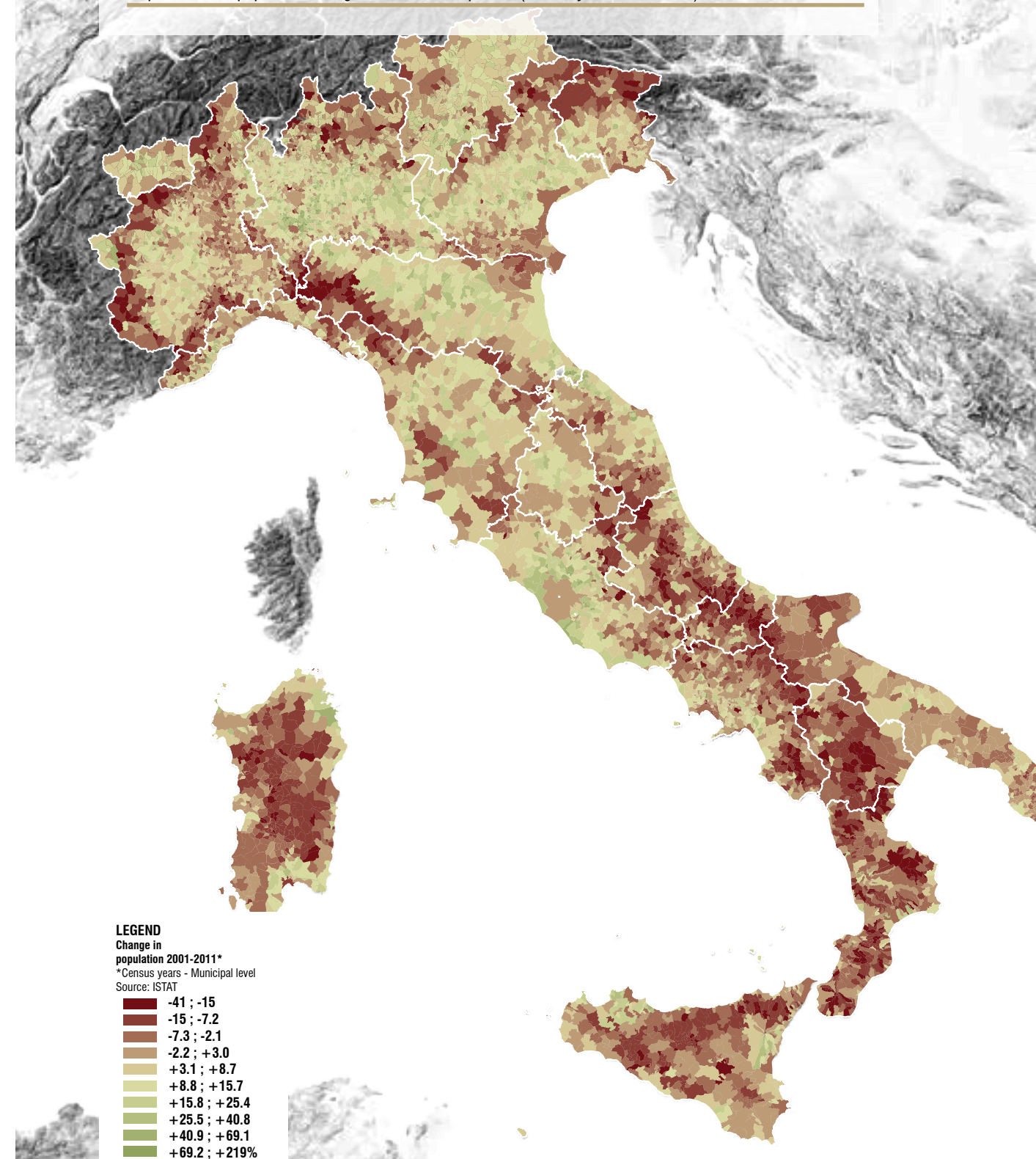
Graph. 2. Trend of populations living in small towns (less than 5.000) and bigger towns (more than 5.000)



—Source: IFEL - Ufficio Studi autonomie locali e sistemi territoriali su dati Ministero dell'Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio e Istat

19 IFEL (2011), 1861-2011. L'Italia dei Comuni. 150 anni di Unità. IFEL: Anci, 2011.

Map 3. Annual population change in Italian Municipalities (census years 2001-2011)



**LEGEND**  
Change in population 2001-2011\*  
\*Census years - Municipal level  
Source: ISTAT

Dark Red	-41 ; -15
Red	-15 ; -7.2
Dark Orange	-7.3 ; -2.1
Orange	-2.2 ; +3.0
Light Orange	+3.1 ; +8.7
Yellow	+8.8 ; +15.7
Light Green	+15.8 ; +25.4
Green	+25.5 ; +40.8
Dark Green	+40.9 ; +69.1
Very Dark Green	+69.2 ; +219%

These radical changes in political systems, territorial boundaries, administrative divisions and economic development have of course influenced demography. Along the years we observe that gradually the number of Italian citizens raised in cities with more than 5.000 inhabitants while for smaller ones it remained steady, but even though inhabitants in larger cities grew, we still find today that smaller towns (with less than 5.000 inhabitants) still represent the predominant urban model and the largest share of the administrative divisions. But why such information is important in the matter of abandonment, depopulation and citizenship?

Above all we recognize that small centers are fundamental in Italy's urban-scape, as they are the predominant urban model, but also as typical presence in the settlement palimpsests (Bonfantini, 2012; Ricci, 2007) due to their historical interest; but small towns are also the most likely to be in demographic decline, as they "suffer" of competitive disadvantages with neighbouring bigger centers. Least but not last, recalling 'citizenship' matters, a reading at the municipal scale we recognize that these territories have thus an influence in the overall democratic system (from municipal to national elections), as they represent in total the 70% (43% 0-1.999 and 27% of 2.000-4.999) of local administrations.

### 1.3. Abandonment of Italian small centers: the urban practice between experimentation and rationalization

The issue of depopulation in Italy is not new. According to ISTAT today Italy has almost 6000 towns which are completely abandoned. Some have labelled them as "ghost towns" as they are completely abandoned or have few dozen of inhabitants.

They mainly refer to micro historical settlements, which naturally suffer of the condition of being "old" and decayed and so more prone to abandoned. It might appear quite legitimate to talk about a "crisis of minor historical towns" (Bonfantini, 2013)<sup>20</sup> that might be conducted to a systemic set of problems that Italy is called to face and solve since decades.

More systematic collection of information on abandoned small towns has explored in fact the different reasons for understanding depopulation processes in Italy. By unfolding the reasons why inhabitants 'exit' from old and small urban centers we find important assumptions such as:

- ▶ The problem of the obsolete performance of the building stocks, with the consequential loss or deficit of urban standards, liveability and comfort that are necessary for both keeping and re-attract the inhabitants (Bonfantini, 2013).
- ▶ Conditions of marginality and peripherality, imply a scarce supply of accessibility services and infrastructures – of the urban welfare as such (Bonfantini, 2013).
- ▶ The physical depreciation of the landscape

and environment, aggravated by catastrophic events (as landslides, earthquakes and floods), but also to the healing strategies for the reconstruction, that often find financial frictions or overwhelming waiting times.

- ▶ Competition with neighbouring cities, that for their dimension, job attractiveness, for their more favourable position, their reliability of possible interconnection of territorial circuits (Bonfantini, 2013) lure away the inhabitants from the deprived towns.

Many experiments occurred both for governance and urban design practice, targeting mainly very small towns. We may find two main approaches: the first one is highly focused in revitalization strategies based on tourism, cultural facilities, heritage preservation and enhancement; while the second approach mainly focuses on rationalization of the administrations.

<sup>20</sup> Bonfantini, B. (2013). Centri storici: infrastrutture per l'urbanità contemporanea. Territorio.

### 1.3.1. The revitalization approach: small abandoned towns as cultural commodities?

We might though find important attempts of re-emersion of abandoned historical towns, that very often rely on cultural facilities and tourism as main (if not only) source of economic revitalization. In concrete we find similar patterns in the common praxis. The most recurrent one is the strong emphasis in developing hosting facilities, as for Stefano di Sessanio in Abruzzo – 117 inhabitants in 2014 – that back in the 90's has launched the "Albergo Diffuso" project, that is the conversion of the abandoned housing stock in houses-for-rent, owned by single or groups of native residents; such strategy played an important role in assuring revenues for local inhabitants and maintaining the fabrics, as residents (tuned into entrepreneurs and landlords) find themselves very motivated in maintaining the quality of town's built stock. Different examples rely more on the enhancement of artistic assets or events. Craco – 762 inhabitants, 2014 – and Matera, both in Basilicata were used as set of important movies and festivals. These are just few of the dozen possible examples of attempts of "re-emersion" of Italian ghost towns. While for some they represent virtuous and innovative models for dealing with abandonment by exploiting at best Italy's cultural identity, there are many reasons for being also more critique on the way these experiences can actually foster a real source of "re-emersion".

To enhance cultural aspects of Italian ghost towns is particularly important, as many of these settlements maintain their original asset from their foundation, so they are «*true enough*» and «*not reproducible*» elsewhere (Bonfantini, 2013). These conditions play a fundamental role in the specificity of the touristic experience, that is also enforced by the promotion of local traditions on food, landscape, events, art etc. Such approach assured a

good maintenance of the fabrics, as for Santo Stefano, by freezing in time the original built asset. Furthermore increases the sense of stewardship of native citizens. But the great emphasis on conservation might appear as reductive and quite an artifice. The adoption of a aesthetic formalism at its own sake, reduces towns into objects in markets' exchange (Lefebvre, 1968) or a "commodification" of the urban experience (Harvey, 2012) rather than a meaningful revitalization that goes beyond seasonal tourism. Furthermore, many of these initiatives appeared as innovative and unique decades ago. Today we may find dozen of "Albergo Diffuso" all over Italy (that constituted even a national association). If many of these projects were finding in their specificity the greatest strength-point, the excessive replication of very similar projects levels the unicity of the places and of the offer.



Fig. 3. Santo Stefano di Sessanio (Abruzzo) an emblematic example of the application of "Albergo diffuso" model for city's refurbishment for touristic purposes - Source: <http://viaggiamoinsieme.it/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Borgo-Santo-Stefano-di-Sessanio.jpg>

1.3.2. The rational approach: the fusions of small towns, is it enough?

The condition of having a vast number of small towns (less than 5.000 inhabitants) has been often regarded as problem for legislators, as the fragmentation of micro municipalities leads to a dispersive administrative system.

From 1990's in Italy emerged the necessity to find an efficient way to contain as much as possible this "administrative dispersion", not only for administrative issues, but also in light of a more efficient way to rationalize public expenditures and works (as infrastructure, schools and healthcare). The first laws on this matter dates back in 1990<sup>21</sup> that has been adjusted several times as there were several frictions in the willingness of local authorities to merge and cooperate. Only in 1999 a new law<sup>22</sup> introduces some forms of incentives for administrations' associationism and by consequence the number of municipalities merged went from 12 in 1999 to 222 by 2003.

The fusions knew a relative stall between 2003 and 2010, but recently the government is fostering new tools to bring this issue in practice. Newer fusions are in fact forecasted withing the Stability Laws as part of a general intention to respond to a huge financial-administrative crisis that hitted Italy in the last decade (Pacella et al., 2015)<sup>23</sup>. Since smallest towns are the most affected by the risk of depopulation, fusion appears maybe as the only tool for resisting to a complete 'erase' of a community.

This process of fusion between local municipalities must be framed in a broad matter inherent to local

21 Legge n. 142/1990

22 Legge n. 265/1999

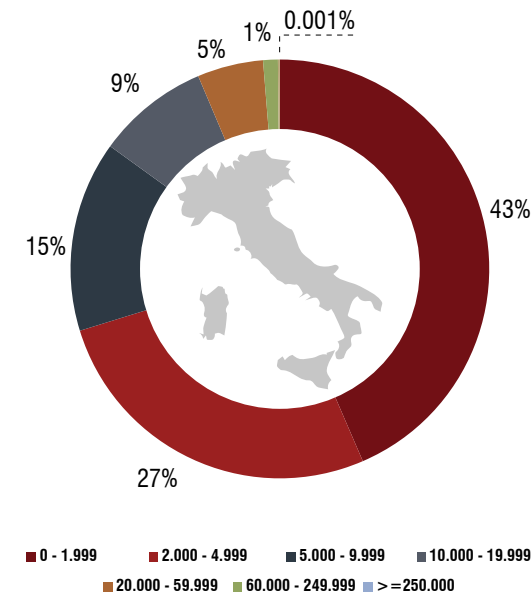
23 Pacella, R., Milanetti, G., Verde, G. (2015), FUSIONI: Quali vantaggi? Risparmi teorici derivanti da un'ipotesi di accorpamento dei comuni di minore dimensione demografica. Dipartimento per gli Affari Interni e Territoriali, Direzione Centrale della Finanza Locale. Ministero dell'Interno

authorities autonomy (Mucciante, 2015)<sup>24</sup>. In fact, even though it might appear as an imperative disposition promoted by the national government, the Italian Constitution (articles 117 and 133) ratifies that these processes must be agreed between the inhabitants of the targeted municipalities and only after it can be processed through the Regional authorities.

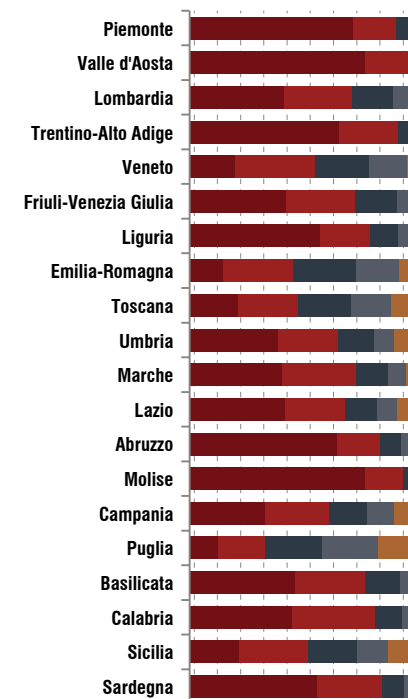
This "rational" approach can be appreciated for many aspects. It guarantees an homogeneous offer of services in a broader territory, which otherwise would be split in small municipal boundaries. It assures minor expenditures in resources exploitation through scale economies (Mucciante, 2015). It's backed by large financial packages to boost extensive projects – that is particularly important for instance in infrastructural programmes. Regarding governance, it is an important initiative to select more consciously which offices to maintain and which one to be relieved. This implies of course cut off several "political cost" and also a greater "political weight".

24 Mucciante, R. (2015). La fusione dei Comuni: vantaggi reali o perdita d'identità?. Scenarieconomici.it (nov. 25, 2015)

Graph. 4. Number of Italian municipalities clustered on demographic classes and regions

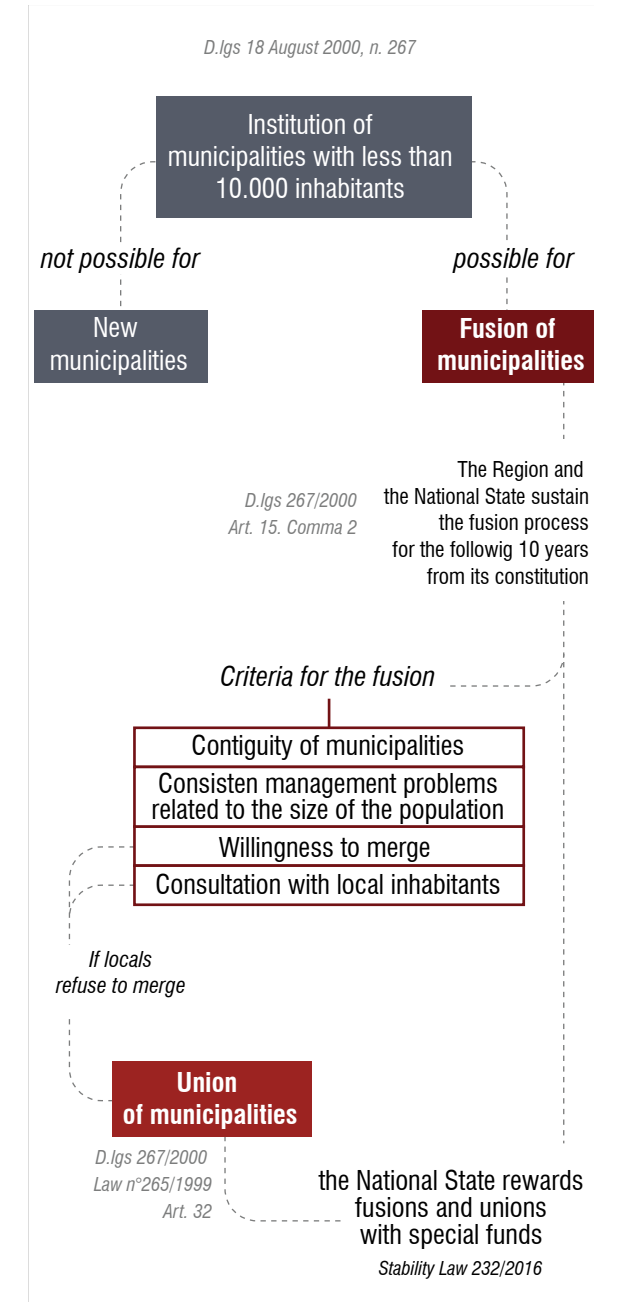


—Source: IFEL - Ufficio Studi autonomie locali e sistemi territoriali su dati Istat, 2011, In Comuni Italiani 2014



—Source: IFEL - Ufficio Studi autonomie locali e sistemi territoriali su dati Istat, 2011, In Comuni Italiani 2014

Graph. 5. Process of fusion of municipalities



### 1.3.3. *The istituzional approach: Comunità montane*

The “Comunità Montane” (mountain communities) are a peculiar local authority constituted by municipalities fully or partially located in mountainous territories, not necessarily in the same province, that have autonomous functions. Their creation is due to different sources coming from the Italian Constitution (art. 44) and many regional and governmental laws. Their official constitution dates back to 1971, in a period where profound changes occurred in the Italian administrative composition (creation of the Regions, of codes and regulations for local administrations etc.), where the new set of administrative bodies were going towards a closer relationship with local realities. In this sense, the Comunità Montane were particularly important in aiding marginal mountainous territories, which were particularly suffering of depopulation, but still they were recognized as fundamental in the conservation of local tradition and cultures.

Territorial stewardship founds is the main reason for constituting these communities. This implies that leaders of the Comunità Montana are mainly engaged in proposing projects aimed to preserve local identities, rural activities, tourism and cultural assets. Similarly in some aspects of the fusion process, the Comunità Montane are also aimed to drive local administrations to manage collectively specific services of general interest. As Comunità Montane are administrators by all effects, have thus also political weight and an ideological orientation that is fundamental in collecting initiatives and eventually channelize the diverse interests present in the areas.

Bigotry and nymbist behaviour are the threats to the possibility to explore innovative alternatives for the development of these communities. More critical can be also the possibility to speculate on the “depreciation”. The preservation of rural au-

thenticity often is the main characteristic of these communities that are recognized at the official administrative level, implying that they get access to different public financial sources or also be targeted by specific rural programs (ie. EAFRD). Many may question how and if these large investments are actually realized to meaningfully help local development or instead fueling clientelistic and closed behaviours.

## 1.4. **Depopulation, from a statistical phenomena to a policy subject?**

The previous sections treated the issue of depopulation in Italy using the municipalities as main units of analysis. This is due to a common praxis that identifies within census data at the city scale the burden of depopulation phenomena. We also explored some normative tools that have related the demographic problems (related to the small size of towns) to the unefficiency of public-administrative systems in delivering welfare amenities or simply to govern in small archipelagos of towns. The theoretical contribution in recognizing depopulation of the American cities played an important role in creating a narrative of how cities grow and decline and which are the main consequences from shrinkage and how to pay attention to economic and social implications.

To summarize how these reciprocal experiences have influenced the theme of depopulation, it is necessary to selectively extract some theoretical outcomes that can be useful in the treatment of abandonment processes in Italian urban centers and do the so-called “jump of scale” that is necessary for Italy and other state members, to capitalize from EU’s regional programmes of for local development.

From the American experience, the studies carried in the concept of “shrinking cities” can contribute in knitting spatial outcomes with social and economic implications.

More specifically, the perverse loop-hole where pauperization of families – due to economic shakes as it was for the car industry in Detroit – weakens confidence in a city but also forces residents to move elsewhere as they see no longer any profitability in staying in their home towns. This ‘exit’ implies a loss of taxpayers, and so by consequen-

ce, unsustainable governance for local authorities which cannot provide any improvement nor retrofitting of welfare services and urban refurbishment.

The “shrinkage” approach is strongly permeated by economic-driven assumptions, that are also very visible in the political attitude in their urban policies’ solutions. The state of urgency and the great implication of privates’ interests devolve public bodies’ responsibility or to large private investments for regeneration projects or by opposite to social programmes, often frugal and informal, to revitalize depressed neighbourhoods.

The differences with the Italian (but also European) are remarkable, but nevertheless American shrinking cities have created a solid proof that depopulation affects perversively and cyclically both private and public interests.

The Italian case specifically shows that depopulation is largely influenced by geographical marginalization. In both cases the housing vacancies are regarded as the main problem for built-up areas but also administrators; the preoccupation of dropping real-estate values is also similar, but in Italy it assumes more explicitly the form of preservation issue - however very related market values as in the US.

The various approaches experimented along the decades (touristic valorization, rationalization of administrative units, constitution of Comunità Montane etc.) have a subsidiary nature, as they are promoted and sustained by public bodies through direct funds, programmes, competitions etc.

Knowledge and policy building are strongly influenced by this subsidiary model as the backing from the EU leads most of the financial programmes for these lagging regions. Maybe here lies the greatest difference between the two approaches, that is the possibility to rely on greater sets of resources

found and built-up at the supra-national level.

#### 1.4.1 From cities to areas? Is depopulation an rural or urban issue?

Probably the most important contribution of the American experience lies in the clear methodology used to understand the final impact of abandonment in towns, while from the Italian one can appreciate the 'geographical lense on analysis'. This derives from their strong difference in scale of analysis (neighbourhoods vs periurban areas or entire municipalities).

One may argue that the two scales between American Shrinking Cities and Italian municipalities in depopulation are completely incompatible, as they refer wether to strongly 'urban' environments (US) and 'periurban/rural' ones in Italy. However we may question if actually such binary dinstiction is really necessary, as we acknowledged the fact that depopulation derives from complex cycle of quality of life, economic relationships and social-cultural perceptions that are way beyond conventional boundaries that we establish administratively speaking (municipality's boundary) or spatially (urban/rural). This challenges, specifically for shrinkage theorists, constist in envisioning the right ways to shift from a Constrained to an Emergent action enabled by development policies (Schlappa, 2012; Mintzberg, Ahlstrand & Lampel, 2009)<sup>2526</sup>.

Rather than seeking from differences we may try to look for similarities or better reciprocal completions between the urban and the rural environments. Here follows a sort of summary of possible evidences that to adopt a more integrated analyti-

25 Schlappa H. (2012). Cyclical perspective on urban strategy developments. in *Leading Strategy in Shrinking Cities*. Hertfordshire Business School Working Paper

26 Mintzberg H, Ahlstrand B and Lampel J. (2009) *Strategy Safari: Your complete guide through the wilds of strategic management*, London: Prentice Hall. p.342

cal frame of depopulation actually dismantles the necessity to distinguish theoretical and technical approaches to depopulating periurban territories with large metropolitan American cities.

- ▶ **Blurring distinctions between rural and urban tissues.** The gradient of rurality increases in many urban peripheries (metropolitan or else)sheltering former countryside dwellers, by consequence, the rural/urban dichotomy dissolves (Limonad and Monte-Mór, 2015). Countryside come to represent a fictional frontier as they become equipped with facilities enabling daily commuting (Limonad and Monte-Mór, 2015), creating a paradoxical situation where infrastructures aimed to create access to marginal territories in reality cut-crosses these areas and create boundaries (Calvaresi, 2015) and actually ease depopulation. So this a-critic imposition of metropolitan-kind of amenities, also in rural territories created odd chimere that in reality do not match with any traditional definition of rural and urban.
- ▶ **Cultural determinism biases development.** The labelling of certain areas as unique, or rural, or historical, etc. can be a cage where nymbism, hyper-protectionism, clientelist behaviours, freezes in space and time depletion for the sake of a conservative approach, and by consequence, it blocks any possibility to foster meaningful changes.
- ▶ **The need to consider the territory in its entirety.** In this sense, depopulation cannot be merely explained from the attractiveness of urban centers versus the un-attractiveness of rural areas. As we acknowledged in the previous sections, the processes of drainage of populations, are instead some of the multiple outcomes of other and broader systemic problems. Nor quality of life can be adressed

as the purpose for migration, since one may question today if cities actually respond to a idealtypical place of good lifehood. Furthermore, other frustrations for rural areas may come from economic stagnation and to the inefficiency of administrative bodies, but that is not strickly a "rural" problem, but rather governmental and bureaucratic one.

- ▶ **The growing lense of observation, as natural consequence of the communitarian society.** In the past decades depopulation in Italy was merely a concern readed at the municipal level. Thanks to the influential presence of EU funds and programmes, policy makers (and to a certain extent also citizens) understood that broader, Regional scales were the new frame action of contemporary communitarian programmes. In this sense, also Italy eventually started to adopta broader scope to frame depopulation not anymore as punctual episodes of single cities, but rather a set of areas that soffer from it.

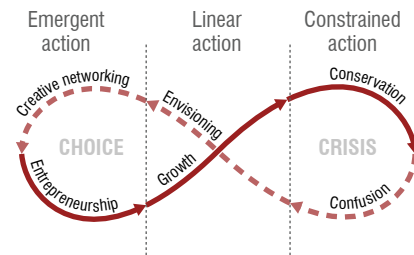
1.4.2 A crossroad for depopulation theories and tools in Italy. The EU's backing.

But from the late 90's and early 2000's Italian policies have been strongly influenced by the communitarian ones, that inherently seek from regional analysis the macro-trends that the union experiences by many meanings, especially regarding political and economic systems. We can thus identify a new season where national policies are naturally induced to be coherent with a communitarian approach, not only in terms of duties towards the union but also to catch the opportunities to learn from and be sustained by greater mobilization of knowledges and funds.

As stated previously, the European Community's growing interest on abandonment processes has highlighted that in Europe, several other factors – not merely economic – can influence shrinking phenomena. Dealing with ageing population and low natality rates is an imperative for many countries.

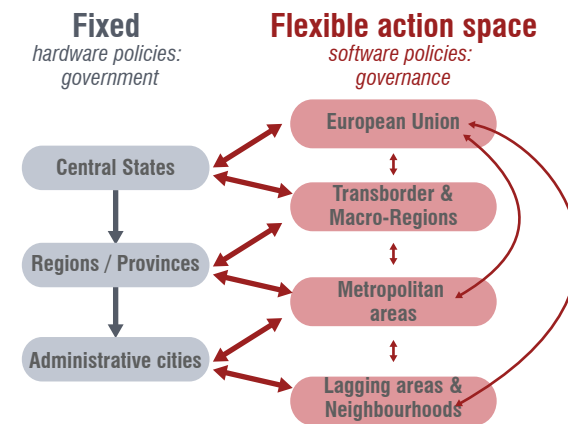
Furthermore, the increasing engaging of single state members in research project and sharing of experiences, is actually reinforcing the motivation for allocating structural investment funds also for tackling decline issues more or less directly since decades. This first section aimed to illustrate various positions and themes emerged upon depopulation and abandonment's consequences in territories. The following chapter instead will talk about a new initiative carried by the Italian government aimed to treat depopulation nation-wide focusing particularly on applying citizenship-related concepts in local policy design.

Graph. 6. Cyclical perspective on urban strategy developments. Adapted for Shrinking cities from Mizberg et al



—Source: Schlappa H. (2012). Cyclical perspective on urban strategy developments. in *Leading Strategy in Shrinking Cities*. Hertfordshire Business School Working Paper

Graph. 7. From fixed to flexible boundaries: from government to governance



—Source: Hermant-de Callataj, C., & Svanfeldt, C. (2011). *Cities of tomorrow—challenges, visions, ways forward*. European Commission, Directorate General for Regional Policy, 'Urban Development, Territorial Cohesion' unit. Source: [http://ec.europa.eu/regional\\_policy/sources/docgener/studies/pdf/citiesoftomorrow/citiesoftomorrow\\_final.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/studies/pdf/citiesoftomorrow/citiesoftomorrow_final.pdf)

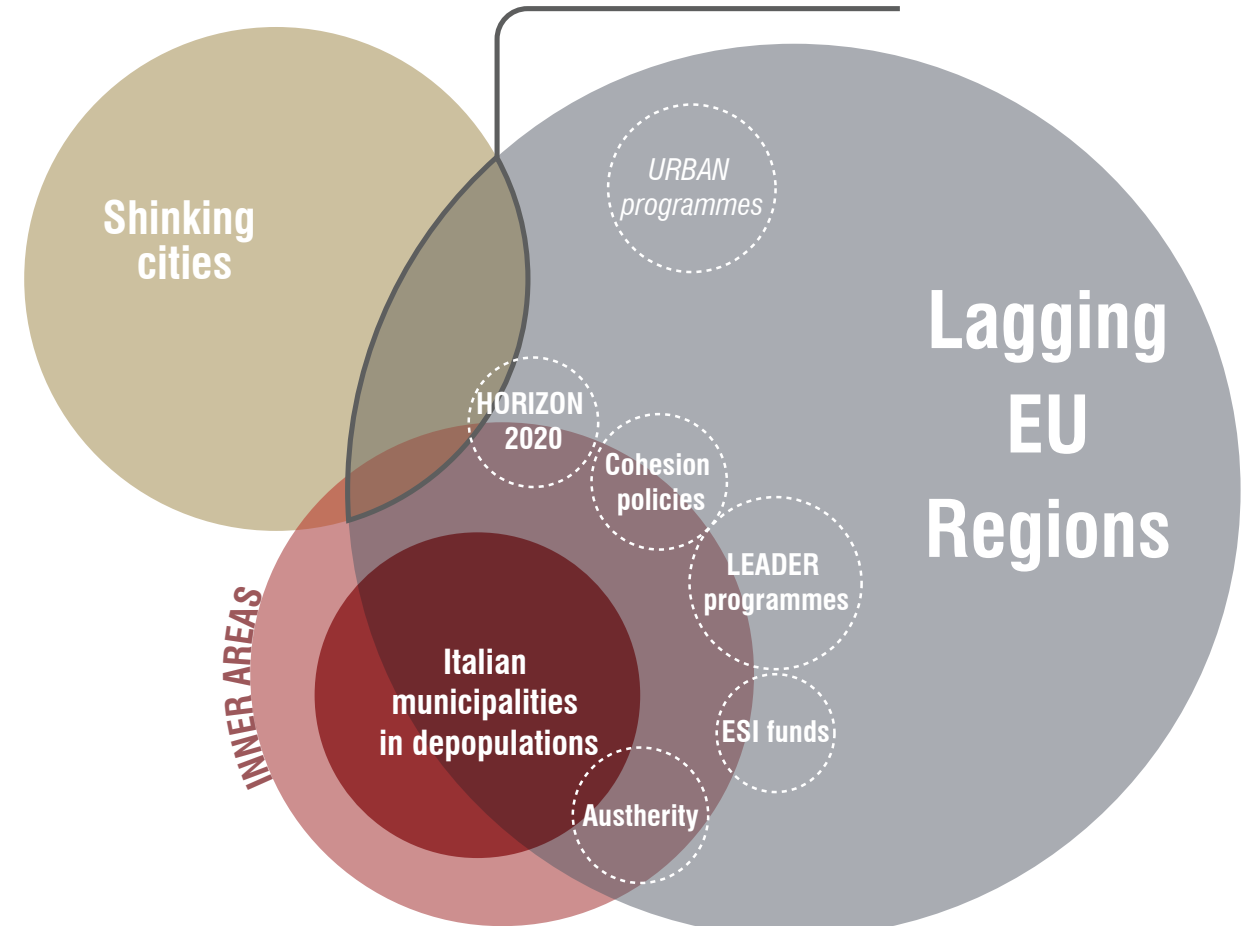


Fig. 4. Theoretical scheme of how shrinking cities theories intersect current EU initiatives and the Italian SNAI programme

A grayscale topographic map of Italy, showing the country's geographical features, including the Alps, Apennines, and Sicily. The map is oriented vertically, with the top of the page showing the northern part of Italy and the bottom showing the southern part, including Sicily. The terrain is rendered with shading to indicate elevation and depth.

# **CHAPTER 2**

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## **The National Strategy for Inner Areas**

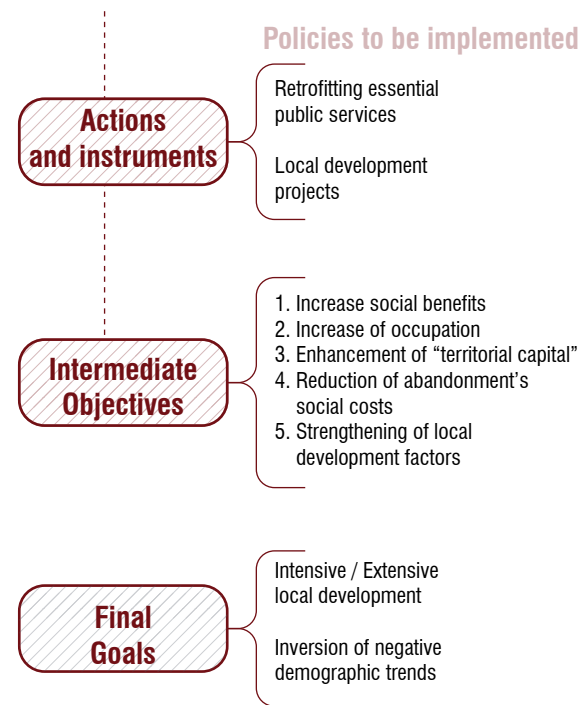


## 2.1. A national call to redefine policy design in marginalized and depopulated territories

Abandonment and depopulation is finally becoming a matter of concern for the Italian Government. The National Strategy for Inner Areas (Strategia Nazionale Aree Interne – from now on SNAI project) has been launched in 2012 from the Minister of Territorial Cohesion at the times led by Fabrizio Barca.

It represents one of the three strategic options for the programming of communitarian funds in the cycle 2014-2020. The goal of this initiative is to invert the negative demographic balance by tackling different aspects which might be regarded as drivers for social displacement and locational choices, such as employment and territorial performance. It is an attempt to contrast the decline of those territories which are far from the centers of services characterized by the ageing of population, depopulation and economic decline (DPS, 2013), that, according to SNAI's statistical survey, involves approximately the 60% of the Italian territory, home of around 13.450 million people (DPS, 2015). The programme is alimented by a strong thought, that points out not only possibilities but also threats and traps of underdevelopment, by recognizing that the vicious circle of depopulation is fuelling processes of marginalization and decline (Calvaresi, 2015). It points out that these “Inner Aeeas” have experienced perverse forms of exploitation, enclosure to innovation and gradual loss of citizenship rights for locals, which cannot easily access to basic services.

Graph. 9. Main objectives of SNAI



→Source: DPS, (2015). *Strategia nazionale per le Aree interne: definizione, obiettivi, strumenti e governance*. Dipartimento per lo Sviluppo e la Coesione Economica. Documento tecnico collegato alla bozza di Accordo di Partenariato trasmessa alla CE il 9 dicembre 2013. Web source: [http://www.agenziacoesione.gov.it/opencms/export/sites/dps/it/documentazione/Aree\\_interne/Strategia\\_nazionale\\_per\\_le\\_Aree\\_interne\\_definizione\\_obiettivi\\_strumenti\\_e\\_governance\\_2014.pdf](http://www.agenziacoesione.gov.it/opencms/export/sites/dps/it/documentazione/Aree_interne/Strategia_nazionale_per_le_Aree_interne_definizione_obiettivi_strumenti_e_governance_2014.pdf)

► The strategy envisions to reconstruct the conditions for applying “citizenship” in practice, by operating un essential public services of healthcare, education and mobility and promoting measures for local development (Calvaresi, 2015)<sup>1</sup>. In this sense, the countable measure for citizenship lies in the provision of welfare amenities (health, education, transport) that have specific quotas per capita. It conceptually illustrates the manifestation of a democratic policy system putted to practice.

► It has an exploratory nature, where the application of place-based approach redefine often the sphere of competencies by innovating methods. Focus-desk phases, auto-candidacies, probing though fieldworks, community mapping etc. create an innovative set of tools for deeply read those territories, reach actors’ interest but also adopt critical thoughts. It acknowledges that the central state can put in action local actors and create more solid networks, by contrasting also “*parasite actors*” (Calvaresi, 2015) that have exploited inner areas perversely or as assessor of a partisan hyper-protectionism.

To summarize, the SNAI strategy recognized that these so-called Inner Areas are “delicate” objects, that have been deprived by negligence both from public bodies and private actors. They are anomalies that hold irreducible spatial and cultural characters. These territories carry a series of faults perpetuated by short-sighted approaches which lie also in past legislations. Inner Areas must be treated with empathy and reparatory spirit, but avoiding also the pitfalls of excessive indulgence. Their treatment should be similar as for treating problematic neighbourhoods of a city, and fully enter in the

<sup>1</sup> Calvaresi, C. (2015). Una strategia nazionale per le aree interne: diritti di cittadinanza e sviluppo locale. in “TERRITORIO” 74/2015, pp. 78-29, DOI:10.3280/TR2015-074015

attempt of reforming policy design.

## 2.2. How much of the Italian territory is at stake?

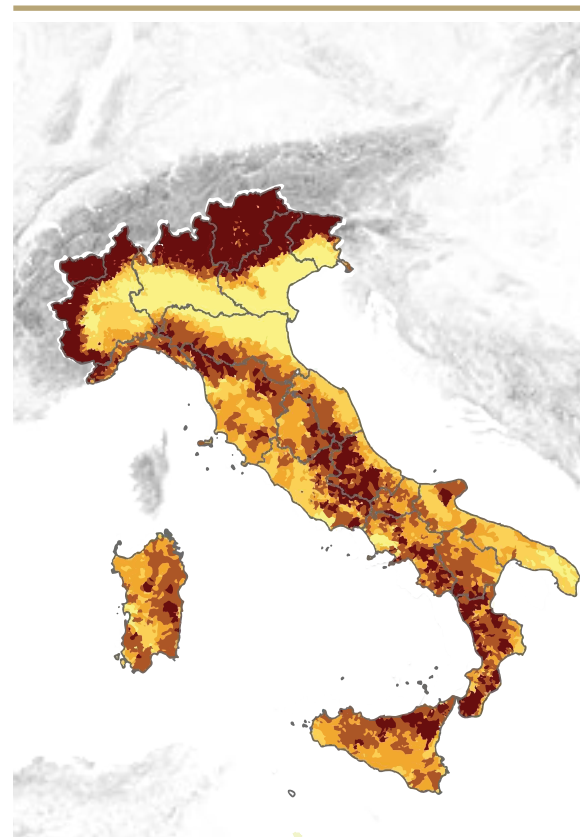
The first definition of “inner areas” belongs to Manlio Rossi Doria in the 80’s when in observing the geographies of development in Italy at the end of the sixties, he defined as “inner” those places that were distant from the growing urban poles, mainly located along the coasts (especially in the south) and situated in mountainous or hilly landscapes. This expression remained in the literature and never adequately studied. However, its evocative meaning of inner had the penetrating capacity of recall their nature of being the “pulp”, the “bone” of the country (Calvaresi, 2015).

For understanding the burden and the scale of the national strategy it is necessary to list the elements taken in consideration for classifying these Inner Areas, by highlighting quantitative evidences and qualitative methods that lead to construct the national vision.

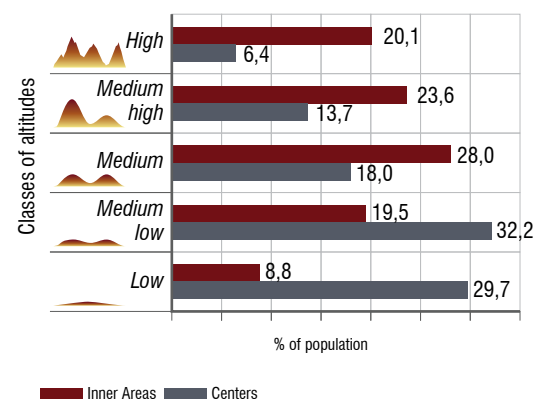
### 2.2.1. Altimetric factors

Doria's definition of "inner area" became synonym of "mountainous area" as it prevailed the altimetric aspects. Indeed, the SNAI project starts its operative selection of the inner areas by taking the altimetric composition of the Italian creating the so-called "wrinkledness index" (indice di rugosità)<sup>2</sup>. This index illustrates the incidence of population loss and orographic features of the soil (DPS, 2014). While for some of the cities these correlations were confirmed – the higher their location in altitude, the higher was the inhabitants' decline – there were other cases where also in plains towns were losing population. This is particularly important since plains in Italy are very scarce and historically more densified for labour-related matters. This dismantles several preconceptions on marginalization. Traditionally, marginalization has been conceived as a consequential effect of locational choices, where orography has been taken as the main discretionary factor that naturally explains why populations are more induced to leave areas which are hard to access.

Map 4. Classification of Italian Municipalities according to the "Wrinkledness Index" and altimetric classes



Share of local population in classes of altitudes

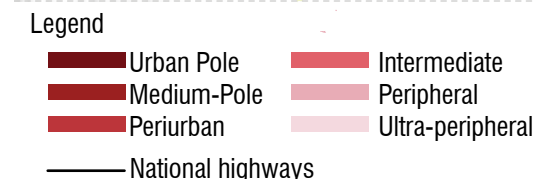
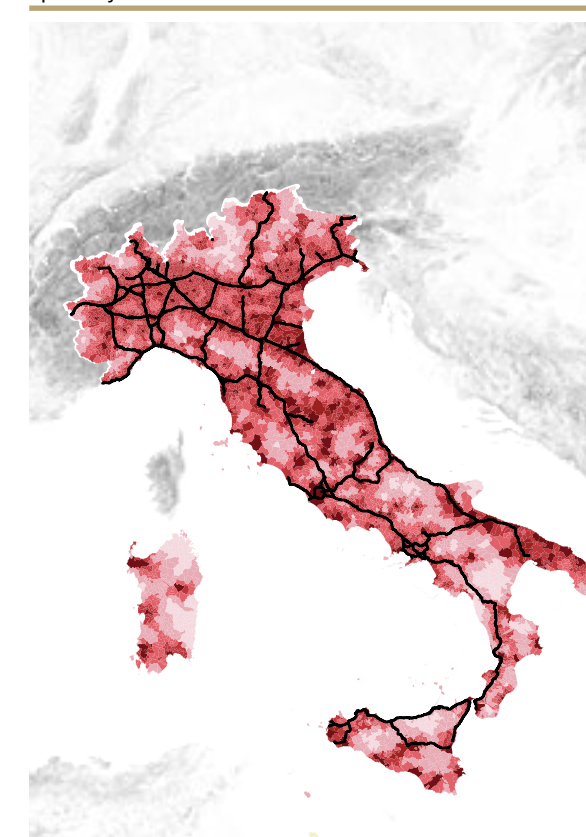


Source: DPS 2014

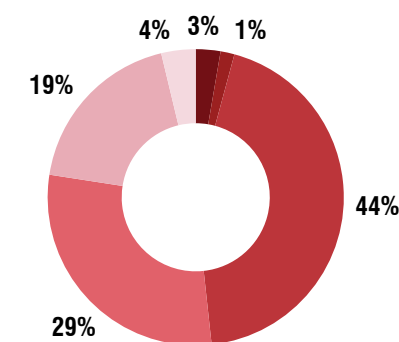
### 2.2.2. Transport and peripherality

In the definition of Inner Areas, transport services and accessibility play a fundamental role in distinguishing in different classes of peripherality which strongly contribute in the definition of marginalized centers in respect to an attractive "Urban Pole" or center which instead has a highly diversified offer of transport amenities. The methodology in classifying the municipalities relating transports combines together binary evaluations (presence or not presence of a train station<sup>3</sup>) and classification of the municipalities according to commuting times. This kind of approach is not new and actually growing in importance in spatial policies – such as in Canada or in the latest analysis for the definition of rural areas in the European ambit and OCSE (Lucatelli, 2015)<sup>4</sup>.

Map 5. Classification of Italian Municipalities according to peripherality classes



Share of municipalities in classes of peripherality



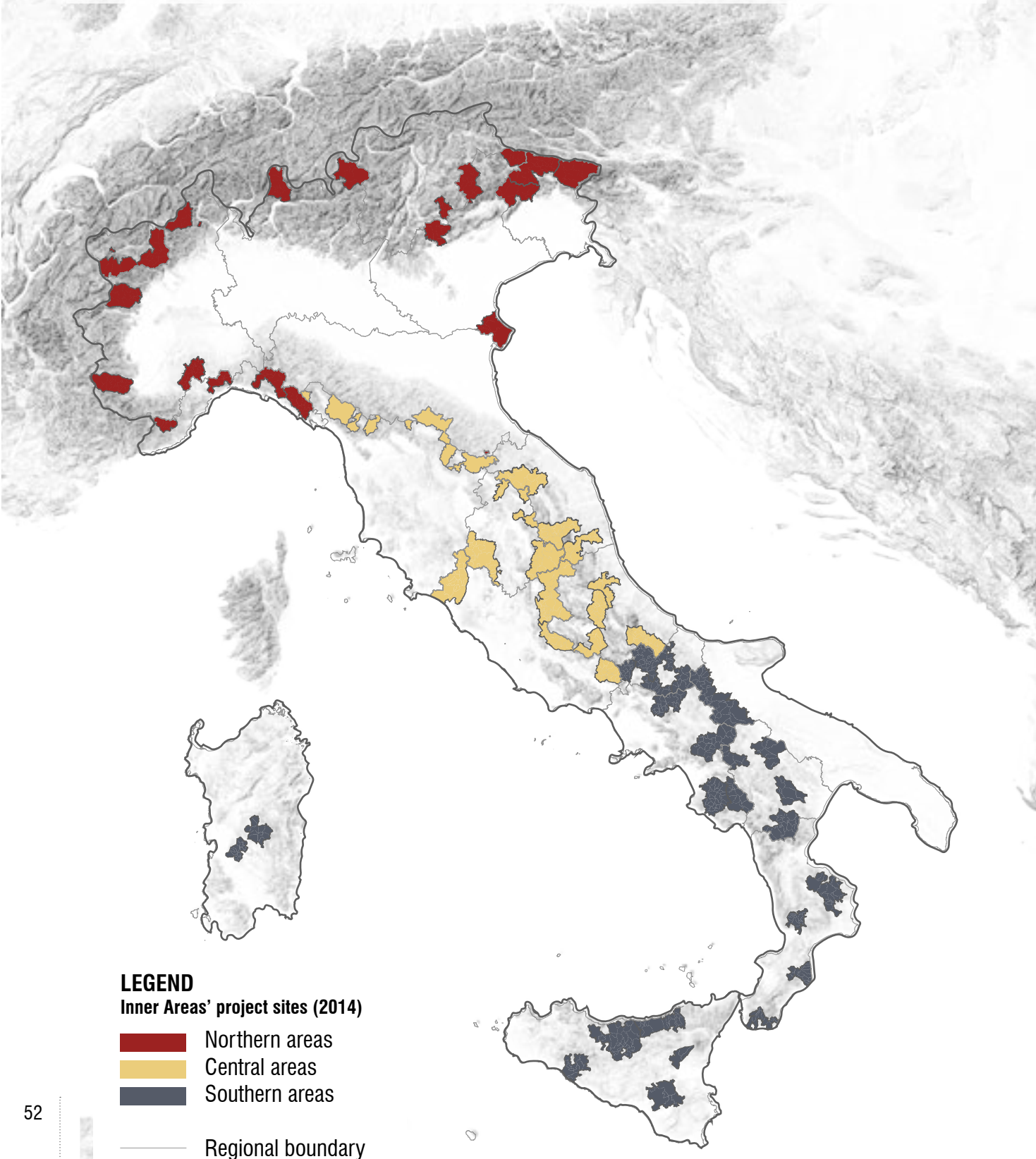
Source: DPS 2014

<sup>2</sup> DPS (2014). Nota metodologica per la definizione delle Aree Interne. Dipartimento per lo Sviluppo e la Coesione Economica. Retrieved September 25, 2016

<sup>3</sup> The binary evaluation also weights the grade of the train station defined by the RFI (Rete Ferroviarie Italiane): Bronze, Silver, Gold, Platinum.

<sup>4</sup> Lucatelli, S. (2015). La strategia nazionale, il riconoscimento delle aree interne in "TERRITORIO" 74/2015, pp. 80-86, DOI:10.3280/TR2015-074014

Map 6. Inner Areas selected in 2014. Classification according to geographical location



### THEMATIC BOX 3. Collection of the general information regarding Inner Areas

Tab. 1. Inner Areas' information, classified according to Geographical location (northern, central, southern Italy and Islands) and hosting Region

NORTHERN	Valle d'Aosta	Piemonte	Liguria	Lombardia	Trentino A.A.	Friuli V. G.	Veneto	Emilia-Romagna
N° of Inner Areas	2	4	4	2	1	3	4	N/A
Territorial density	16.7	24.9	34.9	35.3	11.2	13.6	44.0	N/A
%Variation of population	+4%	-18%	-15%	+6%	-35%	-35%	-7%	N/A
%65+ y.o.	2.5%	5.5%	2.7%	21.6%	29.6%	26.1%	23.2%	N/A

CENTRAL	Toscana	Umbria	Marche	Lazio	Abruzzo
N° of Inner Areas	3	3	3	4	4
Territorial density	29.7	25.2	34.1	40.3	34.2
%Variation of population	-20%	-7%	-19%	-9%	-33%
%65+ y.o.	28.6%	25.4%	27.3%	24.7%	27.8%

SOUTH/ISLANDS	Campania	Molise	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sicilia	Sardegna
N° of Inner Areas	4	4	4	4	1	5	2
Territorial density	72.2	41.9	34.0	52.4	31.2	93.4	28.6
%Variation of population	-16%	-27%	-28%	-31%	-35%	-78%	-31%
%65+ y.o.	23.0%	25.6%	24.2%	23.6%	24.5%	22.0%	27.3%

Tab. 2. SNAI's course within the Italian Regional System, selection of pilot areas

	Regions and AP*	Desk Phase	Approval and Submission of pilot areas
NORTH	Valle D'aosta	●●●●●	● ○
	Piemonte	●●●●●	● ○ ○ ○
	Liguria	●●●●	○ ○ ○ ○
	Lombardia	●●●●	● ●
	Veneto	●●●●	● ○ ○ ○
	Friuli Venezia Giulia	●●●●	● ○ ○
	Emilia - Romagna	●●●●	×
CENTRAL	Toscana	●●●●●	● ○ ○
	Umbria	●●●●	● ○ ○
	Marche	●●●●	● ○ ○
	Lazio	●●●●●	○ ○ ○ ○
SOUTH	Molise	●●●●	● ○ ○ ○
	Puglia	●●●	●
	Abruzzo	●●●●●	● ○ ○ ○
	Basilicata	●●●●	● ○ ○ ○
	Calabria	●●●●●	● ○ ○ ○
	Campania	●●●●	● ○ ○ ○
	Sardegna	●●●●	● ○
ISLANDS	Sicilia	●●●●	● ● ○ ○ ○
	Trento	●●●●	●
AUTONOMOUS PROVINCE	Bolzano		×

●●●●● Phases' lenght  
●●●●● N° of meetings  
○ Proposed areas ● Approved pilot-areas

—Source: Agenzia Coesione [http://www.agenziacoesione.gov.it/opencms/export/sites/dps/it/documentazione/Aree\\_interne/tabella\\_ata\\_attuazione/Tabella\\_Istruttoria\\_Regioni\\_ago\\_2015.png](http://www.agenziacoesione.gov.it/opencms/export/sites/dps/it/documentazione/Aree_interne/tabella_ata_attuazione/Tabella_Istruttoria_Regioni_ago_2015.png)

Tab. 3. Inner Areas' main demographic, institutional and labour-related information, in comparison with Italian Urban Poles (SNAI classification) and the total of the Italian Municipalities



### 2.3. The right to access to basic services as inherent matter of citizenship

The two elements of orography and accessibility can be conceived as the main quantitative support in the distinction of Inner Areas. Those methodologies for classification are very rational and somehow 'traditional', as they evoke quite known discriminant factors for marginalization. The step forward in the Inner Areas' identification lies in the analysis of service provision – conceived as empirical proof of citizenship rights for local inhabitants – that acts as another critical element for acknowledge the reasons for depopulation. Thus, the Inner Areas has been defined as:

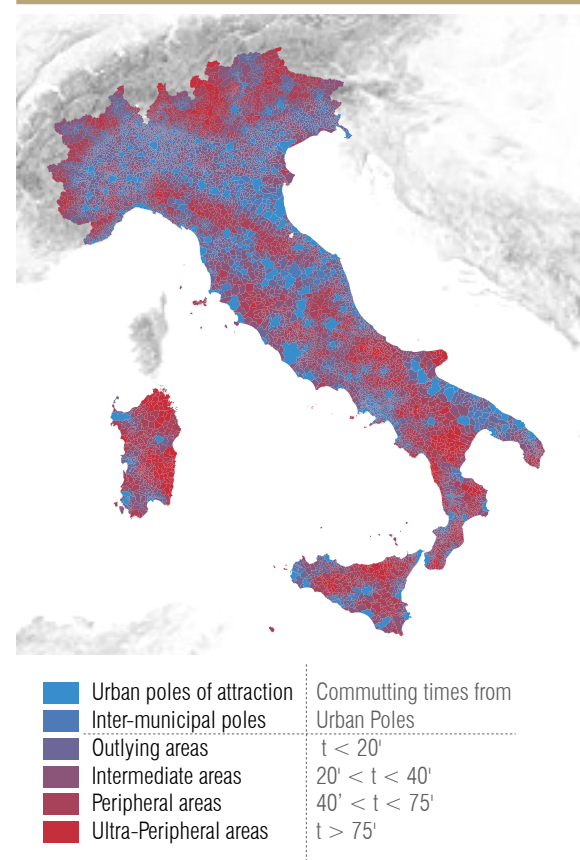
« Territories that are substantially far from large and medium-sized urban centers, unable to supply adequate health, educational and transport services »

The declining rates of population implies a compression of public welfare services and labour, as municipalities find themselves with relatively constrained in investing in public amenities, due to the loss of taxpayers. As recalled in the first chapter, the relationship between depopulation and liveability (related to services' quality) is quite complex. To read these problem in the key of "citizenship" is particularly interesting both regarding method and ideology. Many suggest that citizenship is the true target of land use planning processes (Mazza, 2007, 2009; Harvey, 2012; etc.)<sup>5</sup> as in any change occurred in space – land use, accessibility etc. – planning policies redefine the civil and social right

5 Mazza, L. (2009). Plan and Constitution: Aristotle's Hippodamus: Towards an 'Ostensive' Definition of Spatial Planning. The Town Planning Review, 80(2), 113-141. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27715094>

of individuals and by consequence shape their way of life (Mazza, 2007)<sup>6</sup>. Space is the territory of application where citizenship applies and is embodies (Mazza, 2007), a mediation tool that sets a bundle of rights, in its accountable measures (quotas per capita of public services) and in its ethical and civil mind-set. The following section aims to conceptualize citizenship regarding the two main actions and instruments of the SNAI in its objective of redesign citizenship in inner areas.

Map 7. SNAI's classification of the whole Italian municipalities according to 2014's methodology



Source: DPS, (2015). Strategia nazionale per le Aree interne: definizione, obiettivi, strumenti e governance. Dipartimento per lo Sviluppo e la Coesione Economica. Documento tecnico collegato alla bozza di Accordo di Partenariato trasmessa alla CE il 9 dicembre 2013

6 Mazza, L. (2007, September). Redesigning citizenship. In unpublished paper presented at the ISOCARP Conference, Antwerp (Vol. 20).

#### 2.3.1. Local development processes as a "vested right" of citizenship?

The second action following retrofitting actions is the promotion of local development projects in Inner Areas. In an era where globalization interests generally are more manifest in large metropolitan areas, to talk about local development, especially the marginalized small towns as Inner Areas are, appears as a utopic, or even demagogic, statement. Furthermore, how citizenship regards local development projects? As stated previously, citizenship regards primarily a set of rights and institutional obligations that can be processed through the adjustment of planning quotas for local services. But citizenship can be also a "vested right" that individuals acquire in different ways (marriage, residence after a long period, etc.). In planning practice we might translate this "vested right" as a «social process» (Mazza, 2007) where a set of practices, experiences and activities committed by citizens continuously constitute rights, obligations and ownership.

The SNAI foresees also these kinds of actions to better engage local actors in the development of their territories. Above all, the backing of large funds coming from Italian institutions and the EU are particularly crucial for the promotion and survival of development strategies. The idea of co-project with local actors the strategies which will be targeted by financial packages forces all the actors to grasp the peculiarities of the Inner Areas' territories and so meaningfully craft a dynamic set of projects with "localist approach". According to Pichierri, localism is far from its dissolution, but rather grows in globalization economic and societal patterns (Pichierri, 2005). The so-called "localized competitive advantages" where once determined by their reliance on physical assets (fertile land, mines, etc.) where determinant factors in the choice to localize firms (Porter, 2008) and cities. Over time the local-

ized competitive advantages became of "immaterial" matter, as they connect to certain aspects of entrepreneurship and know-how, as witnessed in the history by the industrial districts (Pichierri, 2005). This objective is very complex and unfortunately discredited by many failures or simplistic approaches, but in Italy there are several examples that confirm that local development, economically competitive activities and engagement with territories is possible and fruitful.

Many virtuous examples of industrial districts that have contributed enormously in the sublimation of the Marshallian thought on production and productivity, where concertation on the supply chain is diluted in space and territory. In districts such as the Furniture district in the province of Matera, Biella's wool manufacturing district, the paper district of Fabriano are just few of dozen of Italian districts which characterize strongly a way of making entrepreneurship though an intense interaction between small-medium firms with their territories. The specificity and irreproducibility of these interaction are also given by the territorial component, gathers together entrepreneurs and firms and is also likely to produce identity – and maybe an "acquired/vested" new sense of citizenship, driven by a common purpose. These districts do not necessarily make a product, but a set of outcomes significantly and reciprocally connected (Pichierri, 2005). They have the ability to constitute a narrative, which bring back the "meaning" of being in one specific place rather than another.

## 2.4. SNAI's devices and operability

### 2.4.1. Actions and actors

Actions and actors along the operations of the SNAI are quite mixed and subjected to the different repartition of responsibilities (political, financial and projectual). We may identify the key players along the approval and projectual process:

- The Central State. Acts as promoter of the SNAI. It collects the data useful for the identification of the Inner Areas and then gathers the project requests from the Regions. Once agreed with the Regions for the launch of the pilot projects, it guarantees the coherence with the SNAI and sustains retrofitting projects of its competence. It constantly supervise the advancement of the projects with its specific Inner Areas' Committee, composed by technical experts which go directly on the sites in order to follow local actors in the project phases.
- Regions. Are the formal "filter" between local communities and Central State or EU. They programme and finance the actions for local development through regional operative programmes (POR). They also drive the programmes for rural development which may come from the Central State or the EU. They take charge to select the project sites and then deliver the proposal to the Central State. They calibrate and plan the amount of resources for develop the project and specify the objectives.
- Municipalities. They can participate as single or as a Union with other contiguous municipalities (that is particularly encouraged from the SNAI's directives). The municipalities that act in associate manner they have

to realize an associative management of the essential services, especially regarding transport and healthcare (DPS, 2015).

The operational structure for the SNAI is sequenced in the following way:

Tab. 4. Main phases, operators and relative description of SNAI's courses

Phase	Operators	Description
1 Preliminary investigation	State's technical committees and Ministry of Economic Development and Labour	held by technical offices and lead by the Ministry of Economic Development and Labour in order to frame a national condition of the state of the art and outline the general vision.
2 Desk phase	Regions and autonomous provinces	where all 20 Italian Regions and autonomous provinces hold a series of roundtable aimed to decide the areas for intervention and fulfil further information for the general national strategy, providing especially with data.
3 Field phase	Technical committee	an assigned committee goes to the sites appointed by the Regions to decide if it's possible to undergo with the formal submission of the proposals to the Central State and Ministries.
4 Selection phase	Regions and Central State	after the first transmission of the pilot-areas and committees' fieldwork, the approval happens between Regions and Central State. The Regions have to formalize and make explicit the amount of resources to mobilize from the Regional Funds, from the State and Communitarian ones.
5 Technical inquiry	Technical committees	this phase aims to double check the proposals by a technical committee.
6 Resolution and approval	Regions and Central State	The Regions agree with the Central State for the definitive selection of the pilot-areas and fosters further decisions for the upcoming bids for future target-areas.
7 Publication	Central State	The set of approved pilot-projects embodies in "Project-Areas", implemented through the APQ – Accordo di Programma Quadro, signed by Regions, Local Authorities, Central Administration of Coordination, and the other bodies qualified for specific matters. Also municipalities and private actors can rely on the devices for Community-led Local Development.

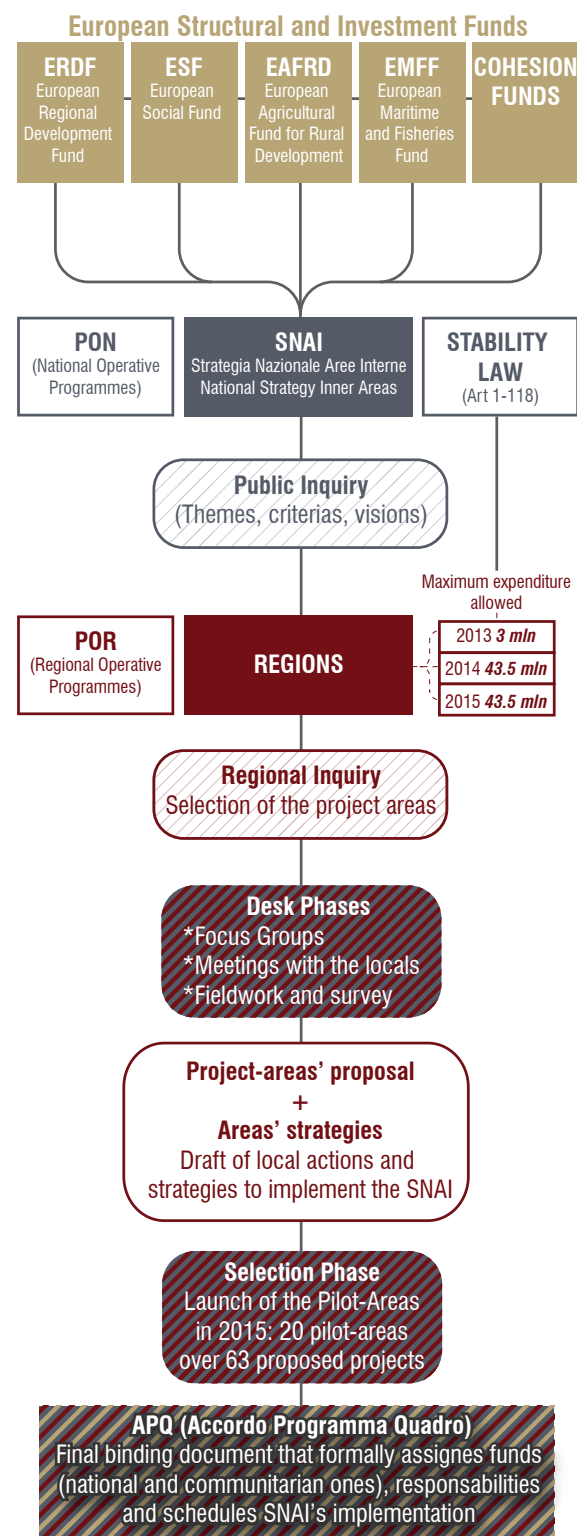
## 2.4.2. Multi funding strategies

Planning practice and legislation Italy are experiencing several transformations. Beyond the period of regional reforms on the early years of the 2000's, there's a growing wave of initiatives and programmes which seek in the mixture of actors, funds and projects new ways to develop projects and policies. The 'Inner Areas' fully embodies such approaches since it is widely influenced by European Cohesion policies.

This condition is partially influenced by the sharing practices and knowledge which is naturally taking roots in every nation of the EU, but primarily, the highest interest resides in the regulatory sphere of EU laws and in the financial interest raised by the European Structural Funds. Besides, also national programmes are enabling a more 'mixed' way of thinking and acting. The pending regulations on soil consumption, or the national directive of local expenditures (Stability Law) are enriching the ambitions of the IA project, constituting an ambitious vision but also critical one.

As the official programme states, this Inner Areas strategy uses at lever the European Structural and Investment Funds 2014-2020 combined with the resources delivered by the national "Stability Law". In this perspective, the Inner Areas project tries to pose an ambitious challenge which is supposed to make the initiative work at different scales of negotiation – EU, Italian government, Regions, Provinces, Municipalities etc. – channelizing different financial resources. Here there will be listed the main financial packages which will back the administrators in pursuing their projects:

- *European Structural and Investment Funds – from the EU.* (FESR, FSE, FEASR). Are aimed to provide support to a «socially in-



clusive society»<sup>7</sup> thought large investments for local growth and jobs. This initiative is framed on another communitarian strategy, the Europe 2020, that constitute a fundamental agenda for the European Community's States. The EU 2020 defines three broad socio-economic goals for the EU to be pursued by 2020: Sustainable growth (economic interest), smart growth (technological push and innovation) and inclusive growth (fostering social programmes and territorial cohesion). In this new septennial fund programme Italy is one of the most targeted country in among the EU State members.

- *Stability Law – from the Central State.* «Disposals for the formulation of the State's Annual and Pluri-annual Account» known as today "Stability Law" has been drafted in 2009 and then published and applied from January 2014. This law substituted the old "Financial Law – 2010" and it meant to restrict the themes of financial balances to specific fields of intervention concerning public administrations' powers on macro-economic matters explicating also restricted times and procedures, to be pursuit every three years. It mainly concerns financial and monetary aspects, but it widely affects local administrations' capacities on expenditures. For the IA project it is established that for the implementation of the proposals, it is authorized an expenditure of 3 million of euros in 2014, and 43.5 million in 2015 and 2016 for "pilot projects" in order to re-balance basic welfare services for the whole nation, prioritizing local public transport, education and health-

care services, through the cooperation of the different levels of the governmental bodies (Infrastructure and Transport, Education, University and Research and Health ministries) once agreed on the "Programma Quadro". Every 30<sup>th</sup> September of the three pilot years, the Ministry for Territorial Cohesion presents to the inter-ministerial committee (CIPE) the results of the pilot-projects and eventually approves and delivers further financial agreements to continue the projects<sup>8</sup>.

## 2.4.3 Financial allocation for local projects

The total amount of resources granted from the Stability Law 2015 (art.1, comma 674) for the whole National Strategy accounts for 90 million of euros for the triennial period in which the pilot-projects are launched (2015, 2016, 2017). Each area has 3.74 million as a basic grant, but it may rise to 3.98 where additional technical assistance is strictly required. The deadline for the definition of the 23 pilot-areas was on the 30<sup>th</sup> September 2016, while the formal signature and closure of each area's APQ is on the 30<sup>th</sup> September 2017<sup>9</sup>.

Participants in the formulation of the "Accordo di Partenariato" (APQ): Technical and scientific committee of Inner Areas, coordinated from the Department for Cohesion Policies. The Committee of Inner Areas is composed by: the agency for territorial cohesion, the ministry of cultural heritage and activity, ministry for agricultural, alimentary and

<sup>8</sup> Legge di Stabilità 2014, art1. Comma 13-17

<sup>9</sup> Gazzetta Ufficiale, Comitato Interministeriale per la Programmazione Economica (2016). Delibera 10 Agosto 2016. Accordo di partenariato - Strategia nazionale per lo sviluppo delle aree interne del Paese. Ripartizione delle risorse stanziare con la legge 23 dicembre 2014, n. 190 (Legge di stabilità 2015). (Delibera n. 43/2016). (16A08896) (GU Serie Generale n.301 del 27-12-2016). Retrieved in January 20, 2017, from <http://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2016/12/27/16A08896/sg>

<sup>7</sup> European Commission (2015), EUROPEAN STRUCTURAL AND INVESTMENT FUNDS 2014-2020: Official texts and commentaries. Regional and Urban Policy report. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union

forestall policies, the ministry of infrastructures and transport, ministry of education, universities and research, minister of labour and social policies, ministry of health, ministry of environment and maritime preservation, department of regional affairs, autonomous regions and sports, department for the programming and coordination of economic policies in the Council of ministers, ANCI - IFEL, INEA, ISFOL, UPI, and Regions or provinces interested.

Before the subscription of the APQ a negotial act has to be established between the Region and the selected municipalities within the project.

Financial transfers are assigned in favour of the areas from the Agency for Territorial Cohesion and the Ministry of Economy and finance (Department IGRUE) depending on the requests moved from the central administrations and specific criteria of the subject area. The single financial allocations will depend from the nature of the request and the relative ministry of competence. Modalities of financial aid:

- ▶ Pre-empt partial payment<sup>10</sup>. That consists in a co-financing aid from the national government – also known as “Rotation Fund” – aimed to facilitate the process for the reception of Structural Funds or other communitarian interventions, on the basis of payment procedures appointed from the EU normative. For non-communitarian projects, this pre-empt partial payment accounts for the 5% of the overall value of the project financed<sup>11</sup>.

10 art. 9 of the Presidential decree 29 dicembre 1988, n. 568

11 Gazzetta Ufficiale, Decreto del Presidente della Repubblica 29 dicembre 1988, n.568 (1988). Approvazione del regolamento per l'organizzazione e le procedure amministrative del Fondo di rotazione per la attuazione delle politiche comunitarie, in esecuzione dell'art8, Legge 16 aprile 1987, n. 183. Retrieved January 27, 2017 from [http://www.rgs.mef.gov.it/Documenti/VERSIONE-I/Selezione\\_normativa/D-P-R-/DPR29-12-1988\\_568.pdf](http://www.rgs.mef.gov.it/Documenti/VERSIONE-I/Selezione_normativa/D-P-R-/DPR29-12-1988_568.pdf)

- ▶ Mid-term payments. That depend from the state of the advancement of the given activities of SNAI in the given IA. To access to mid-term payments, the monitoring projects are fundamental in surveiling the administrators' engagement and performance regards SNAI strategy. Every request is subjected to a formal approval from the Committee.
- ▶ Final payments. That corresponds to the 10% of the whole project budget at the final stages of the project<sup>12</sup>.

#### 2.4.4. Additional objectives for implementing local and communitarian governance

The AI national strategy tries to intercept a series of concepts promoted by the European Union.

- ▶ Institutional Capability. Based on the need to ensure a transparent and efficient action of the public authorities. It is one of the thematic objectives of the Structural Funds directives<sup>13</sup>. To foster monitoring activities, the Government launched also on-line platforms (Opencoesione) where users can access to the information of the programme.
- ▶ Partnership Agreement (Accordo Partenariato). Also prescribed from the European Regulations for the use of the European Structural and Investment Funds (ESIF) that identifies the development

12 Gazzetta Ufficiale, Comitato Interministeriale per la Programmazione Economica (2015). Delibera 28 Gennaio 2015. Programmazione dei fondi strutturali di investimento europei 2014-2020. Accordo di partenariato - strategia nazionale per lo sviluppo delle aree interne del Paese: indirizzi operativi. (Delibera n. 9/2015). (15A02919) (GU Serie Generale n.91 del 20-4-2015). Retrieved in January 20, 2017, from <http://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2016/12/27/16A08896/sg>

13 It concerns the use of the European Social Fund, Cohesion Fund, Maritime and Fisheries Fund, Agricultural Fund for Rural Development. Regolamento (UE) N. 1303/2013 del Parlamento europeo e del Consiglio del 17 dicembre 2013

needs and the main objectives that the State member aims to achieve in relation to thematic objectives, and eventually appoints the amount of resources for each of the funds to mobilize<sup>14</sup>.

- ▶ Reorganization of Local Authorities and institutions. Within the PA is has been recalled also to take advantage of the AI project to conduct a re-organization of local authorities and institutions, by establishing new partnerships among districts and eventually rationalize their relationships, that means also to forecast possible merging and fusions of local administrations whenever necessary, especially if in light of a more efficient use and management of public functions, in order to improve the quality of expenditures.
- ▶ The Community-Led Local Development. That is indicated as the device for lead the aggregation of institutions, competences and resources on agreed objectives aimed to improve life quality for local realities<sup>15</sup>. This instrument should also intercept the reorganization of local authorities objective, plus, it should facilitate and optimize the efficacy of insurgent initiatives coming from the communities and local agencies.
- ▶ Integrated Territorial Investments. That are planned though the legislation of Cohesion Policies 2014-2020. They're aimed to allow the implementation of territorial strategies in an integrated manner, by using the combination of at least two

14 European Commission adopts 'Partnership Agreement' with . (2014, October 29). Retrieved October 20, 2016, from [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_IP-14-1215\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-14-1215_en.htm)

15 as prescribed in the articles 32-35 on the common disposition of Cohesion Policies 2014-2020, in Regolamento (UE) N. 1303/2013 del Parlamento Europeo e del Consiglio del 17 dicembre 2013.

“priority axes” of intervention or from different programmes<sup>16</sup>.

16 POLITICA DI COESIONE 2014-2020 - European Commission. (2013, December). Retrieved October 20, 2016, from [http://ec.europa.eu/regional\\_policy/sources/docgener/informat/2014/iti\\_it.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/informat/2014/iti_it.pdf)



## 2.5. The Inner Areas' challenges

### 2.5.1. Reframing the condition of marginality and territorial stigmatization

In the previous paragraphs of this chapter we understood that in treating the condition of abandonment we can take into account traditional quantitative evidences (altitude, weak transport network, deficit of services, environmental degradation etc.), but also more “abstract” and psychological factors which influence the attempts of imagining any alternative to decline. Territorial stigmatization has been vastly treated in planning literature as one of the most powerful force which cages any aspiration. One of the most clear and brilliant picture of territorial stigmatization in the “old” Italy of the 40's is rendered by the work of Carlo Levi in “Christ stopped at Eboli”.

We may find many similar contents of the Inner Areas definition:

- ▶ The areas described by Levi are the ‘inner areas’ of Basilicata, which are immersed in steep mountainous landscape and far from the coastlines – here we notice the orography factors highlighted by the SNAI.
- ▶ Regarding peripherality and accessibility, during the 40's Eboli was the last appendices of roads' and rails' national networks, the point from which the infrastructural link starts and at the same time ends.
- ▶ A deeper analysis of this concept of limit highlights that accessibility it's not just regarding transport, but instead it is a deeper feeling of being marginalized from history of civilization as whole, in its most

«**Christ did stop at Eboli, where the road and the railway leave the coast of Salerno and turn into the desolate reaches of Lucania. [...] Christ never came, just as the Romans never came, content to garrison the highways without penetrating the mountains and forests, nor the Greeks, who flourished beside the Gulf of Taranto. None of the pioneers of Western civilization brought here his sense of the passage of time, his deification of the State or that ceaseless activity which feeds upon itself. [...]**



evocative symbols of *Christ* or *Romans*, *Greeks* and *western pioneers*.

Many things have changed since Levi novel's times, but these phrases have a deep rooted meaning sometimes still visible till today, and can be particularly useful to read also the Inner Area's conditions. This social and territorial stigma is thus very influent still today, regarding for instance the American ghetto: «*The territorial stigma is akin to racial, national or religious discriminations as it can be transmitted through lineages and equally contaminate the family members*» (Wacquant, 2007); and one might argue if even Inner Areas, could be studied also as a problematic city's neighbourhood (Calvaresi, 2015). This social stigma has been also alimanted by “wrong” policies, and negligence. In Italy, preserve practices (both private and public) as abusive construction, speculation and soil consumption have spoilt large parts of the Italian physical landscape, especially in marginal areas, where the scarce ... founded fertile ground for speculation, abusivism and decay. This situation is highly incisive in territorial and so also social stigmatization. As David Harvey states «*In creating the city the man recreates himself*» (Harvey, 2012), so is territorial degradation also the reflection of a degraded society? Here we reintroduce the issue of territorial quality, that is also incisive in people's locational preference. One of the main reasons for migrating elsewhere – or ‘exit’ (Hirshman, 1970) – derives from the level of unsatisfaction or discomfort that individuals' in respect to their preferences and expectations (Hirshman, 1970). While some passively accept these conditions, others (many others) decide to leave, seeking for better opportunities. We cannot argue if these decisions are good or not, since any individual can freely decide how to conducts his/her own life, but planners and policy makers needs to take responsibility and ask themselves if their intervention – or non-intervention – actually driven abandonment of territories.

### 2.5.2. From subsistence culture to cooperation

The SNAI creates for the first time, a comprehensive programme that brings at the national scale the problem of marginalized and deprived areas, making converge communitarian and ordinary governmental resources. It applies to a problem that wasn't present in any national agenda but rather it aimed to constitute it «*you don't born as an Inner Area, but you became it for the effect of policy decisions*» (Calvaresi, 2015)<sup>17</sup>. This is an important stand to acknowledge, since past public policies, alimanted sectorial legislations by crafting a dependency/subsistence culture (i.e. Comunità Montane). The growing reliance on cooperative actions – as for instance for small municipalities to create consortiums for the management of infrastructural services – and cooperation policies – strongly promoted by the EU – is forcing to revise in many different ways how responsibilities are changing in the development of local projects. Inedited alliances between local and supra-national are progressively tightening while subsidiarity with national states are eroding (Pichierri, 2005). This is particularly evident also from a financial point of view, where also the ability to catch the opportunity given by the European Structural and Investment Funds is growing in importance in the evaluation of local administrations' capability.

17 Calvaresi, C. (2015). Le aree interne, un problema di policy. in “TERRITORIO” 74/2015, pp. 87-90, DOI:10.3280/TR2015-074015

*2.5.3. Beyond the administrative limit: a territorial-identity approach*

The pilot projects which are submitted for the AI strategy are assuming interesting characteristics. For instance some Inner Area's projects go often beyond administrative boundaries of provinces for instance, but they might gather different districts of different provinces – while it doesn't happen for Regions. Other ones assume the name of a specific territorial element (name of the valley, of a river, of a mountain) which becomes the element of specification of the project but also of the community involved in. This attempt on giving more importance also to labels and boundaries that communities and Regions acknowledge and self-construct is an interesting experiment on how the territory is perceived and which are the hinge points of intervention.

*2.5.4 Citizenship as ideal proxy for the revision of planning and political practice*

The attempt of the Italian government to take into account also welfare services' provision is a step-forward regarding the possibility to frame a richer research on present standards of liveability for local citizens by inquiring the very structure of the public sphere in terms of amenities and services. This appears as a good possibility to re-seize the control and the dimensioning of the public performance in marginalized areas, welcoming new actors in the decisional process and hopefully conceive "citizenship" also in a dynamic way, where social groups preside, manage and re-design new set of rights and obligations.

To revise also the matter of citizenship (both in retrofitting welfare amenities and constituting a new territorial aid) on nationwide scale is a bold decision that is in contrast with the persistent criticism on "complex-programmes" (Calvaresi, 2015), but at the same time this idea of citizenship should not be

established as a paradigm or planning orthodoxy, simply because citizenship constantly changes as society's needs shift. Introduction to the case studies



# CHAPTER 3

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## Montagna Materana's Inner Area

### 3.1. Montagna Materana introduction

#### 3.1.1 Introduction

The Montagna Materana is probably one of the most “inner” of the whole areas selected as pilot projects in SNAI’s programme physically and conceptually speaking. The “inner” status of the Montagna Materana is inherently enhanced by geographical and administrative features of its Region itself.

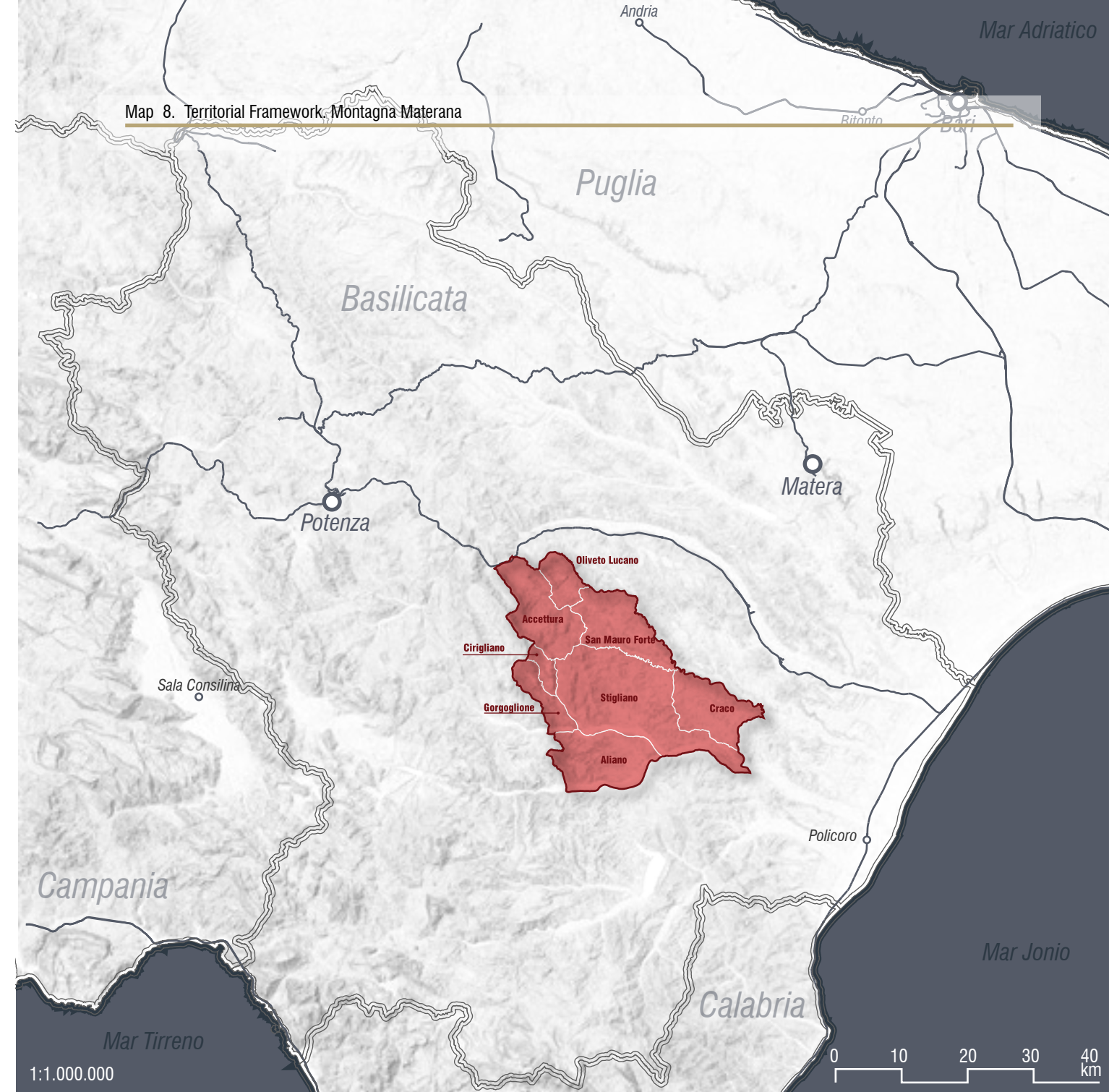
Montagna Materana is located in Basilicata a southern Region at the crossroad between Tyrrhenian and Ionian seas, bordered by Campania Region in north-west, Puglia north-east and Calabria on the south. Basilicata is predominantly mountainous and has few kilometres of shorelines. Somehow, the scarcity of coastal outfalls and the impervious landscape connote Basilicata and eventually the Montagna Materana’s Inner area as on the most marginalized and peripheral territories in Italy.

Basilicata has always had an interesting role among Italian southern regions, and it has often been on the spotlight of relevant discussions upon industrial development and spatial planning. Regarding production activities, a relevant role can be traced in the attempt of constituting industrial districts and manufacture-comparts in the (furniture and textile production), Fiat’s investments and oil extraction in Val d’Agri.

These examples of economic interest and vitality knew their heydays in the 90’s, but in the last decades we witness to several processes of crisis that had pervaded the whole Region. In 2005 several authors investigated the rapid decline of Basilicata’s industrial districts, and depicted the origin of this crisis actually depend from the same nature of the industrial-comparts that find in the labour cost its most problematic struggle (Bubbico and Roma-

niello, 2005)<sup>18</sup>. The economic development concentrated dis-homogeneously and mostly outside the Region’s boarded. Basilicata has in fact experienced a “peripheral development” (Bubbico and Romaniello, 2005) which trans-bordered towards Puglia’s frontier and consequentially exacerbated the marginality of its Inner Areas at the geographical core of the territory.

<sup>18</sup> Bubbico, D., & Romaniello, G. (2005). La montagna materana tra persistenze e trasformazioni socioeconomiche. Fattori di sviluppo e programmazione regionale. Meridiana, 187-214.



#### Legend

- Inner Area
- Municipalities within the Inner Area
- Regional boundary
- Railways
- Major urban poles
- Secondary urban poles



### 3.1.2 History of the area

The first impression of Montagna Materana is to step into a non-homologised place; the peripherality of the area somehow resisted to modernity and still keeps a mystical atmosphere, where the empty landscape becomes solemn. The whole territory effortlessly shows the authenticity of its own identity in every aspect, from its landscape to its cultural and local folklore.

The area's most ancient origins are dated to the Neolithic times, but the most permeable ancient finds refer to the colonization periods. Starting with the Greeks and Romans, local populations had conflictual relationships with the colonizers, that entered the impervious landscape through the Ionian valley on the west side. Different populations marked their presence in the territory, and still today we may find traces of Longobardic dominations in Accettura, Bizantinian in Craco and Normans in San Mauro Forte (Lacanfora, 1999)<sup>19</sup>.

During Medieval times, the territory has been parcelled among influential feudal families, that lasted until the XIX century. From the XII century the increment of population raised the local demand for agriculture and wood production. Extensive agriculture, breeding and wood cropping were the predominant activities. A typical asset of the latter feudal period are the farmsteads and patronal mansions. The synergy of farmsteads and farming facilities, a strong power control on the feud and the geographical isolation on one side enclosed the economic cycle of farming and trade, on the other, enhanced cultural and social marginalization from the rest of the region, giving roots to peculiar magical-religious folklore that still today we may find in some traditional local celebrations.

Due to the extensive agricultural system, the wrinkledness of the orography, and for political reasons, towns were primarily located at the tip of the hills. Craco fully reflects the typical settlement of those times, where the compact tissues appear as embedded along the depression of the hills and developed around the main church and the noble mansion.

By the half of the XIX century, the whole area comprehended around 21.000 inhabitants. Due to the promulgation of the "Legge Forestale/1877" the rate of consumption of wooded areas grew drastically, dropping the 202.527 hectares of forests in 1868 to 125.985 hectares in 1929. During the second world war uncontrolled crops intensified and permanently changed the landscape.

This savage wood consumption was also boosted by the market of the railways' crossbars, that however declined shortly. As population grew, soil and forest consumption raised. The indiscriminate and uncontrolled consumption of natural resources eroded vast parts of the forests till the 1950's; a condition that still today affects the quality and static of Montagna Materana's geomorphology (Costanza, Bertani, Ripullone, 2004)<sup>20</sup>. Nevertheless, the cropping of wooded areas constituted an important factor in local agricultural activities. Pasturage became one of the most important activities for local farmers, especially for the smallest ones, that held the highest share of the overall forms of agricultural business of the area. In the 60's the former "Cassa del Mezzogiorno" financed reforestation projects, aggravating the already critical conditions of the small farmers, which in large part, didn't hold any land ownership or entitlement (Lacanfora, 1999). In the decade between the 60's and the 70's all the municipalities in Montagna Materana knew their

first cycle of demographic drop, that at that time, were merely due to migration, while natality rates remained as one of the highest in Italy. The exodus got more acute as seismic events stroked the city centers (Craco in 1972 and 1973) and industrial sites in 1980. The Montagna Materana's Inner Area stood still since then, and still today planning programmes and development programmes act in the persistence of several criticalities as: low economic development tax, high unemployment, the upturn of migrations and negative natural balance of local populations.

### 3.1.3 Montagna Materana before SNAI. Local development planning tools' evolution

Before stepping into the real content of the SNAI project for Montagna Materana, it's useful to list some of the most important experiments of regional spatial planning in Basilicata that have more or less directly affected the area of Montagna Materana.

Above all we find the presence of a Comunità Montana, named "Collina Materana" that serves seven adjacent municipalities of Accettura, Aliano, Gorgoglione, Cirigliano, Craco, San Mauro Forte e Stigliano.

Regional authority and local players had constituted a series of experiments in spatial planning that paved the way to the construction of local identity, environmental consciousness and growing reliance on communitarian relationships, such as:

- ▶ 1994, LEADER II programme. That has covered the 86% of the whole regional extension. It had boosted local negotiations among GALs (Local Action Groups) and launched a series of social programmes on professional training and environmental education that bounded together local municipalities and

the Comunità Montane throughout the execution of PALs (Plan for Local Actions)

- ▶ 1998-2000, the Region launched their official Regional development plan. The PITs (Integrated Territorial Projects) retreated the regional plan in more specific and focused strategic actions for selected territories within the region.
- ▶ 2000-2006 POR (Operative Regional Programme). A fundamental programme to receive communitarian directives and funds for the development of depressed areas.
- ▶ 2002 LEADER+ programme. It included Basilicata into the Objective 1 of the communitarian programme 2000-2006. One of the greatest achievements was the creation of special compensative allowances for the most disadvantaged areas for which their preservation depends from the continuity of extensive agricultural productions.
- ▶ European Structural Funds 2007-2013.

These instruments are particularly important in the constitution of a territorial awareness and also in the creation of a knowledge and competence regarding planning tools and policy making with a localistic approach. The turn of the millennia has meant for all the Italian Regions a period of great reform, as Regions founded themselves vested from the duty of publish their local planning laws. The progressive accumulation of the pre-cited initiatives of the Leader programmes intercepted a reforming period for Basilicata region and the whole Italy. While the Regional reform for Basilicata framed mainly technical and bureaucratic competences, the contribution of communitarian tools, more than others, helped to drive locals' attention to specific themes that actually have broader implications and interests to the European society; they also challenged local actors to improve their

19 Lacanfora, A. (1999). Piano di sviluppo socio economico. Comunità Montana Collina Materana.

20 Costanza M., Bertani R., Ripullone F. (2004). Piano Economico dei beni silvo-pastorali dei comuni di Aliano Stigliano, Gorgoglione, San Mauro Forte, decennio 2004-2013. Comunità Montana "Collina Materana"

networking abilities in the management of their endogenous resources.

Leader programmes in Basilicata dealt mainly with preservation of natural environment and rural development that the EU pursues in many different forms. In this specific case is economic exogenous resources, that are delivered in a competitive basis of access to the funds. This vastly involves skills upgrading between formally recognized territorial authorities but also transversal stakeholders coming from the civil society. That's why the rather than a mere operative and financial programme, LEADER II and LEADER + become an 'approach' that by intercepting also the regional planning reforms, it constituted a new bureaucratic and cultural praxis for local players.



## 3.2. Montagna Materana's Inner Area, iter and process

### 3.2.1 Project Iter

The SNAI project in Basilicata officially started 31<sup>st</sup> March 2014, when the Basilicata's regional offices submitted their draft proposals for the four Inner Areas appointed by the Inner Area's technical Committee in the official SNAI documents.

The national call for participating in the SNAI project intercepted an important moment in Basilicata's administration, where the application of Participatory Strategies for Local Development in LEADER programmes where taking place in 2014<sup>21</sup>. This new phase of participatory development, in accordance with the 2014-2020 European Funds programme, pushed local authorities to forecast different development scenarios for depressed areas within the region (PSR Basilicata, 2014)<sup>22</sup>.

The themes of SNAI programme were particularly close to the general problems that the Region was already trying to identify in their programming for communitarian funds: rural investments, environmental preservation, cultural promotion and socio-economic restructuring with a place-based approach.

The official documents provided by the SNAI identified the areas where the demographic decline were particularly evident (2012's methodology) that served for the Regions to classify a first set of hierarchies and urgencies within their administrative boundaries.

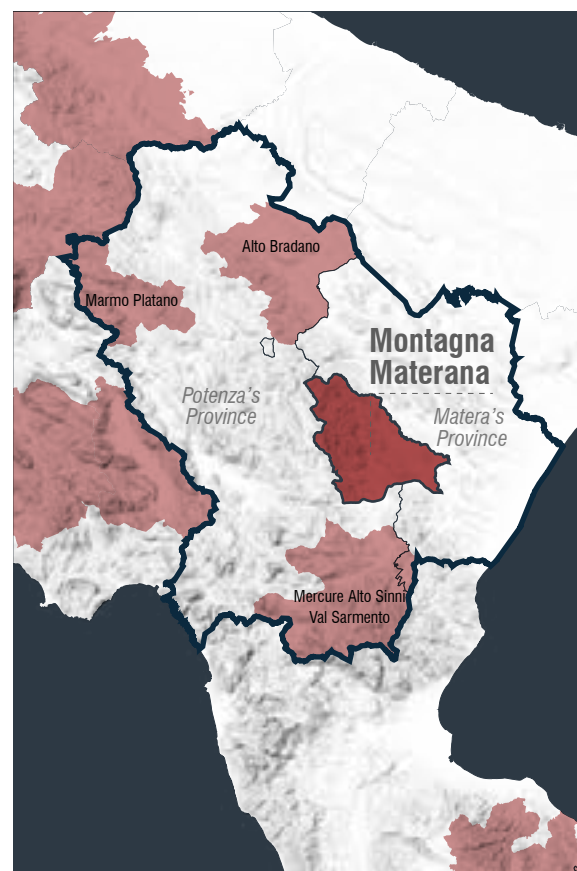
21 Bando Misura 19 – Sviluppo Locale Partecipativo (SLTP), Strategie di Sviluppo Locale di Tipo Partecipativo in LEADER Programme

22 Misura 19 Sviluppo Locale Di Tipo Partecipativo – SLTP LEADER – PSR Basilicata 2014/2020. (n.d.). Retrieved February 26, 2017, from <http://www.lucaniainteriore.it/>

With the publication of 2014's SNAI official document, eventual specifications and a more precise tracing of the project areas were formalized and eventually constituted the initial set of case studies for the technical committee. By April 2014 the Region suddenly appointed Montagna Materana as first pilot project, followed by Mercure-Alto Sinni Val Sarmentoas as second pilot. In 2015 also two more areas have been included in 2015 in the Basilicata's Inner Areas: Alto Bradano and Marmo Platano.

In 2015, the technical committee of Inner Areas proceeded with their "field-phase" in July, where they met local administrators, local actors and associations to consistently declare the aims and contents of the programme for their Inner Areas.

Map 9. Map of Basilicata's Inner Area



In February 2015 the governmental Agency for Territorial Cohesion published their results from the technical committee's public hearing and field-phase, posing their approval for the selected areas and classified the most feasible scenarios of interventions. The following phase was the formal selection of the so-called "pilot-area" that would be the testbed for SNAI's application. Among the inner areas of Basilicata's Region, Montagna Materana was finally selected for the prototypal candidate for SNAI, as stated in the official bulletin of the Region in April 2015<sup>23</sup>.

The municipality of Stigliano emerged as leader in the management of the SNAI process. Stigliano formally represents the members of the "Union of Municipalities" (unione dei comuni) that include all the 8 municipalities of Montagna Materana,

23 Regione Basilicata. AREE INTERNE, LO SVILUPPO NASCE DALL'ASSOCIAZIONISMO TRA I COMUNI. Retrieved February 26, 2017, from <http://www.regione.basilicata.it/giunta/site/Giunta/detail.jsp?otype=1012&id=2995390>

that collectively act and deliver as one unified administrative body. The first review of the SNAI's achievement in the area is established by the 31<sup>st</sup> of 2018, while the final completion of all the proposed project is due on 2023<sup>24</sup>.

Despite the innovative approach carried by the national government, especially in bringing a conceptual and quantitative thematization for identifying Inner Areas, the process of defining the boundaries of Montagna Materana's area appears to be quite dependent from past experiences, especially the Comunità Montana (Collina Materana) and the GAL (Le Macine). We find that the same eight municipalities included in the Inner Area are indeed the same ones included firstly in the Comunità Montana and thereafter in GAL Le Macine from Leader programmes. We can distinguish little changes in the

24 Regione Basilicata. AREE INTERNE, LO SVILUPPO NASCE DALL'ASSOCIAZIONISMO TRA I COMUNI. Retrieved February 26, 2017, from <http://www.regione.basilicata.it/giunta/site/Giunta/detail.jsp?otype=1012&id=2995390>



Fig. 5. Meeting of the Regional administration regarding SNAI in Basilicata, February 2016.jpg - Source: [http://www.regione.basilicata.it/giunta/files/images/03/02/00/36/IMAGE\\_FILE\\_3020036.jpg](http://www.regione.basilicata.it/giunta/files/images/03/02/00/36/IMAGE_FILE_3020036.jpg)

general approach that directly derives from these previous experiences: the Comunità Montana formally gathers municipalities but its solid structure that only involves territorial authorities. This step was fundamental in consolidating consortiums for in delivering local services to exploit collectively. Secondly we find the GAL Le Macine that as part of the Leader programmes and the PITs and PAls<sup>25</sup> (Quaranta et. al. 2005) was in charge to define strategic plans for rural development and environmental preservation. This kind of experience raised the need to involve people from the civil society mobilizing local expertise. As part of the Leader approach, the GALs meant to be first experiment of oriented territorial cooperation that from its very beginning aimed to constitute a «national strategy of cooperation in the rural domain»<sup>26</sup> (Zumpano and Del Prete, 2010).

### 3.2.2 Structures of interaction among stakeholders

Before stepping into the contents of SNAI's process in Montagna Materana, it can be useful to frame the essential modalities of interactions among stakeholders and their relative decisional arena. The more the structure slides towards the bottom, the modality of interaction becomes less formal. Due to the state of advancement of the National Strategy, it's not yet possible to classify each interaction univocally, but the following scheme tries to give a first glance on how specific bodies interact to each other. Further specification will be carried in the following paragraphs.

25 Bianchini, M.; Quaranta, G. & Salvia, R. (2005). PIANI DI AZIONE LOCALE (PAL): Esempi di implementazione in alcune Regioni italiane. A.d.P. 2005 MATT/CNLSD/UNICAL. Pal Regione Basilicata.

26 Zumpano, C., & Del Prete, A. (2010). La cooperazione Leader nella programmazione 2007-2013: idee e progetti in corso. L'agricoltura a beneficio di tutti.

### 3.2.3 Operability of the Strategy

The meetings held between 2014 and 2015 allowed to accomplish the following steps:

- 1st step. Identification of the operators

The methodology of identification through data from the SNAI's committee laid the foundations for an initial understanding of the general problems of the area in aggregated manner, as they relied on institutional resources of information (MUVAL, Istat and other technical governmental bodies). In order to specify locally the single needs and requirements of the Inner Area, further analysis will be carried by the Region's technical office that is strictly working with the GAL Macine. Gal Macine is a body that has been constituted in 1998 throughout the "Leader approach" from LEADER II and LEADER+ programme. Is a consortium aimed to facilitate local development for all the municipalities included in the Inner Area, it has its own administrative structure and it actively promoted and filters communitarian and regional initiatives. They are responsible to publish a PSL (Plan for Local Development - Piano sviluppo Locale) that mainly regards environmental and social matters, in terms of preservation, promotion, competitiveness and sustainable development (Rete Rurale Basilicata 2014)<sup>27</sup>.

- 2nd step: formalization of the Union of Municipalities

The Union of Municipalities is an administrative body disciplined by the legislative decree n°267/2000<sup>28</sup> that intercepts the article 32 of the

27 Rete Rurale Basilicata. (2014). Retrieved February 27, 2017, from <http://www.reterurale.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/7545>

28 Gazzetta Ufficiale. Dlgs 267/2000 - Testo unico delle leggi sull'ordinamento degli enti locali. (2000). Retrieved February 27, 2017, from <http://www.camera.it/parlam/leggi/deleghe/testi/00267dl.htm>

Law n°265/1999<sup>29</sup>. It is constituted by two or more municipalities that jointly exercise services and functions of administrative competence, that normally are exercised by a municipal administration. This implies that the Union that subtracts the direct entitlement of single municipalities and rather acts collectively. In order to proceed with the union, the intentions that would gather the administrators to unite should be clearly stated and formalized through a statute. In Italy, the Unions of Municipalities already exist in the whole territory, but for Basilicata it is one of the first experiments.

- 3rd step: selection of medium and long-term goals to be accomplished and the formalization of the APQ (Accordo Programma Quadro).

In order to access to SNAI's programme, the Region submits a series of documents for their respective Inner Areas, that briefly explains the general picture of opportunities, threats and needs of their local territories. The more the process goes on, the more the contents are specific, and accordingly to the state of completion of each bureaucratic step, the actions become more consistent.

Tab. 5. Montagna Materana's actors analysis

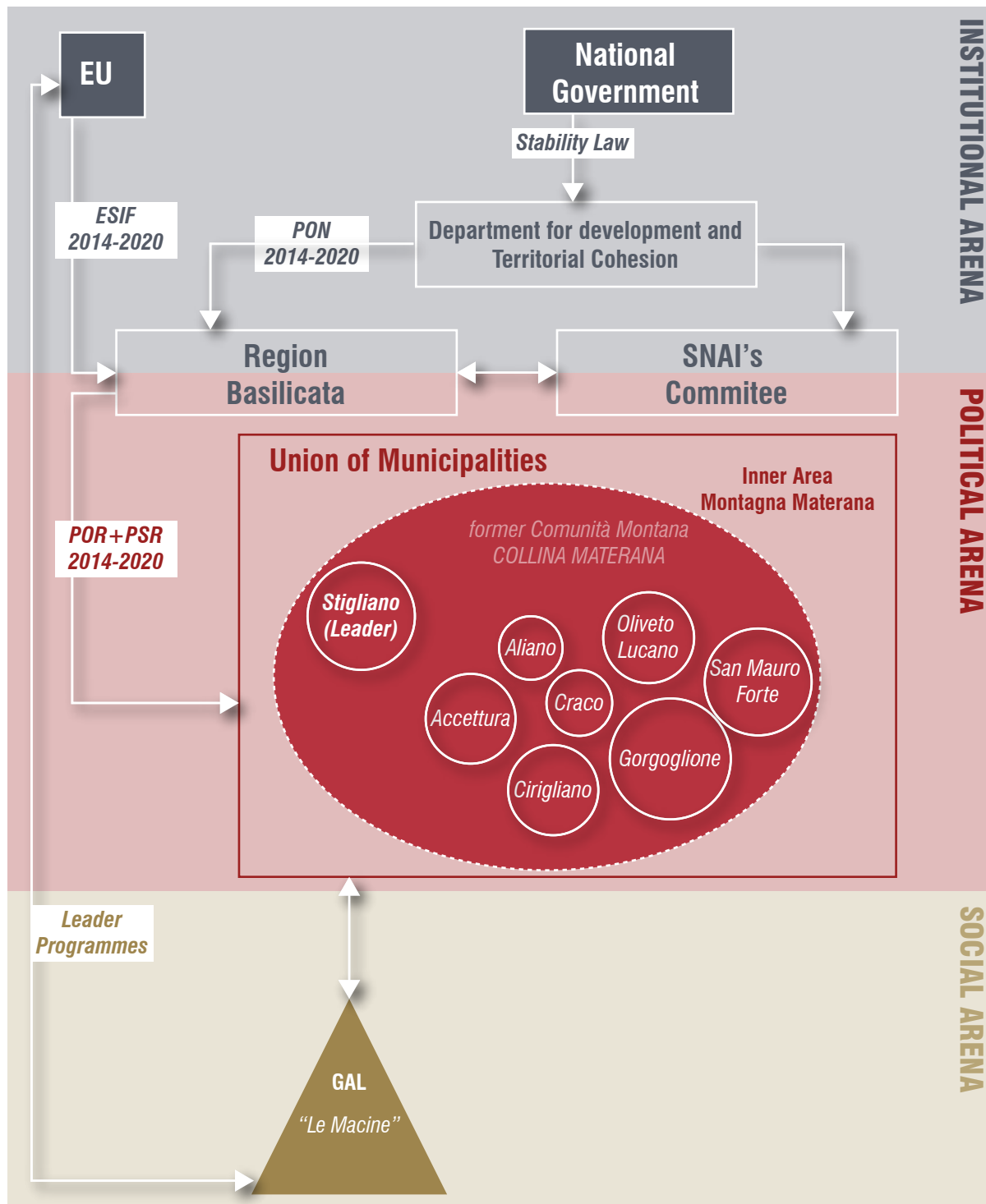
Actor	Typology	Resources	Objective	Role
DPS	Bureaucratic	Political Financial	Process	Promoter
SNAI's committee	Political	Technical Knowledge	Process Content	Promoter
Region Basilicata	Bureaucratic Legal	Financial	Process Content	Filter
Sondrio Province	Bureaucratic Legal	Legal	Process Content	Mediator
GAL Le Macine	Technical	Technical Knowledge	Content	Allied

Public Private Mixed

29 Gazzetta Ufficiale (1999). "Disposizioni in materia di autonomia e ordinamento degli enti locali, nonche' modifiche alla legge 8 giugno 1990, n. 142". Retrieved February 27, 2017, from <http://www.parlamento.it/parlam/leggi/99265l.htm>



**THEMATIC BOX 4. Decisional Arenas in Montagna Materana**



**3.2.4 Finance allocation in Montagna Materana**

The total amount of resources for Basilicata's Inner Areas is around 118 million of euros, of which the largest share comes from FESR and FSE funds. For each area selected within the SNAI strategy, the management of funds' repartition is formally held by the Region, but the Union of Municipalities and the appointed stakeholders are those which are substantially entitled to identify each financial allocation for specific aerial projects<sup>30</sup>. Unfortunately, due to the programmatory phase in which SNAI project is today (April 2017) in Basilicata, there are no further specification on how the single funds will be delivered on specific projects proposed in the Preliminary of Strategy. However, a general picture on how funds were mobilized from the State and EU (through the Region) is specified in the following table:

Tab. 6. Repartition of resources for the whole SNAI strategy among Basilicata's Inner Areas. Source: Regione Basilicata 2016.

Regional programme 2014-2020	Premialities deliverable	Net financial aid (premiabilities excluded)	Total (Euros)
POR FESR	4.500.000,00	85.500.000,00*	90.000.000,00
POR FSE		4.000.000,00	4.000.000,00
PSR	1.174.666,87	22.318.670,55	23.493.337,42
<b>Total</b>	<b>5.674.666,87</b>	<b>111.818.670,55</b>	<b>117.493.337,42</b>

—Source: Regione Basilicata (2017) \*Of which 40 Million are reserved to accessibility and transport projects

It is quite evident that communitarian funds play a fundamental role in the financing of the projects. Each resource allocation for FESR and FSE funds follow specific criteria for the division of resources:

- ▶ 25% of the resources delivered based on the present local population (2011 census year).
- ▶ 25% of the resources based on the depopulation index (taking mainly the variation between 2001-2011 census years as referen-

ce).

- ▶ 50% based on the extension of the given Inner Area (territorial surface)

Tab. 7. Table of financial allocation criteria in Basilicata's Inner Areas. Criteria 1. Source: Regione Basilicata 2016

Inner Areas	Criteria 1 – Present Population		
	Present population in 2001	% of present population on the total of the 4 Inner Areas	Population's variation between 2001-2011 (absolute)
Alto Bradano	25.806	27,60%	-1.782
Marmo Platano	21.926	23,45%	-1.447
Mercure Alto Sinni Val	33.645	35,98%	-3.466
Montagna Materana	12.131	12,97%	-2.518
<b>Total 4 areas</b>	<b>93.508</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>-9.213</b>

—Source: Regione Basilicata (2017)

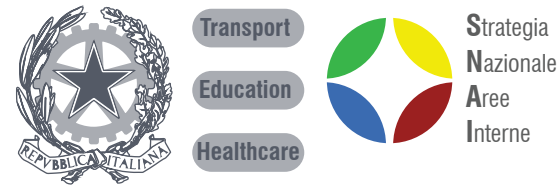
Tab. 8. Table of financial allocation criteria in Basilicata's Inner Areas. Criteria 2 and 3. Source: Regione Basilicata 2016

Inner Areas	Criteria 2 – Population's Variation	Criteria 3 – Territorial surface	
	Population's variation between 2001-2011 (%variation)	Territorial surface (Abs. values, km2)	Territorial surface (% on the total Inner Areas)
Alto Bradano	-6,46%	756	26,83%
Marmo Platano	-6,19%	458	16,25%
Mercure Alto Sinni Val	-9,34%	959	34,03%
Montagna Materana	-17,19%	645	22,90%
<b>Total 4 areas</b>	<b>-9,85%</b>	<b>2.817</b>	<b>100%</b>

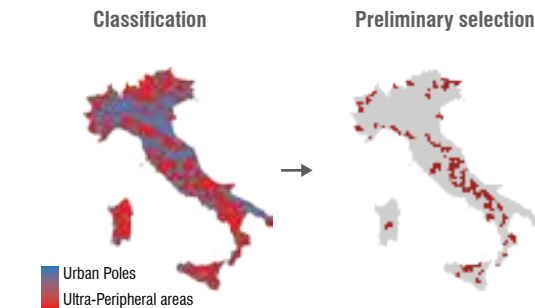
—Source: Regione Basilicata (2017)

30 <http://www.regione.basilicata.it/giunta/site/Giunta/detail.jsp?otype=1012&id=3007061>

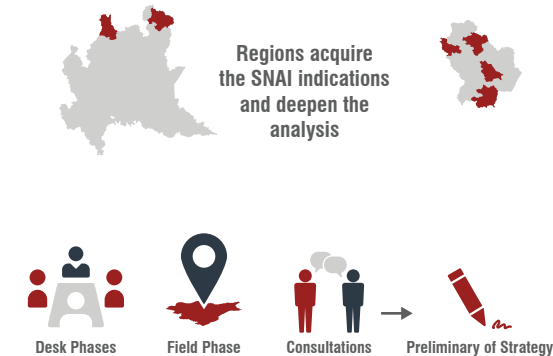
Launch of SNAI  
2012



Recognition phase  
methodological research  
for Inner Areas' classification  
2012-2013

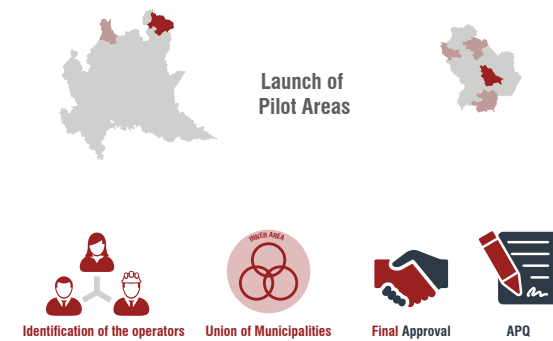


Specifications  
involvement of Regions  
to specify their drafts  
2013



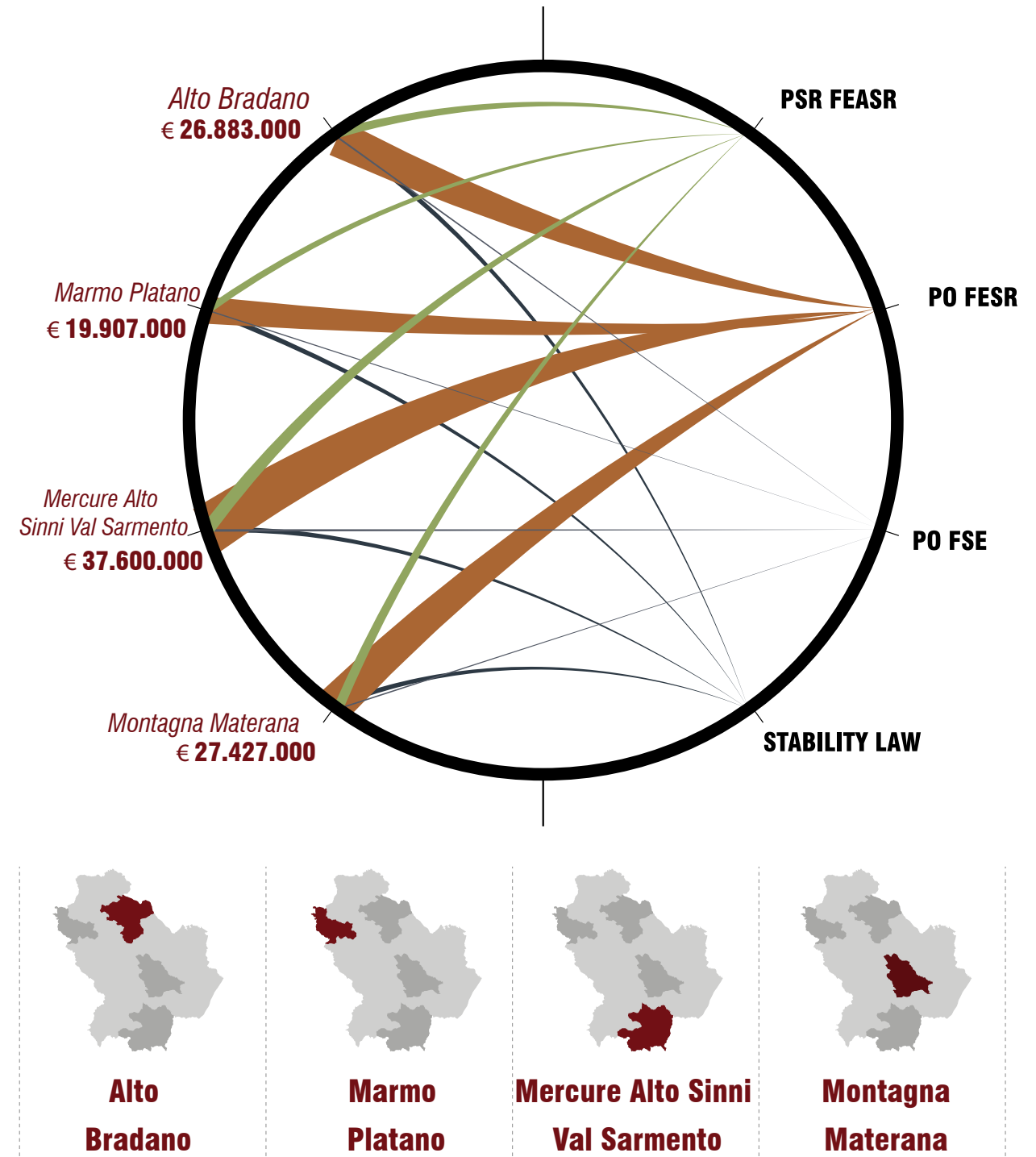
Desk + Field  
phases  
2013-2015

Selection of Pilot Areas  
21 out of 60 Inner Areas in 2015  
2014 / 2015



SNAI's operations  
in pilot areas  
due: 2018

Graph. 8. Scheme of total financial allocation in Basilicata's Inner Areas, based on are of intervention and financial source. (Net values, premialities excluded)



Alto  
Bradano



Marmo  
Platano



Mercure Alto Sinni  
Val Sarmento



Montagna  
Materana

### 3.3. Montagna Materana's project

#### 3.3.1 General outline

The contents of this section mainly comes from official resources of the SNAI's Committee Reports and the Region's documents sent to the central government for Montagna Materana's candidacy.

#### 3.3.2 Agriculture

The area's typical product as hard wheat, olive oil, wines, cheeses, cereals and meat are particularly prestigious especially for the traditional (sometimes outdated) forms of production. It's a kind of agriculture that "produces landscape" especially due to the parcelling of land that hosts in its larger part family-owned agricultural business. Furthermore, several programmes coming from the EU are promoting a diversified system of planting. The general goal is to shift the perception of the farmer from merely producer to steward of its land, and for the first time, local farmers are financially backed both in producing and not-producing goods.



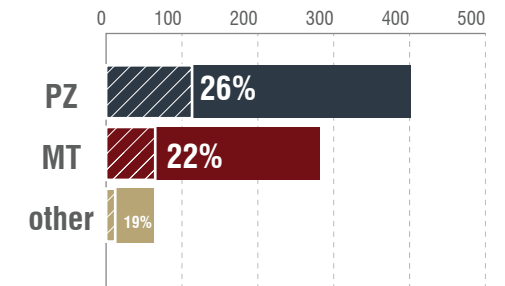
### THEMATIC BOX 5.— From producers to stewards. The role of EU in a shift in paradigm.

The FEASR Funds 2007-2013, combined with Leader+ programme have sustained local farmers in adopting biological fertilizers or crop rotation. Also the FEASR 2014-2020 follow the same initiative, but focusing more on youth inclusion on agricultural activities. In 2015 the European Commission has approved PSR Basilicata (Piano Sviluppo Rurale Basilicata - Plan for Rural Development) that delivers a total of 680 million of public resources through the FEASR programme, of which 411.49 million coming from the European Budget and 268.67 coming from the national co-financing package. As witnessed in the latest announcement of the Region concerning FEASR Funds, there is an increasing rate of young people asking to be included in agricultural programmes. The new cycle of funds has putted strong emphasis in sustaining new comers in agricultural projects, creating specific credits and loans for young farmers within its packages. Montagna Materana will partially benefit also of preservation incentives moved by transnational initiatives. Rete Natura 2000 is fundamental especially in delivering specific allowances for those land owners which can't pursuit specific agricultural or silvo-pastoral activities, due to the fragility of the soil or for environmental preservation (Marandola, Coderoni, 2015)<sup>31</sup>. (Regione Basilicata, 2016)<sup>32</sup>.

31 Marandola D., Coderoni S., (2015). "PSR 2014-2020 - Quadro di sintesi delle principali misure per la conservazione della biodiversità e la sostenibilità ambientale"

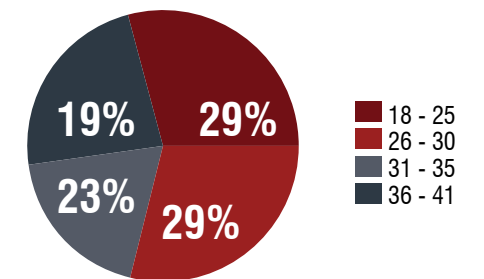
32 Regione Basilicata (2016). Conferenza stampa Quarto pacchetto bandi e avvisi PSR Basilicata 2014-2020. Dipartimento Politiche Agricole e Forestali Autorità di Gestione PSR FEASR 2014-2020. [http://www.regione.basilicata.it/giunta/files/docs/DOCUMENT\\_FILE\\_3019975.pdf](http://www.regione.basilicata.it/giunta/files/docs/DOCUMENT_FILE_3019975.pdf)

Graph. 10. Demands presented for the FEASR 2014-2020 in Basilicata. Classification by province and difference among presented and financible



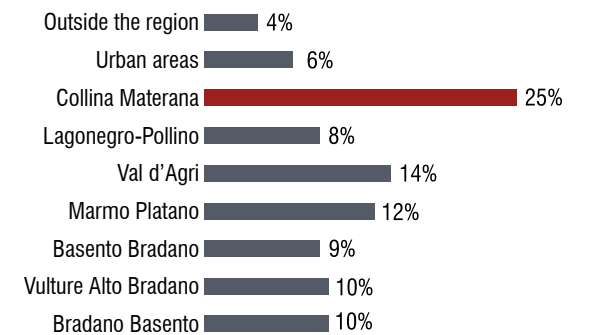
—Source: Regione Basilicata (2016). Conferenza stampa Quarto pacchetto bandi e avvisi PSR Basilicata 2014-2020.

Graph. 11. Demands presented for the FEASR 2014-2020 in Basilicata. Classification by age



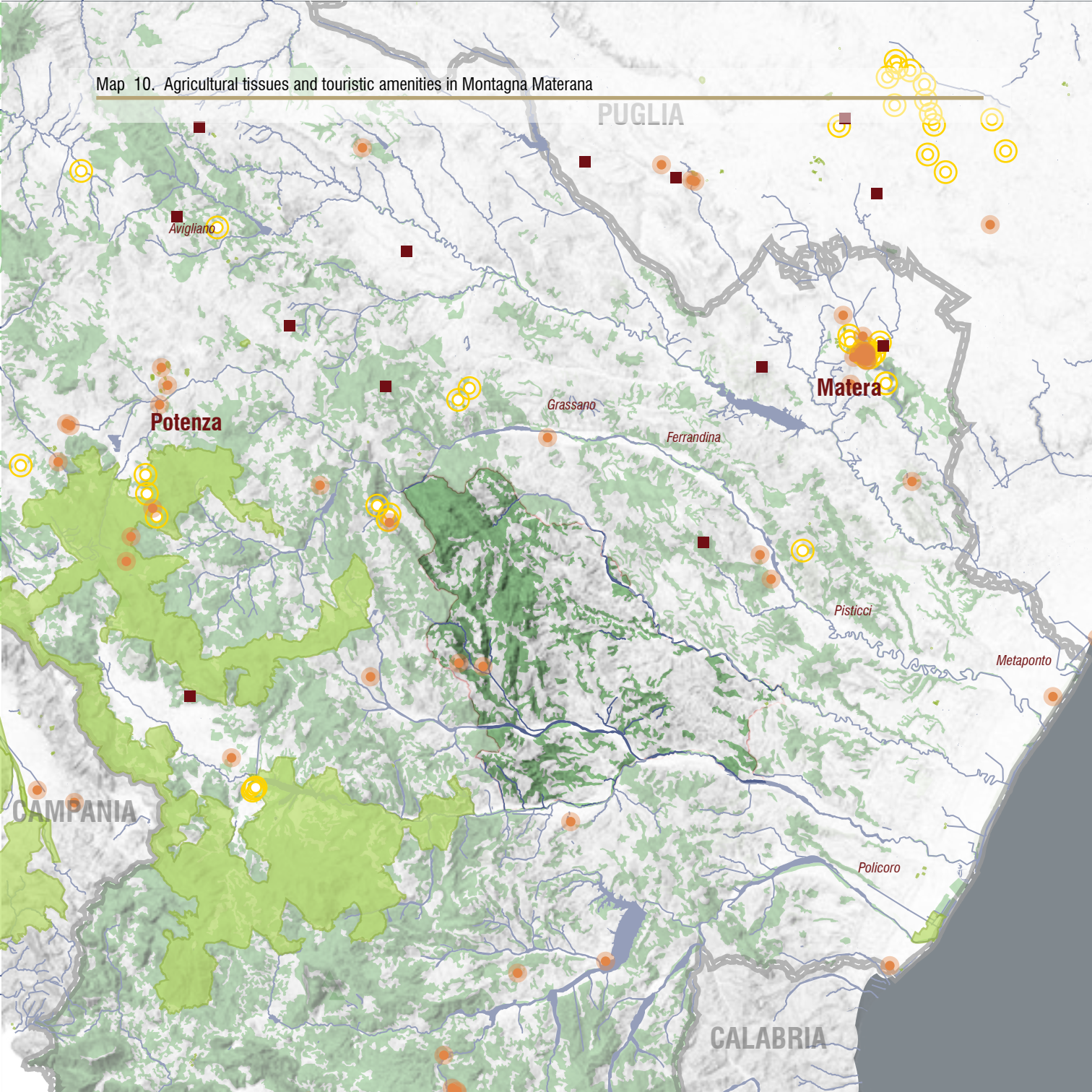
—Source: Regione Basilicata (2016). Conferenza stampa Quarto pacchetto bandi e avvisi PSR Basilicata 2014-2020.

Graph. 12. Demands presented financible through FEASR 2014-2020 in Basilicata. Classification areas



—Source: Regione Basilicata (2016). Conferenza stampa Quarto pacchetto bandi e avvisi PSR Basilicata 2014-2020.

Map 10. Agricultural tissues and touristic amenities in Montagna Materana



**Legend**

- Periurban areas
- Wooded areas
- Parks
- Archaeological sites
- Hotels
- Hostels
- Local attraction
- Attraction of supra-local relevance
- Inner Area
- Regional boundary

**Sources**

- ISPRA
- Geoportale Nazionale
- Geoportale Basilicata
- OSM

**3.3.3 Tourism**

The area aims to seek for a constructive and mutual relationship with the Regional capital of Matera. Matera is world-wide known for its “Sassi”, it’s part of the UNESCO’s world heritage and also assigned to be one of the European Capital of Culture in 2019.

Its influence and prestige in the Region is predominant, and somehow discriminant of the overall touristic flux. Montagna Materana aims to intercept Matera’s touristic flow especially in the promotion of local events, that may be lined with the 2019’s appointment. In the mid term, the inner area aims to constitute a “unified calendar of events” (DPS, 205) Another proposal focuses on the creation of a “diffused-museum” around the overall agricultural tissue, where promoting slow-food and slow-life-style.

The lack of touristic amenities is a strong problem in the area. The seasonal and relatively poor flux of tourism, impinges in the low rate of touristic in-

dex. The proposal also states that models as Gan-gi’s “diffused hospitality” model should be applied in the Inner Area, by setting a series of incentives to refurbish the old houses and promote training for conservation techniques for historical buildings.



Fig. 6. Tourists climbing local “Calanchi” during “La luna e i Calanchi” festival, 2014 - Source: [http://www.materainside.it/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/14138652\\_10210472401872275\\_4374824215917688070\\_o.jpg](http://www.materainside.it/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/14138652_10210472401872275_4374824215917688070_o.jpg)

### 3.3.4 Accessibility.

To commute in the area of Montagna Materana is extremely difficult. There are no railways and few public transport bus lines. The car is the essential way of transport for local citizens. Despite the distance among towns is relatedly short, the depressions of the valleys and the steepness of the hills drastically extend the average commuting time.

- The road maintainance is probably one of the highest concerns raised from the SNAI documents. The instability of the territory (landslides, mudslides, rockslides) seriously harm not only the quality of the pathways but also put in danger the safety of the drivers. In addition, the lack of street lightning and traffic signs is particularly urgent in the valley, especially due to the presence of narrow curves and the downhill slopes.
- Also digital divide and access to ICT infrastructures are fundamental.

One of the most evident aspects of the overall projects of Montagna Materana is that accessibility is the discriminant for all the issues related to healthcare, education but also touristic amenities and economy. The constrains given by its territory affect the provision of efficient street networks and local public transport services.

The urban tissues of the municipalities within the inner area assume the form of archipelagos. Decision makers and citizens are totally aware that city-model kinds of development are unsuitable not only for economic constrains but also for environmental and landscape conservation. Montagna Materana's municipalities find themselves in a peculiar situation where the need for a better network clashes with the necessity to maintain intact the agricultural and environmental tissues that are both preserved by supralocal authorities and essential for local farmers as agriculture is the main

sector of the Basilicata's region.

However, one exploitable character of the territory can be extremely useful in the re-organization of TPL improvements, that is the urban model of residence. Montagna Materana in fact has a relatively high share con people that are concentrated in dense tissues. This means that with the creation of inter-municipal lines that pass through the town cores, is most likely to collect several users, as citizens are not dispersed in single households. However, road networks constitute a real friction in the development of TPL, and surely the amount of resources should be higher and directly targeting transit-related projects.

Due to the lack of TPL and weak road networks, also commuting to external areas is difficult, as shown in the graphs in the following pages. Thus, both for working and education purposes, most of the people spend their activities within the Inner Area boundary.



## Trasport services and accessibility

### Long-range distance from urban poles and main transportation services

(Source: TCAI, ISTAT, GIS network analyst)



### Indexes (Source: TCAI, ISTAT 2011)

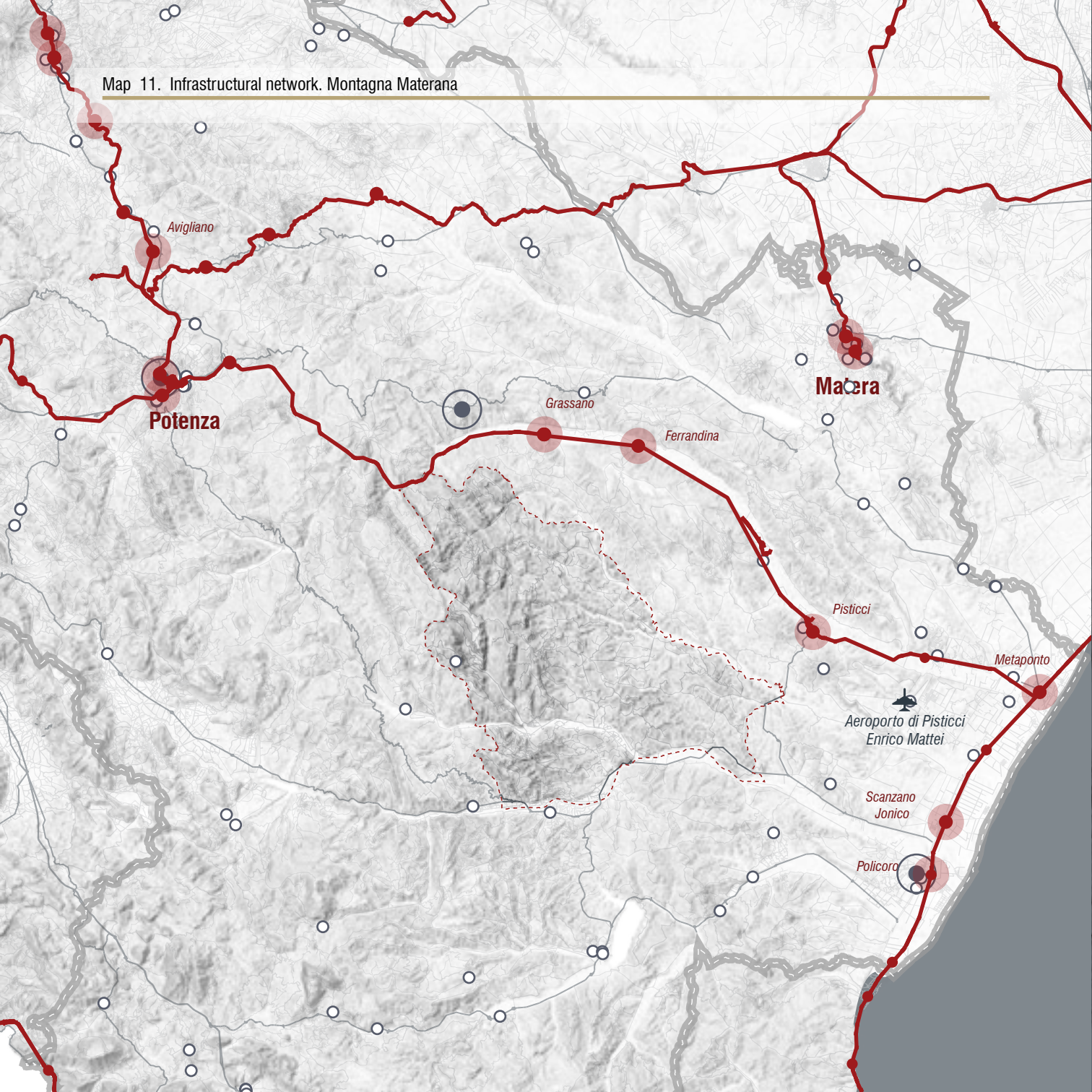
Commuting for education purposes



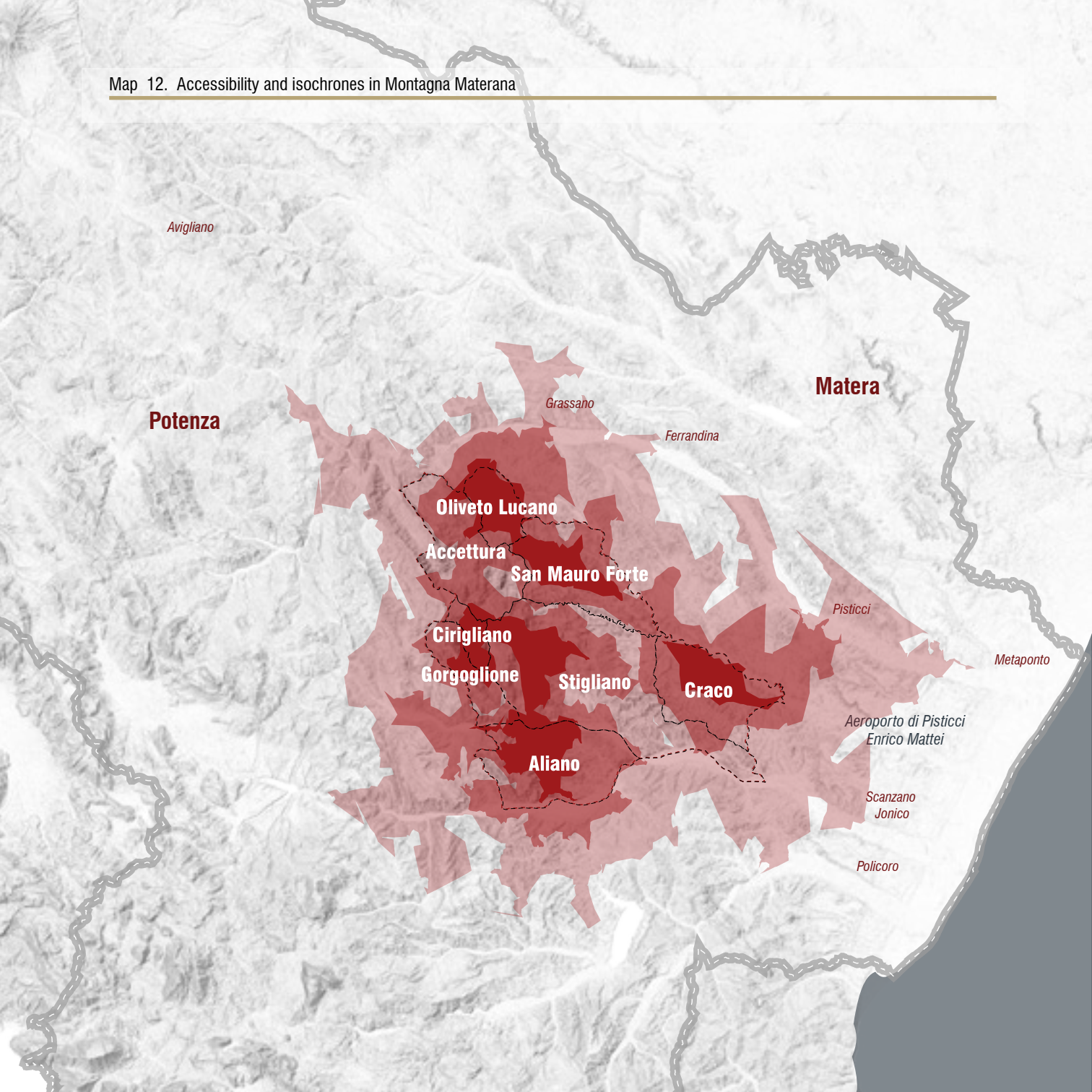
Commuting for labour purposes



Map 11. Infrastructural network. Montagna Materana



Map 12. Accessibility and isochrones in Montagna Materana



**Legend**

- Railways
- Motorways
- Primary roads
- Secondary roads
- Main train station
- Secondary train stops
- Bus station
- Bus stops
- Inner Area
- Regional boundary

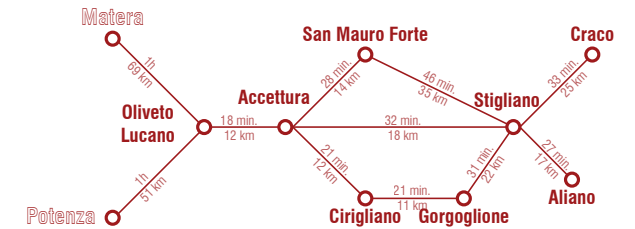
Sources

- ISPRA
- Geoportale Nazionale
- Geoportale Basilicata
- OSM

**Legend**

- 10 min
  - 20 min
  - 30 min
  - Inner Area
- } Isochrones

**Commuting times**



### 3.3.5 Education

The 'demographic senility' (Bubbico and Romaniello, 2005) has a cyclic impact on labour, education and physical assets. The negative balance of local citizens has direct impacts on the consistency on the student population, and consequentially on the pool of employable local human resources in the perspective of labour markets. The preliminary proposal for the SNAI project embraces different kinds of training and education initiatives.

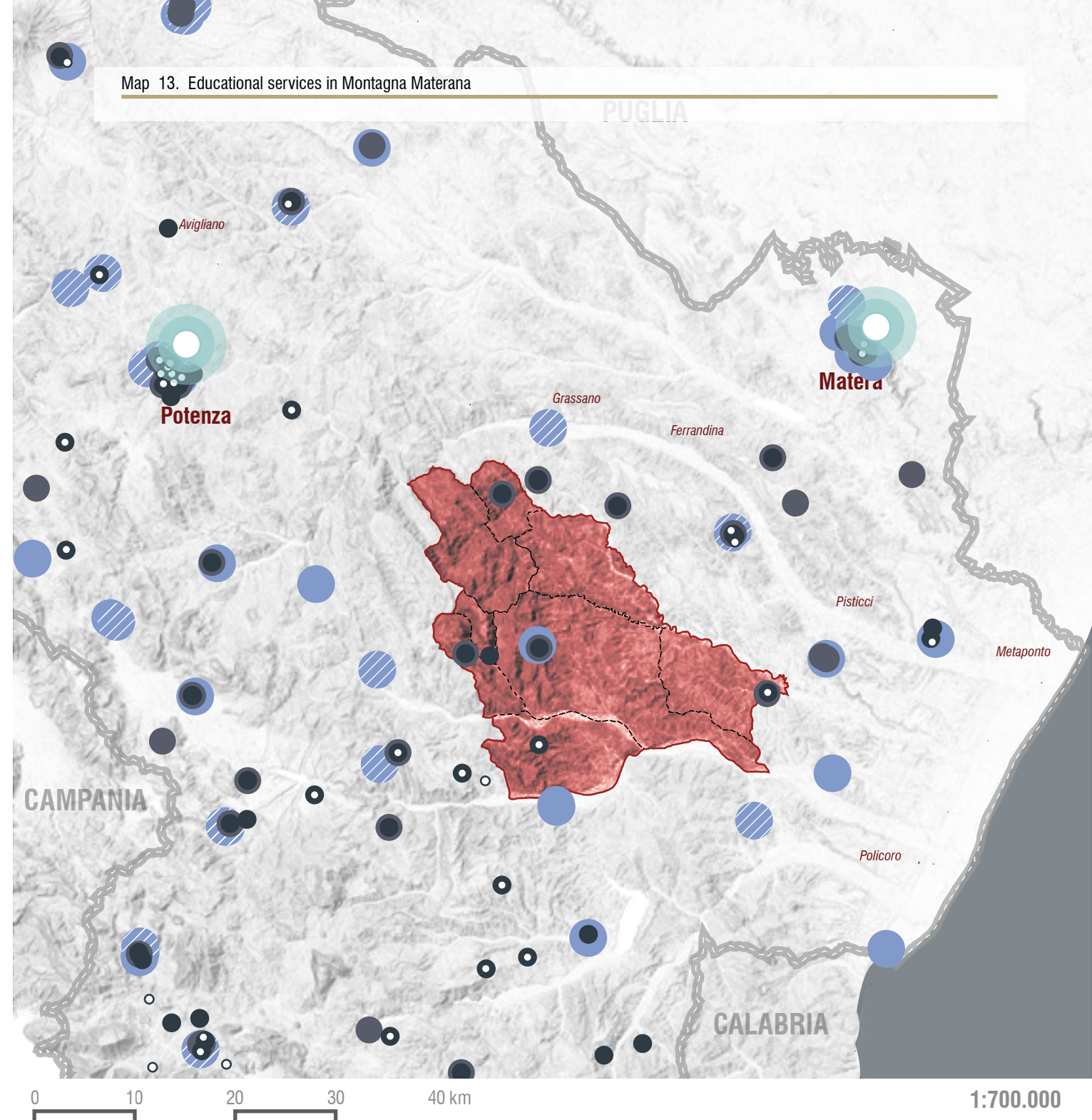
- ▶ **Artisanal training.** For the promotion artisanal activities focused on clay, stone and split cane craft.
- ▶ **Coordination and animation group.** To be founded in Stigliano, aiming to train locals in ICT technologies and communication for territorial sponsorship.
- ▶ **Formazione Montagna Materana.** An information and training centre for the coordination among local artisans and schools.
- ▶ **Comprehensive/Polyvalent educational institute.** They proposed to gather all the students of middle and high-schools in one comprehensive educational institute in order to ease commuting and reduce management expenditure. The municipality of Stigliano would be the beneficiary of this proposal.
- ▶ **Territorial workshops for employment.** Such initiative intercepts the "Buona Scuola" governmental programme (art.1 commas 56 and 62 in Law 107/2015).

In analysing the number of enrollments, especially at the first stages of education (kindergardens and primary schools), the number of children enrolled is constantly decreasing, That is problematic in the enhancement of senility of the area and more broadly to the impossibility of generational interchange in the future labour sectors.

The "instability" of the education offer in high schools is expressed by the high values of Mobility Index of teachers (22.7), way higher respect to the Italian average for high schools that is 6.8. The mobility index is the ratio between the requests of mobility recorded (transfers to other institutes, change of role and professional position) weighted on the total of teachers with undetermined contracts. The higher the index, the most teachers interchange along the academic years. This situation can harm the management and the quality of the teaching both for students and schools' administrators.

Due to all of these assumptions (lowering number of enrolled students at the basic educational levels, and the instability of teaching at the higher ones) generally hint that also for education, more qualitative rather than quantitative measures must be applied in the area. As less student population is present in the area the more schools will be down-sized and more likely closed, and so perpetuate the vicious cycle of un-satisfaction for local residents.

Map 13. Educational services in Montagna Materana



#### Legend

- |           |                   |                             |                                     |          |                   |
|-----------|-------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------|-------------------|
| ○         | Kindergartens     | ● (blue with lines)         | Technical / Professional Institutes | ■ (red)  | Inner Area        |
| ● (black) | Elementary School | ● (green with white center) | Universities                        | ▭ (grey) | Regional boundary |
| ● (black) | Middle School     |                             |                                     |          |                   |
| ● (blue)  | High School       |                             |                                     |          |                   |

#### Sources

- ISPRA
- Geoportale Nazionale
- Geoportale Basilicata
- OSM

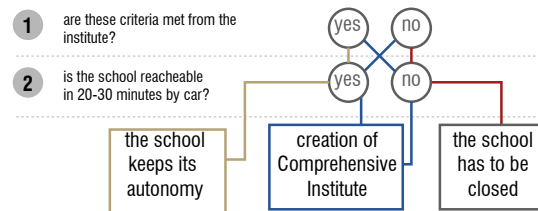
## THEMATIC BOX 6. Dimensioning educational services, a double tracked standard

For Regions as Basilicata, that constantly experiences several problems of dimensioning essential services, schools represent a challenging issue to tackle, as it is influenced by national regulations (coming from the MIUR) that cannot fit in many portions of Basilicata's territory. From 2012 Basilicata is deeply re-setting its regulatory tools to dimension educational services in the region<sup>33</sup>, by acknowledging the fact that State's indications cannot be applied homogenously.

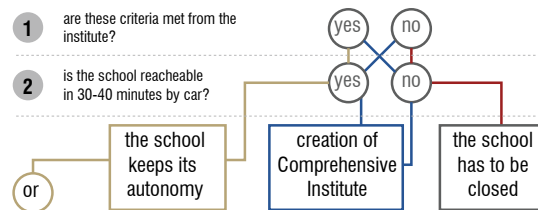
► Primary schools. Kindergartens, elementary schools and middle ones that fall into the same Area POIS (Piani di Offerta Integrata di Servizi – from EU's 2007-2013 programmes, axis VI "Social Inclusion")<sup>34</sup> are aggregated in Comprehensive Institutes.

► Secondary schools. For high schools, the range of reference for the creation and maintenance of a school's autonomy goes from a minimum of 500 to 900 students. The provinces, that are in charge of the offer of secondary schools should weight the possible scenario of students' enrollment taking into account the number of students coming from middle schools and adjust it to the trends of accomplishment of the second grade cycle of studies (diploma).

Primary levels		
Basilicata's population density	Urban areas 300-50 inh/km2	Mountainous areas < 50 inh/km2
min	800	400
max	900	500

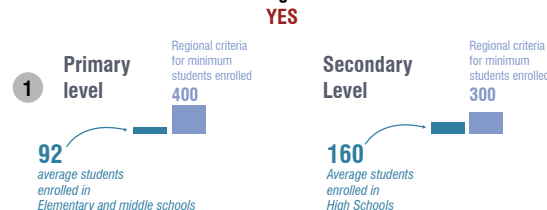


Secondary levels		
Basilicata's population density	Urban areas 300-50 inh/km2	Mountainous areas < 50 inh/km2
min	500	300
max	900	900



or  
specialize its offer with technical-professional institutes that however must be coherent with the future projection of student population and territory's offer and vocation

### Are schools in Montagna Materana at risk?



### Average commuting time for students from and to MM's schools

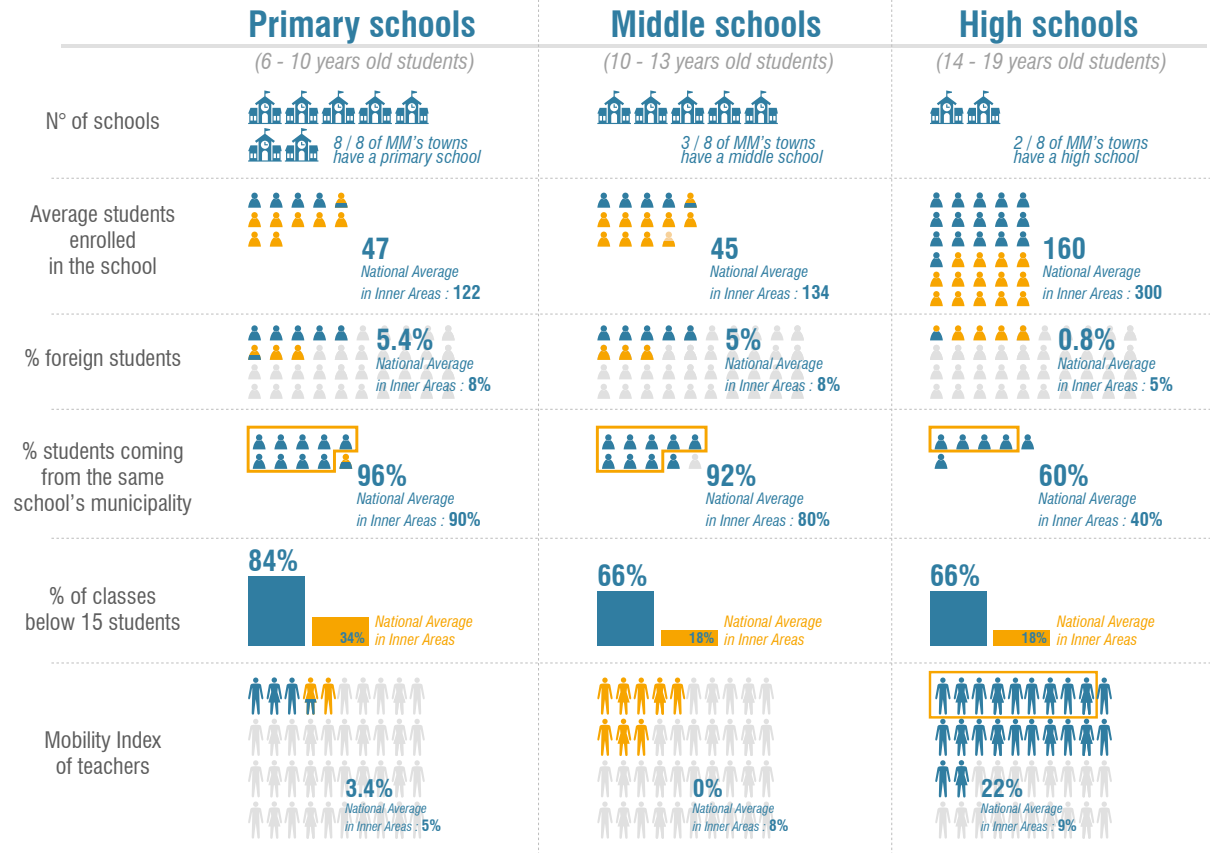


33 Regione Basilicata (2011). Linee Guida per il Dimensionamento delle Istituzioni Scolastiche della Regione Basilicata a.s. 2012/2015. Source: [http://www.regione.basilicata.it/giunta/files/docs/DOCUMENT\\_FILE\\_572499.pdf](http://www.regione.basilicata.it/giunta/files/docs/DOCUMENT_FILE_572499.pdf)

34 Regione Basilicata. (2007). POFESR Basilicata « Il Bando POIS. Retrieved March 31, 2017, from <http://www.pofesr.basilicata.it/pois/pois>

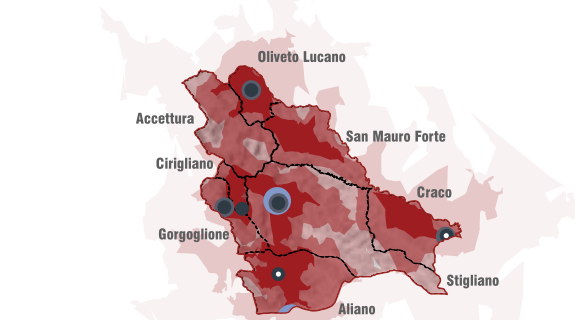


## Educational services in Montagna Materana



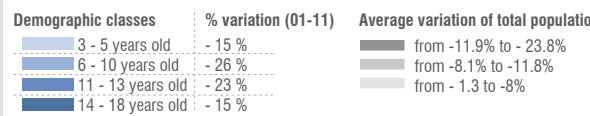
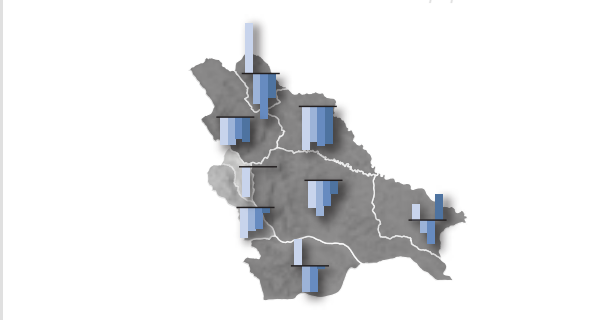
### Schools' accessibility

service-areas of educational services



### Shrinking student population

% variation between 2001 and 2011 of students' population





### 3.3.6 Healthcare

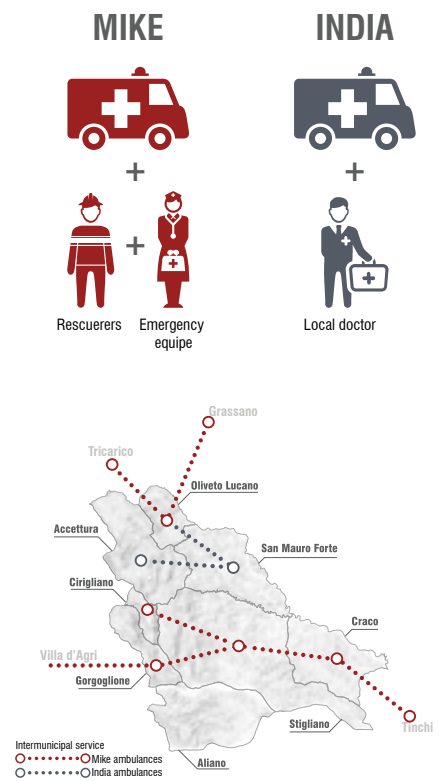
The high presence of elders surely stresses the need to have a performative healthcare assistance. The already mentioned problem of accessibility affects very deeply the functioning and assisting of local citizens.

► **Emergencies and first aid.** For emergency calls, the temporal requirement for an efficient aid service ranges from 10-20 minutes maximum. In Montagna Materana commuting times are around 30-40 minutes to reach the adjacent town, so clearly there's a severe constrain. Due to this difficulty, the strategy proposed to provide diffused ambulatories specialized in first aid, telematics in healthcare for consulting and prognostic, plus the creation of rapid intervention systems with helicopters for the most severe cases.

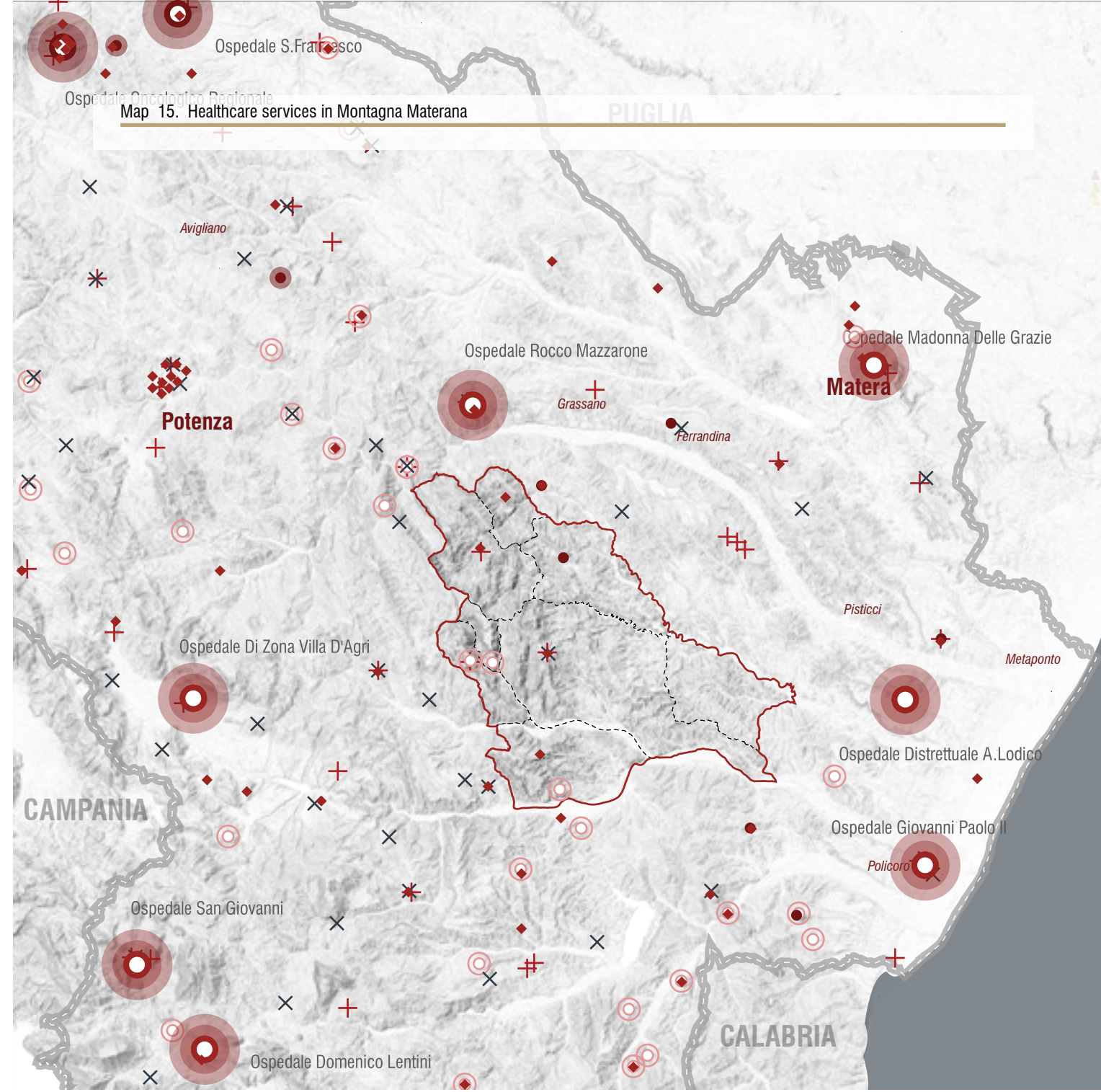
► **Chronic diseases.** Are growing in number due to the ageing population. Here once again commuting time affects people's willingness to be regularly treated. The underestimation of the severeness of certain kinds of diseases leads the area to have a quite high index of "evitable hospitalization".

The complete absence of hospitals in the area doesn't stand necessarily as a problem, but the commuting time for ambulances but also for patients to reach healthcare centers (especially in case of emergencies) can create perverse problems. That's why in the SNAI's project proposal for Montagna Materana, proximity facilities for healthcare appear as the most feasible goals to achieve. Unfortunately the proposals do not go beyond a simple statement, no actual plans regarding how many nor where health centers should locate are specified. More interestingly, currently in the area some municipalities adopted specific actions to deal with rapid assistance in cases of emergen-

cy, the "Mike" and "India" models for first aid and emergencies by bringing locally doctors and assistants to rescue or treat patients.



The adoption of these models is surely interesting in its frugality. Rather than thinking that healthcare issues could be healed with simply adding more structures, alternative and 'softer' strategies can assure an interesting approach to the problem.



Map 15. Healthcare services in Montagna Materana

**Legend**

- Ambulatory
- Poli-ambulatory
- Clinic
- Guardia medica
- × Asl
- + Pharmacy
- Hospital
- Inner Area
- Regional boundary

**Sources**

- ISPRA
- Geoportale Nazionale
- Geoportale Basilicata
- OSM

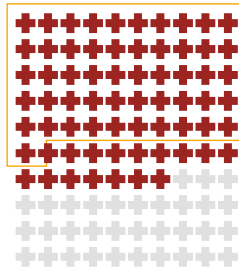


# Healthcare services in Montagna Materana

## Performance of healthcare services

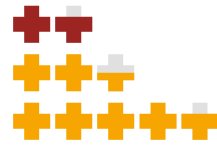
Source: CTAI, Istat, ASM Basilicata

Evitable hospitalization index (max: 1000)



670 National Average in Inner Areas : 516

Ambulatorial specialization index (services x 1000 inhabitants)



1.7 Montagna Materana 2.4 Italian Inner Areas 4.3 National average

Share of extra-regional hospitalization over the total hospitalizations of Regions' citizens\*



70% of the hospitalizations in 2015 where held outside the Region // Inter-regional passive mobility

MM

Time range Alarm - to - Target



National Average in Inner Areas

## THEMATIC BOX 7.- Depression from isolation

Collective life has not merely a consequence of living in a town but a need in these areas in many different meanings. With the technological advancement lagging probably centuries behind the rest of the nation collective models of production and consumption was the only option to have access to resources. . The photo on the left shows a typical daily appointment of local women at the public fountain in Grassano (1955). At that time most of the households didn't have any running-water supply.

While this photo shows the ritual moment of lunch break during the corn harvest process. Here collectivity is a need to carry the manual work but also a chance to bring the family and friends together in a mutual relationship of favours that each other will respectively pay back. These might appear trivial examples, but the complex system of values triggered by collective life implies a series of duties,

honors, traditions, beliefs that are highly characterizing of the southern rural lifestyle.

Given these preconditions, the issue of depopulation engraves problematic consequences in the psychological perception of depopulation, isolation and by consequence loneliness for locals. This melancholic sentiment is particularly striking for elders of course, since they actually lived in those periods, but it has also other consequences to the family structures at any age. The values of single-person family units are rising at the same pace of "evitable hospitalization" indexes. Most of these evitable hospitalizations actually regard depression diseases and not by chance it mostly affects lonely elders.



Fig. 8. Lunch break during the harvest. San Giorgio Lucano 1965 - Source: <http://www.esperienzeconilsud.it/volontarinaturalmenteinrete/files/2014/01/anni-60.jpg>

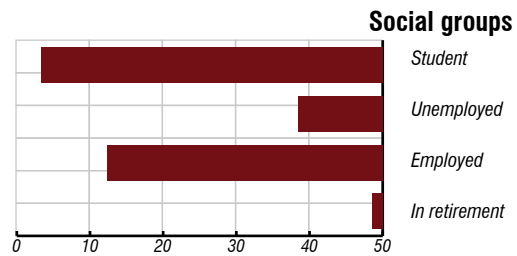
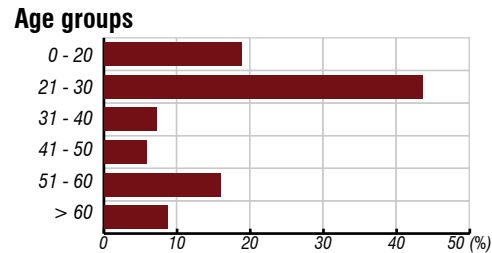


Fig. 7. Women at the public fountain. Grassano 1965 - Source: [http://www.touringclub.it/sites/default/files/styles/threshold-1382/public/immagini\\_georiferite/it-mi0332\\_tci001561\\_01.jpg?itok=1-GEqBsn](http://www.touringclub.it/sites/default/files/styles/threshold-1382/public/immagini_georiferite/it-mi0332_tci001561_01.jpg?itok=1-GEqBsn)

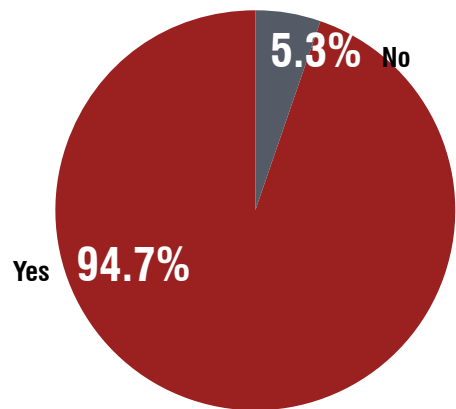
### 3.4. Living the Montagna Materana, witnesses and impacts

#### 3.4.1 Interviews and site visit

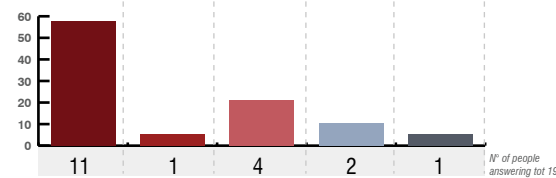
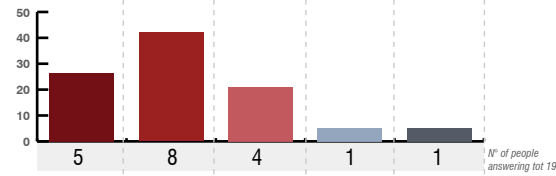
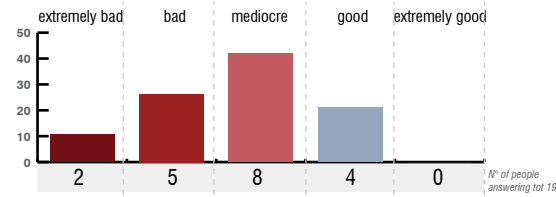
#### Interviewed's profiles



#### Do you think that your area is depopulating?



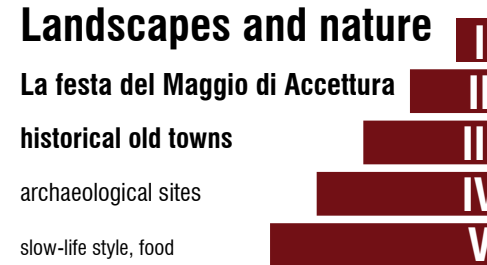
#### How would you evaluate the performance of local services in your area?



#### Where do you spend time for your everyday activities?



What are the most **positive aspects**, that you'd like to **promote** to make your area more attractive?



"we need to invest on tourism so to push people to steward our precious resources"



Our landscape is breathtaking. The Regional Park of Gallipoli Cognato, the 'Piccole Dolomiti Lucane', Aliano's 'calanchi', our forests, flora and fauna should be known and more promoted. But how can we appreciate them? How can people know this place if they cannot reach it?



What are the most **negative aspects**, that make your area un-attractive?



"In this isolated land everybody do whatever they want! As no one patrols the areas, and our forests are becoming dump-sites!"



"For just 20 km of distance we take at least 35 minutes to commute. It's a torture for workers and families, can you imagine for a tourist? That's why tourists never decide to come here from region's attractors as Matera. Matera is 'closer' to Bari than its hinterland"



### 3.5. Montagna Materana, what forms of citizenship claim?

In the following section there will be a recap of the principal elements which SNAI's strategy takes into account for achieving a meaningful citizenship project for Inner Areas. Due to the complex nature of citizenship concept, a first division among quantitative and qualitative elements must be taken into account. For the purpose of this research this dual composition of citizenship will be gathered in two main concepts: "citizenship as a project" that accounts for all the measurable elements of citizenship – i.e. provision per capita of essential services – and secondly there will be the section of "citizenship as a process" where it explores the evolution of the concept along the years, stressing in particular possible path-dependencies regarding social dynamics and spatial policies, plus possible scenarios of progress.

#### 3.5.1 Citizenship as a project.

##### 3.5.1.1 Citizenship's goods per capita: just a matter of balance?

In dealing with "citizenship's goods" in urban centers, the principal problem that raises is related to quantities. Usually every town make explicit in local general plans the general picture of the provision of any given service per capita. In Italy, more specifically, such kinds of regulations had been disciplined from the 60's throughout the "Urban Standards", that consist in the assignment of specific services (in square meters) per inhabitant. The mixity and complexity of the services, relies on the number of present population, given all the advantages of agglomeration. But in rapidly declining quotas of local inhabitants, the issue of finding the rightful seize of services as roads, schools, healthcare centers is far from being merely a univocal ratio of surfaces per capita. More likely, urban

plans deal with problems of retro-fitting essential services for local inhabitants, as along the years the number of inhabitants rises or older amenities become obsolete. In a depopulating town we find an inverse problem of having surpluses of spaces, that eventually become abandoned or neglected. We have already treated these kinds of problematics in the first chapter of this thesis, but here, for Montagna Materana is particularly useful to recall these problems, as this Inner Area has one of the highest indexes of depopulation along the years.

The three essential elements of citizenship according to SNAI are health, education and transport accessibility. Generally the Urban Standards express the amount of these services in dotation of square meter per capita in the local urban plans, which however none of the municipalities of the Inner Area has, due to the small-size of their towns. Some documents redacted from inter-municipal authorities (GALs, PITs, Comunità Montane) sometimes make these quotas explicit but in very arbitrary manner.

The fact is that due to the size of the municipalities, to craft local urban plans is overwhelmingly difficult for coordination issue, scarce practice and financial constrains that make the plan-making process unsustainable and un-useful if carried by single towns. The approach adopted by SNAI's technical committee is quite mixed, so sometimes instead of judging the performance of a given essential service based on quotas of surfaces per resident. In the following part there will be showed the principal analitic tools in the evaluation of the three essential services' performance in Montagna Materana.

#### 3.5.2 Citizenship as a process.

##### 3.5.2.1 Depopulation and citizenship. Has SNAI underestimated the burden of depopulation for Montagna Materana?

The SNAI strategy and EU's structural funds take variation of local population as one of the principal criteria for structuring projectual priorities and fund allocations. As seen in paragraph "3.2.5 Finance allocation in Montagna Materana" the two census years of reference are 2001 and 2011, where the Montagna Materana recorded the highest depopulation index among other Inner Areas in Basilicata. But one might argue if 2001 and 2011 census years are actually the right time-frame that can help administrators to actually catch the burden of depopulation phenomena in the area.

Further temporal horizons can destitute more consistently how much depopulation had its impact in Montagna Materana's area. To stretch the temporal analysis on local residents is particularly important specifically for Montagna Materana, as real estate developments and expansion of towns was quite contained along the years, that means that the city forms remained quite intact from the 50's and 70's vacancies (especially in residential historic buildings) are likely to be a great concern for local landlords. In addition, the rising number of single-person families is also likely to constitute a problem in the following decades, as there won't be any generational interchange in the property of households.

Graph. 13. Demographic variation among census years in Montagna Materana. Source: Istat

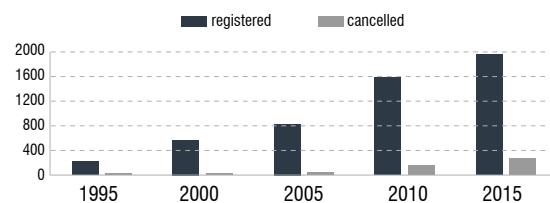
%Var 51-11	%Var 71-11	%Var 91-11	%Var 01-11
-129.6	-69.85	-38.38	-23.03
-111.46	-68.58	-38.17	-18.67
-247.92	-177.29	-47.37	-23.27
-137.73	-76.24	-26.76	-3.92
-78.54	-61.63	-32.48	-11.97
-104.76	-74.04	-40.36	-19.87



### 3.5.3 Interchangeable citizens? Migrations and mutations of local inhabitants

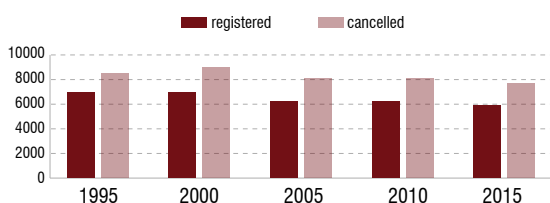
At the beginning of the 2000's this specific problem of vacancies have constituted an opportunity, as foreign immigrants started to move in the area and rent the households at cheap prices. Aliano, among the other towns of Montagna Materana is the only municipality that has an established community of foreign workers of Moroccan origins, that moved in the area in the 90's. In the analysis of local transfers of inhabitants towards or outwards the Basilicata Region, we may notice that foreigners have a positive balance between coming and exiting populations.

Graph 14. Number of registrations and cancellations of foreign residents in Basilicata (5 years breaks).



Source: DemoStat

Graph 15. Number of registrations and cancellations of foreign residents in Basilicata (5 years breaks).



Source: DemoStat

The units of foreign population are extremely low as in general Basilicata Region is one of the weakest for immigrants' attraction. However the rising rates of foreigners that formally decide to reside permanently in Basilicata is rising even respect to the native Italians, that instead prefer to move their residence outside their region.

To imagine today a total turn-over from 'native' citizens to foreign ones is surely utopic, but the pace at which local realities in Italy have to deal with migrants and refugees can speed up the process of hospitality and eventually turn it to permanent residence. Basilicata in fact is catching the opportunity of the high migration fluxes of refugees and asylum seekers to create new job positions. The backing of the EU also here moves large amounts of financial sustain for local municipalities. Between 2017 and 2018 more than 70 million of euros will be delivered from the EU commission to guarantee occupational projects for Basilicata's citizens to receive and accommodate the refugees (RegionBasilicata, 2016)<sup>35</sup>. The 20-25% of the funds is directly reserved for employment of local 'Lucani' employees, but the rest is aimed to sustain the 'diffused hospitality' projects, rental values of vacant apartments and houses and other facilities for migrants right of residence.

Furthermore, the central national government also sustains with 1.3 million of euros to each Basilicata's municipalities willing to host more migrants. Basilicata has the highest share of number municipalities receiving immigrants per Region: around 67 municipalities already have accessed to this initiative, and the units of foreigners already fore-reached the 20 thousands units and 44 thousands employers (communitarian and extra-communitarian) have been hired in the three main sectors of the region: agro-alimentary, construction and organizations for the care and assistance of elderly and disabled people.

However, several critical points must be raised in how effectively the assistance to immigrants is held in the region, especially from formal bodies that so

<sup>35</sup> Regioni.it. (2017, March 02). [Basilicata] Migranti, i numeri riguardanti le ricadute occupazionali. Retrieved March 06, 2017, from <http://www.regioni.it/dalleregioni/2017/03/02/migranti-i-numeri-riguardanti-le-ricadute-occupazionali-502353/>

far have privileged the concentration of immigrants in specific 'hubs' – mainly C.A.R.A. and S.P.R.A.R. models – (PCM, 2014; ANCI Basilicata, 2014)<sup>36,37</sup> rather than a meaningful "diffused hospitality" (Di Sanzo and Ferrarese, 2016)<sup>38</sup>.

## 3.6. Conclusions and critical points

### 3.6.1 Margins of reversibility: can Montagna Materana invert its demographic decline?

The pace of demographic decline in Montagna Materana is critical. The principal modifications in the age pyramid compressed especially the youngest groups, while the elders and adults increased. The progressive ageing, the constant reduction of the natural balance, the growth of single families units may lead to extreme effects. Thus, one can easily imagine that in a relatively short time, the reasons of the mere existence of some towns, administratively speaking, can simply vanish as local population shrinks. Such kind of risk is very tangible in realities as in Montagna Materana, where the hypothesis of total dissolution of the population is tangible and real. Craco stands as the main reference of these 'fearing' scenario, where depopulation is not reversible for static reasons as the old town is in large part destroyed and un-accessible, but in

<sup>36</sup> Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri – PCM (2014). Intesa tra il Governo, le Regioni e gli Enti locali sul piano nazionale per fronteggiare il flusso straordinario di cittadini extracomunitari, adulti, famiglie e minosri stranieri non accompagnati.

<sup>37</sup> ANCI Basilicata (2014). Accordo tra la Regione Basilicata, le Prefetture di Potenza e Matera, l'UPI e l'ANCI di Basilicata per l'attuazione sul territorio regionale del Piano Operativo Nazionale per fronteggiare il flusso straordinario di cittadini Migranti.

<sup>38</sup> Di Sanzo, D., Ferrarese, G. (2016, March 2). L'accoglienza di richiedenti asilo e rifugiati in Basilicata: cosa hanno prodotto cinque anni di emergenze e "doppi binari". Retrieved March 06, 2017, from <http://www.iresbasilicata.it/laccoglienza-di-richiedenti-asilo-e-rifugiati-in-basilicata-cosa-hanno-prodotto-cinque-anni-di-emergenze-e-doppi-binari/>

Graph 16. Balances between inward and outward migration in Montagna Materana's municipalities, from 2012 to 2015 classified by origin and destination (other Italian Municipalities and Foreign countries)

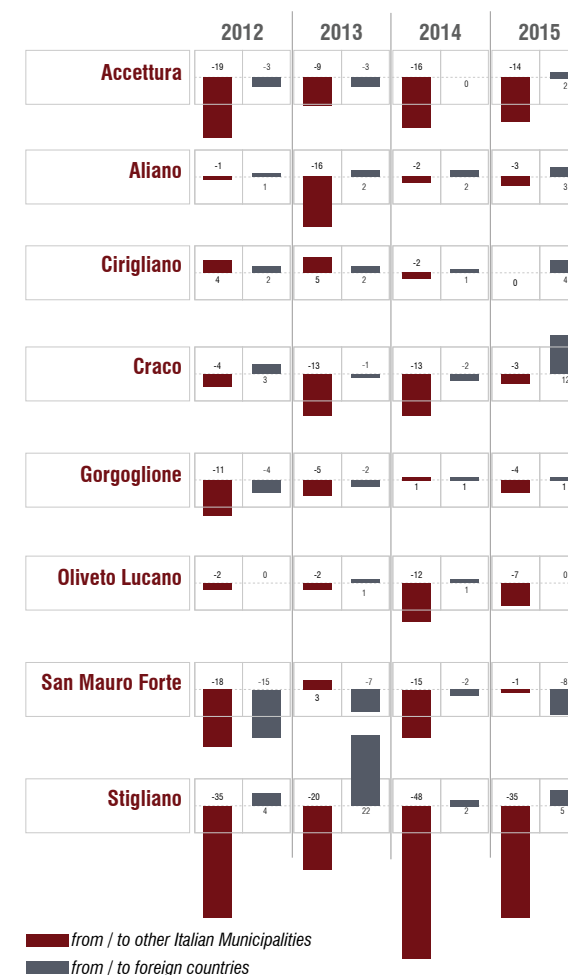


Fig. 9. The data show absolute numbers for each of the municipalities surveyed. For a more accurate understanding of the migration impact in town's demography, the share on the total population should be realized, but the data here showed do not refer to census years, so the calculation would be inaccurate - Source: DemoStat

questioning the dynamics of depopulation in Craco, we may find some elements that actually induced a speeded-up pace of demographic and not restorable decline.

Apart from the arbitrary judgment upon the legitimacy on evicting Craco citizens from the old center (due to seismic reasons and landslides in the 70's) we need to explore today what kind of changes in perception on the issue of depopulation happened in both policy and plan procedures. The great emphasis on local identity to restore and invert demographic trends stands as a priority to heal depopulation. This kind of statement needs to be accompanied with a sustainable sizing of performance of local services in coherence with what the territory offers. Back in the 70's where the de-location of Craco happened, the main approach in urbanism was modernist-oriented. With the promise of a more newer and modern foundation-town of Peschiera – built with standardized housing blocks fully refurbished – was surely an appealing (and cheap) alternative to the risky old town households. In the long term, Craco paid all the consequences of dismantling the urban equilibrium once settled in its historical center.

The complex relationships of their districts, especially among shops, artisanal laboratories, public spaces, neighbourhoods and social proximity completely vanished in the standardized spaces provided in Peschiera. Beyond any 'sentimental' judgment upon social relationship among citizens, the most striking effect impacted the economic sector, where farmers that once resided in the old center and worked on the countryside, had lost the chance to trade their goods produced in the hinterland to the local farm markets in the old town. Nevertheless, on the other hand administrators have seized the opportunity to exploit the old town despite its inhabitable settlement. The promotion of Craco's image as "ghost town" was surely an important dri-

ver for local promotion and touristic development.

Today the situation is radically different. No town in Montagna Materana will ever face the risk of being relocated in a newer town, but citizens continue to migrate elsewhere, and the micro units of cities as Cirigliano (361 inhabitants) and the pace of demographic decline of all the other cities in montagna materana (average of - 10% every ten years) can irreversibly doom the Montagna Materana to its complete disappearance, administratively speaking.

The greatest challenge is to restore "loyalty" – recalling Hirshman – to the native territory and to administrators, against the disillusioned (and legitimized) attitude of local residents. The different initiatives carried out in Montagna Materana are engaging a larger number of actors reaching broader scales of the communitarian union, that moves larger funds than local territorial authorities can deliver, but also triggers a more scalar consciousness on endogenous resources.

### 3.6.2 *Margins of innovation between three seasons for local development: Comunità Montana, GAL, Inner Area*

In territories in deep crisis as Basilicata's Inner Areas government's inertias can be overwhelming and discriminate innovative attempts of emersion from economic and social stagnation. If past experiences of the Eni's Oil districts in Val D'Agri have surely impacted positively in local employment in the 90's, the feeling that economic vitality can only derive from external (private) actors creates criticism in the legitimization of feasible and sustainable scenarios of growth in the long term.

The key point is that the perception of good governance comes along with the idea that the more local governance (made out of public actors democratically legitimized) creates public goods, the more it is effective and eventually craft more complex and solid scenarios of development (Pichierri, 2005). Such statement doesn't imply an hyper-protectionistic approach, but rather the more it is articulated in combining endogenous and exogenous resources, the more complex will be the nature of goods produced. These "goods" do not even refer to merely objects. In order to judge the margins of disclosure in local governance we need not only to acknowledge how resources are delivered or infrastructures settled, but also how local capability created unexpected valuable outcomes also in actors' attitudes and skills in the management of their resources in the territory. This 'management' deals especially on the context or place where goods are created and used that strongly connote the 'strain' of development measures, which may favour external or internal actors, exogenous or endogenous resources.

More specifically, these considerations will be applied to three of the most important steps prior to the formal constitution of the Montagna Materana's Inner Area, that eventually recall three different

approaches in both recognizing and activating local empowerment and autonomy to pursuit development.

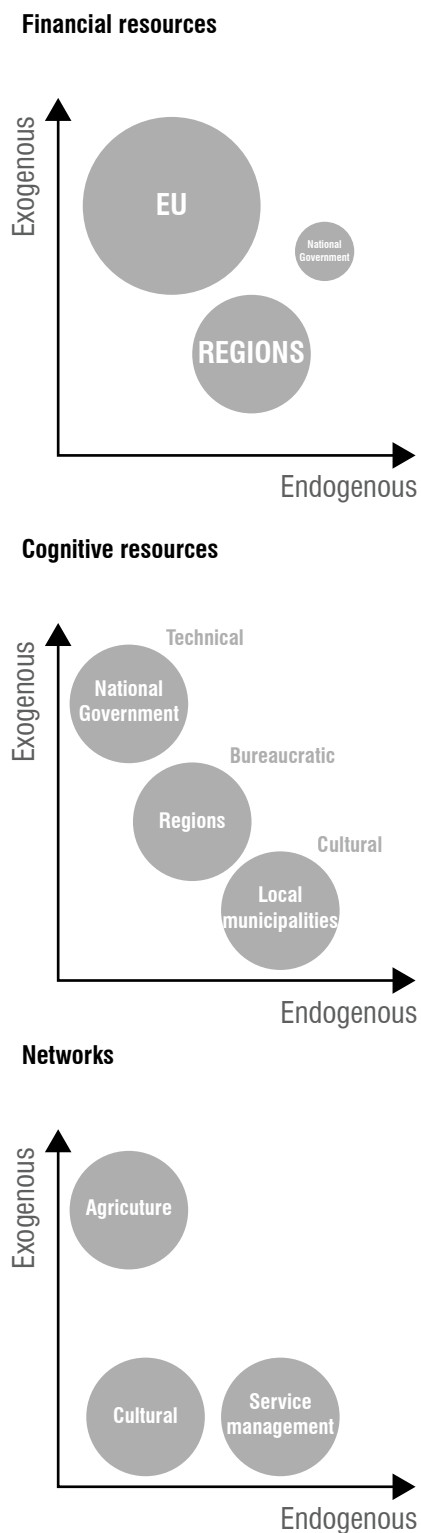
In regards the gradual evolution of local governance and resource exploitation that have been carried throughout the different experiences prior to the formal constitution of the Inner Area, and how governance and resources actually fostered different attitudes to local empowerment and somehow 'seasons' on tools for localistic development.

The institution of the Comunità Montana "Collina Materana" appears as the most resilient institutional structure, as it traced the same boundaries within which today we identify Montagna Materana's Inner Area. The process of officially create an autonomous administrative body was important in identifying a set of actors gathered for commonly manage and create consortia of local services. This process of recognition – mainly institutional, legal and bureaucratic – stayed intact till today. The development pursued by this kind of actor is enclosed and quite protectionist, using mainly internal resources utilized by internal actor.

The Gruppo Azione Locale (GAL) was a ground breaking experience that intercepted regional and communitarian reforms, as explained in the previous paragraphs. The most important contribution of this 'season' was to prepare the ground for an initial disclosure of programmes that could rely on exogenous resources to develop local consciousness from endogenous actors. Due to the premature nature of the experiment, the character of this period was explorative and mainly guided by external pivots (EU) conducting capacity-building processes for local players. The 'goods' in hand are predominantly financial resources, but also net-working capacities and cohesion narratives contributed strongly in setting a fertile ground for endogenous development throughout the exploita-

tion of external competences.

The SNAI surely takes advantage of the past two ‘seasons’ by maintaining the solid recognition of the former Collina Materana by mixing and refine the Leader approaches created with the GALs. This phase can be conceived as a consolidation of the former experiences and eventually interiorize more deeply the exogenous contribution in the activation of endogenous goods and resources. The multi-sectorial and multi-scalar nature of SNAI creates bold statements and quite complex development models. At this point of advancement of the strategy within Montagna Materana, it is not yet possible to identify clearly which type of development will be actually enacted in the area, but some other conclusions can be traced, especially regarding the actual innovation of SNAI’s methods regarding local players. We may notice that the set of administrative actors didn’t change along the three phases of local development strategies, and as stated in the previous paragraphs, no associations, NGOs or other social groups emerging so far in the declination of the Inner Areas’ project in Montagna Materana, despite the SNAI actually encourages and awards participation of external social groups in the strategy. This may imply that the cut-off of the “entry threshold” for external actors is more rigid than expected. The long established power of the Comunità Montana and its inherent nature of boundaries-setting (both geographically and administratively speaking) may create frictions for other stakeholder to entry, take advantage of and exploit the opportunities given by the SNAI project in Montagna Materana.



### 3.6.3 Margins of integration between resources and their mobilization in Montagna Materana

In the previous paragraph we generally treated actors and resources from their ‘place’ of origin and inherent nature, more contextual to the Inner Area (endogenous) and external to it (exogenous). This over simplification served to generally frame the approaches chased in the three different ‘seasons’ of local development initiatives. In this section a different focus will illustrate the main resources both mobilized and produced in the area of study and how (or if) they are efficiently integrated in SNAI’s project for Montagna Materana. This final effort hopes to highlight the most interesting resources at stake in the SNAI’s project for Montagna Materana, who mobilize them, and if they are effectively are ‘chained’ under the Inner Area Strategy or not.

The firsts and probably the most influential ones are the financial/economic resources. The huge struggle of Basilicata’s Inner Area is inherently affected by its geomorphology, that often stroke several large-scale projects (both public and private) due to the overwhelming technical and financial difficulties. As illustrated in “Finance allocation” paragraph of this chapter, the presence of European funds are the largest financial source of the whole programme. This of course derives from the nature of the SNAI itself, as it has been created to channel ESIF to local contexts passing through the Regions. The financial contribution of the national government is quite poor (generally 1.3 millions versus an average of 40 millions from EU with the Regions) but it reserves compensations for essential services (education, health and transports) and premialities to the Union of municipalities. They way that financial resources are settled show an abundance of exogenous sources that however are way far from being merely subsidies, as their allocation is based on competitive base. This implies that

Inner Areas have to show to ‘deserve’ communitarian funds, and surely the fact that Montagna Materana has a precise boundary (initially traced from the Comunità Montana) and an established local consciousness, created a certain and well defined field of action for the investments. Not by chance it is the first pilot-Inner Area in Basilicata.

Cognitive resources can be referred to capabilities developed and collected from actors and contexts in which SNAI’s act. We may distinguish three different types of cognitive resources that are strongly interrelated to each other: technical, bureaucratic and cultural ones. Technical resources are delivered mainly from the State and so the SNAI’s Committee, as part of the ‘alphabetization’ to the issue of depopulation and citizenship projects. This resource is constantly updated and fuelled by the accumulation of test-grounds of the Committee and Regional reports, that update the programme periodically, depending on the response of local stakeholders. Bureaucratic resources are instead in the hands of the Regions, that act as a mediator between EU, State and Montagna Materana. Cultural resources come from the bottom of the diagram, directly from the local context. Here the cohesion programmes’ legacy surely influenced SNAI’s Montagna Materana project, as the Leader approaches valued the disposal of local wisdom and knowledge (Savoldi, 2004)<sup>39</sup> and created societal awareness and skills in favour of localistic approaches. We can appreciate though the fact that quite important outcomes, as the creating of GIS portals<sup>40</sup> for the GAL Le Macine, that is the exact area that includes today’s Montagna Materana’s Inner Area. the GIS portal is increasing its importance in the monito-

39 Savoldi, P. (2004). Esperienze italiane di governance locale. Strumenti e sperimentazioni dell’ultimo decennio. contributo per Aislo-Associazione Italiana Sviluppo Locale. Rif: [http://www.aislo.it/asp/AI\\_Download.asp](http://www.aislo.it/asp/AI_Download.asp).

40 In collaboration with HSH Informatica e Cultura e ITABIA - Italian Biomass Association

ring and informing local actors on the territories' situation and also helping decision makers in promoting their areas, as for example, the successful inclusion of Basilicata's natural areas in Rete Natura 2000 and other environmental and cultural related networks. Above all, LEADER programmes (II and +) constituted an important experiment for the Region. It stood as an embryonal drawing of today's Inner Areas in Basilicata, not merely in defining its boundaries but also in the way that for the first time, the PITs enacted EU's cohesion policies. The added value of these experiences in a marginalized region as Basilicata lied in the opportunity to connect actors and administrators that are physically and mentally distant from each other. That's why networks are also regarded as a cognitive resource to analyse.

Also networks should be classified according to the nature of the main themes pursued by SNAI. Especially for Montagna Materana we acknowledged the relevance of agriculture its local development strategy. The backing of former experiences with Leader programmes and previous ESIFs have created a well-established network of actors (GALs on top) and initiatives that are quite successful from two decades back. Cultural networks (tourism, events, etc.) are instead quite enclosed to Montagna Materana's boundaries. Such situation is quite surprising, especially due to the future event of Matera European Capital of Culture 2019, but though the interviews and other sources, there are not yet any kind of agreements nor promotions that will play in favour of Montagna Materana's inner area during the capital of culture's event. Other initiatives as "La luna e I Calanchi" and seasonal festivals for literature, art and poetry are managed independently between the inner municipalities of Montagna Materana.

### 3.6.4 Final conclusions and open questions

#### ► Demographic decline.

It stands as the most critical problem to treat. By relying merely on 'native citizens' the trends are in great disfavour of feasible scenarios of demographic trend inversion. The presence of cities as Craco creates a very tangible point of reference on the perverse consequences of population loss, but also triggered interesting experiments to create local collective competitive goods, as Craco the "ghost town" has quite a success for its state of abandonment. The compression of local population is dangerously emptying households, but some possibilities given from receiving refugees and 'dif-fused hospitalities' can possibly open a new season of citizenship and re-population of Montagna Materana's towns. However this scenario is way far to be enacted in the short term.

#### ► Citizenship and essential services.

The contents of Montagna Materana's projects in resizing local educational and healthcare services are quite traditional and probably unsustainable as accessibility to the territory stands as prior problem for the whole area. Some initiatives already independently carried within the community (as Mike and India programmes for ambulances) show an important effort that opens to quite frugal and sustainable solutions. More systemic problems regard the quality of life-hood of Montagna Materana's citizens, as safety of the road system or scarce quality of the teaching in schools due to the volatility of teachers. The problems gathered in Montagna Materana's reports are very interesting in understanding also secondary implications that directly derive from isolation and marginalization, as depression and avoidable hospitalization, that eventually enriches the motivations for which depopulation can stand as an important theme to proxy meaningful citizenship projects.

#### ► Margins of innovations?

In addressing the actual meaning of innovation, especially regarding SNAI's influence in governance shifts and resource allocation we may state that the major achievements regard the progressive disclosure of an 'enclosed' and alienated territory to broader systems that directly creates contacts with the European Union. The pendulum swings directly from the micro-scale of the Inner Area to the communitarian reality, fostering openness and skills upgrading for those which try to access within this exchange progress. However we may find here also one of the weakest aspects of SNAI: the little innovation in participation of external stakeholders within Montagna Materana's project. that is probably due to the public "urgency" that the strategy aims to address, but if participation stood as a prior element for GALs in the previous season of structural

investment funds (2000-2006 and 2007-2013) in Montagna Materana we see the same administrative bodies since the creation of its Comunità Montana. In none of the official documents of SNAI's committee, nor from any witness of local mayors there is an emerging group or association. The innovation maybe here stands in the methodology and alphabetization to the issue of depopulation and citizenship, but not much in the actual structure of the power distribution.







# CHAPTER 4

Alta Valtellina's  
Inner Area

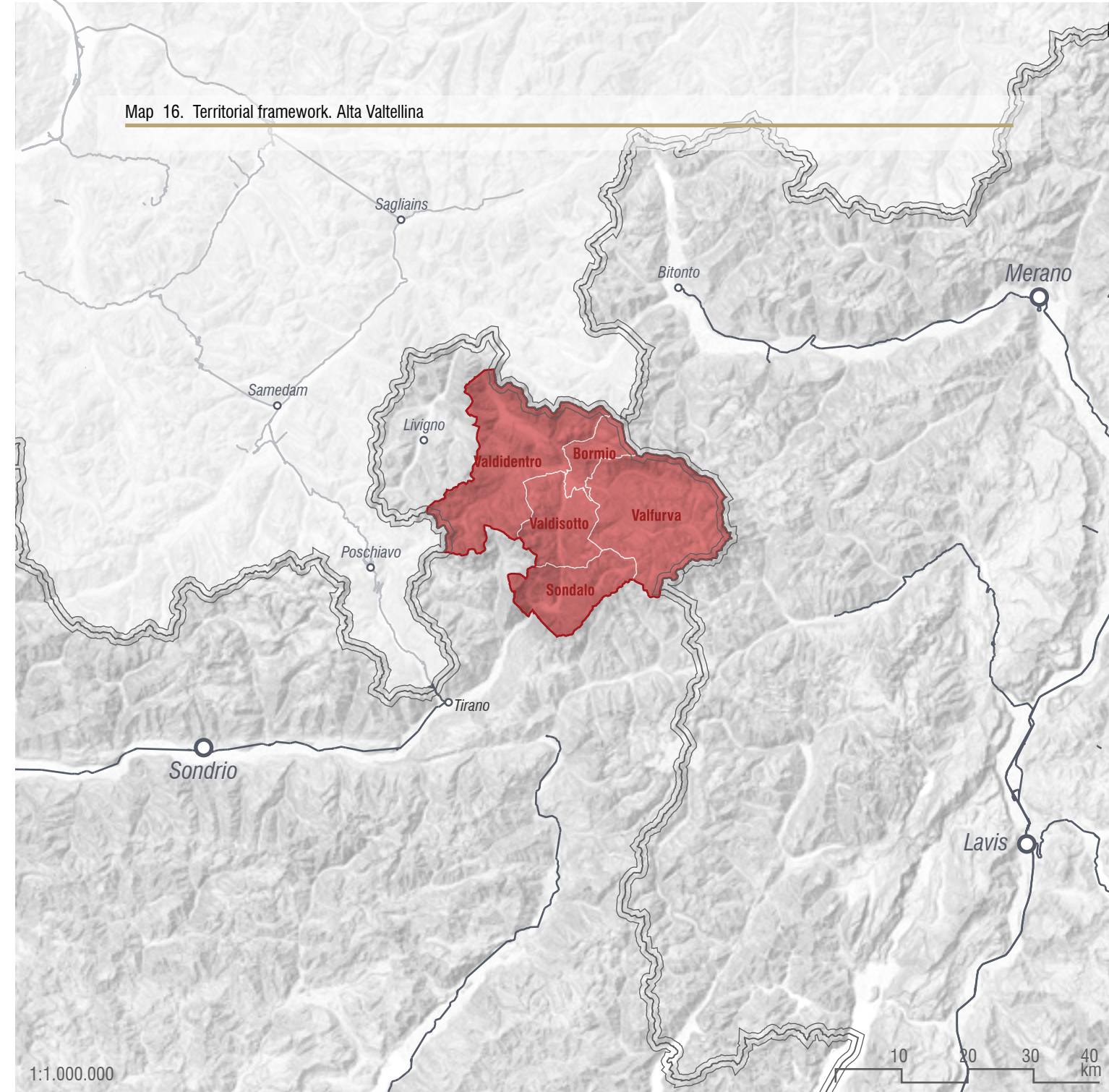
## 4.1. Alta Valtellina introduction

### 4.1.1 Introduction

“Alta Valtellina” is located in Lombardy sites at a cross-board between in the Alpine arch between Italy and Switzerland at north, bounded at east with the autonomous province of Bolzano and Trento, while on south with Brescia’s province. The area comprehends the municipalities of Bormio, Sondalo, Valdidentro, Valdisotto and Valfurva, that are wholly included in the fully active Comunità Montana Alta Valtellina. Alta Valtellina claims a well-defined alpine character that is permeable in every aspect of its economy, lifestyle and natural landscape. The presence of important parks such as “Parco Nazionale dello Stelvio” testifies the uniqueness of the place and contributed to enhance the identity of the territory as a privileged touristic destination for skiing and thermal resorts.

The characteristics of Alta Valtellina are inextricably inter-related with its surrounding administrative neighbours and also spatial features that naturally connote the whole landscape and orography. It is located in a wider region of “Valtellina” and the central Alpine Arch that corresponds to series of basins and impervious slopes that sometimes reach high altures above 3000 meters (Ortles and Cevedale peaks).

The narrowness of few openings between the mounts enhanced the importance of having low plains where to settle anthropic activities. The old ‘contado’ of Bormio is the greatest example, from which the natural amphitheatre opens up to sub sequential valleys as Pedenosso, Val Viola and Val di Dentro. The accesso through its Alpine pass has always constituted the prior necessity to trade and commute still today in the valley. The principal one is the pass of Stelvio – the highest in Italy and second in Europe with its 2.758 meters of altitude.



### Legend

- Inner Area
- Municipalities within the Inner Area
- Regional boundary
- Railways
- Major urban poles
- Secondary urban poles



#### 4.1.2 History of the area

The most ancient traces of civilization in Alta Valtellina belong to tribal communities of the “Venno-neti” but more concretely it has been inhabited and colonized from Celtic, Etrurians and Ligurian civilization in the pre-roman era. After the annexation to the Roman Empire and its withdrawal in 568 a.C. the area has been conquered by different barbaric dominations as the Longobards and the Franks followed by the ruling bishops from Como’s diocese. Between the XIV and XVI century, the Valtellina has been contended by different cycles of conquerors and influences (Dukedom of Milan, and Swiss’ canton of the Grisons – in German Graubünden or Grigioni in Italian). During the Grisons domination, the valley experienced different models of government by the institution of three leagues strictly related to religious corporations (Benetti and Guidetti, 1990)<sup>41</sup>. During the Reform, several conflicts affected the area as protestants and Catholics clashed in this physical and ideological borders.

In 1797 Napoleon’s domination started so as the creation of the Cis-Alpine Republic. After the Vienna’s Congress, at the fall of Napoleonic Empire the area has been fully delivered to the Lombardo-Veneto’s Reign – to Austrians substantially – that had strong interests on the control of the Alpine accesses. However, in 1861 the valley came back to the Italian domination as the unity of the nation was formed. The whole area of Valtellina in the first world war was a marginal theatre of conflicts, while during the second war, it was the last fortress of the Italian Social Republic<sup>42</sup>.

One of the most striking events that the area experienced was the **Val Pola landslide** in 1987, where



Fig. 10. Val Pola Landslide ortophoto with works proposals.jpg - Source: [http://www.luniversoeluomo.org/geolog/difesa\\_suolo/val-pola/doc-2.jpg](http://www.luniversoeluomo.org/geolog/difesa_suolo/val-pola/doc-2.jpg)

the slide of a mud – enhanced by exceptionally high rainfalls and rapid glacier melting – eroded the Val Pola Creek and created 35-45 million cubic meters of old debris destroying villages, closing roads and killing tens of people. The total cost of the calamity was 400 million euros (Costa, 1991)<sup>43</sup> and affected the provinces of Sondrio, Brescia, Bergamo, Lecco and Como. The disaster coincided with a political vacuum enacted by the national government which cancelled in that period the Minister of Civil Protection (Alexander, 1988)<sup>44</sup>.

This event has deeply marked the history of the valley from the 80’s and on. Despite the catastrophic nature of the event, it was thus fundamental in the “embodiment” of Valtellina as a territory of interest. Politicians, technical experts and operators, and after a period of mobilization of locals the following years big divisions happened between unitary visions for cooperation facing the fragmented administrative reality (Curzio, 2004)<sup>45</sup>. The need to seek for a unique and unified model of development of the area, grasping from the attention gained from the landslide to gather together technical and political forces. Especially during the 90’s the interest on Valtellina’s model of human settlement, natural resources and economic exploitation of local identity became particularly studied and promoted by many institutes, ranging from universities – mainly engaged with environmental and geotechnical studies – economic operators (as Credito Valtellinese) and scholars of many academic branches. Political economists soon raised the attention on the need to better acknowledge the complex systems of relationships among Alpine valleys, and how these

43 Costa, J. E. (1991). Nature, mechanics, and mitigation of the Val Pola landslide, Valtellina, Italy, 1987-1988. *Zeitschrift fuer Geomorphologie ZGMPAG.*, 35(1).

44 Alexander, D. (1988). Valtellina landslide and flood emergency, northern Italy, 1987. *Disasters*, 12(3), 212-222.

45 Curzio, A. Q. (et al.). (2004). Valtellina: profili di sviluppo: una provincia tra identità e innovazione: 2000-2010. Angeli; Credito Valtellinese.

are extremely in tension between extreme localism (due to the marginality of the area) and need for globalism (Curzio, 1998)<sup>46</sup>, as the exploitation of local resources for tourism constituted the main solid model above which construct a long-term model of economic development for the area.

Summarizing the main information gathered so far, we’ll follow Curzio’s synthesis on three main characteristics of the whole Valtellina – and by large extent Alta Valtellina’s Inner Area: Valtellina has been a agro-mountain society, that vigorously struggled with a difficult geographical and cultural environment, that created a special ‘genius loci’ on human control of wild nature; it has been a trading society, naturally derived from the strategic position of the valley, being one of the few channels of exchange across borders; finally it is a “catholic society” where the religious identity moulded a very strong civil identity.

At this point the reader could argue that Alta Valtellina’s valley cannot be labelled as a needy area in crisis, that is partially true, but deeper dynamics and anxieties are raising in the last years that constantly challenge and question the margin of social and economic development of the whole Valtellina’s valleys:

- ▶ General impression of being a metropolitan periphery. Despite the province of Sondrio is one of the top Italian provinces for wealth and good-living, a certain pessimism is recorded among local citizens and operators that see a progressive out-migration of young people towards Lombardy’s larger cities.
- ▶ Seasonal shrinkage. The strong economic identity of Alpine tourism has to face the greatest challenge of a progressing shrinking

46 Curzio, A. Q. (Ed.). (1998). Valtellina: profili di sviluppo, 1998: una provincia tra localismo e globalismo (Vol. 1). Francoangeli. P. 14

winter season, that challenges the local assets for sports and hosting services.

- Performance ‘anxiety’ regarding its neighbours. Such as Bolzano’s province and other competitor valleys.
- The irreversible downslide of the settlements. During the 90’s a series of fiscal facilitations for industrial and manufacturing activities were active in order to promote extensive settlements at the plain level of the valleys<sup>47</sup>, combined with the growing practice of speculation on large industrial warehouses that eventually became largely void in expectation of purchasers (Tirinzoni, 2004)<sup>48</sup>.

#### 4.1.3 *Alta Valtellina before SNAI. Local development planning tools’ evolution*

Also for Alta Valtellina’s case a quick review of the most notable evolutions on planning tools and legislations will contribute to understand the cumulative experience on political awareness on local development that more or less directly had an impact in SNAI’s operability in the Inner Area.

- Valtellina Law (Legge 102/1990)<sup>49</sup>. Promulgated after 87’s landslide that eventually pushed the bureaucratic and political approach to conceive the territory as a whole programme of works extremely interconnected among them. In concrete, beyond static technical works on safety of the land and commu-

nities, the biggest challenge was to catch the opportunity of ‘refurbishment’ to pursuit a general refurbishment of built-up areas, investing a lot on buildings’ restauration, road networks and so on.

- The Provincial Territorial Plan for Coordination (or PTCP). At the turn of the millennia a great wave of reforms impacted regional planning tools and constituted a new phase of responsibility also for provincial authorities in engaging territorial plans in regards of landscape and environmental preservation, coordination and development.
- Parco dello Stelvio’s Plan 2004. Stelvio’s national park is one of the biggest attractions in the area. it has been instituted and safeguarded throughout different laws and regulations (law 740/1935, Dpr. 1178/1951, Dpr 1977). Along the years, large promotion of skiing activities and a rich offer of hosting facilities have meant a strong input of economic profits for the area, but that has constantly to face the gigantic bureaucratic system related to Protected Areas and its political bodies. The different articulations of the areas within Stelvio’s park comprehend different environments (wilderness zones, touristic areas, parking lots, emergency services etc.) that are the fruit of different experiences pursued by the Lombardy Region along the years<sup>50</sup> and also the institution of SICs and ZPSs from the communitarian project of “Bioitaly” (Communitarian directive 92/43/CEE).

- Socio-cultural qualification with universities and research institutes as IREALP, that is a foundation and instrumental body of Lombardy Region aimed to promote activities of technological research in the mountainous

areas of Valtellina. This initiative directly derives from Valtellina’s law of the 90’s that guaranteed the possibility to site the offices of the foundation in pre-existing empty buildings.

The biggest “territorial event” has surely the 80’s landslide and its consequential “Legge Valtellina” from which germinated a series of initiatives that actually took the chance of reconstruction to empower and re-boot a series of possibilities that the whole Valtellina’s area couldn’t pursuit before. The above cited initiative of IREALP foundation stands as only one of the multiple examples of projects coming from the law’s promulgation. Several others plans for inter-valleys’ roads networks, the heliport of Bormio, the construction of a methane pipeline and several structural actions for the touristic offer have shaped the valley’s future irreversibly and generally positively.

But probably one of the most remarkable difference among its neighbours as the autonomous provinces of Trento and Bolzano or Valle d’Aosta Region, is that Valtellina, despite shares with the above cited areas a strong connotation of alpine character, a cross-border position etc. differently from the other it has never perpetuated an enclosed “provincial autonomy” (Curzio, 2004) but rather it constantly opened its ambitions in knitting strong relationships with the European community and the whole Region of Lombardy.

47 Law 102/1990

48 Tirinzoni, S. (2004). *Dinamica del territorio: Pianificazione e Trasformazioni. Valtellina: profili di sviluppo: una provincia tra identità e innovazione: 2000-2010.* Angeli; Credito Valtellinese. pp. 417-496

49 Legge 2 Maggio 1990, n° 102. Disposizioni per la ricostruzione e la rinascita della Valtellina e delle adiacenti zone delle provincie di Bergamo, Brescia e Como, nonché della provincia di Novara, colpite dalle eccezionali avversità atmosferiche dei mesi di luglio e agosto 1987. Source: [http://www.irealp.it/media/leggi\\_istitutive\\_irealp/Legge\\_102\\_90.pdf](http://www.irealp.it/media/leggi_istitutive_irealp/Legge_102_90.pdf)

50 As the Piano territoriale di Coordinamento del Parco regionale delle Orobie Valtellinese (1999)

## 4.2. Alta Valtellina's Inner Area, iter and process

### 4.2.1 Project Iter

The SNAI project for Lombardy officially started the 11<sup>th</sup> November 2013 with the first meeting of the desk phase for the national strategy at the Regional level. Lombardy was one of the first Regions that welcomed the strategy in the early stages of 2013, where still the SNAI's project was at its initial definition.

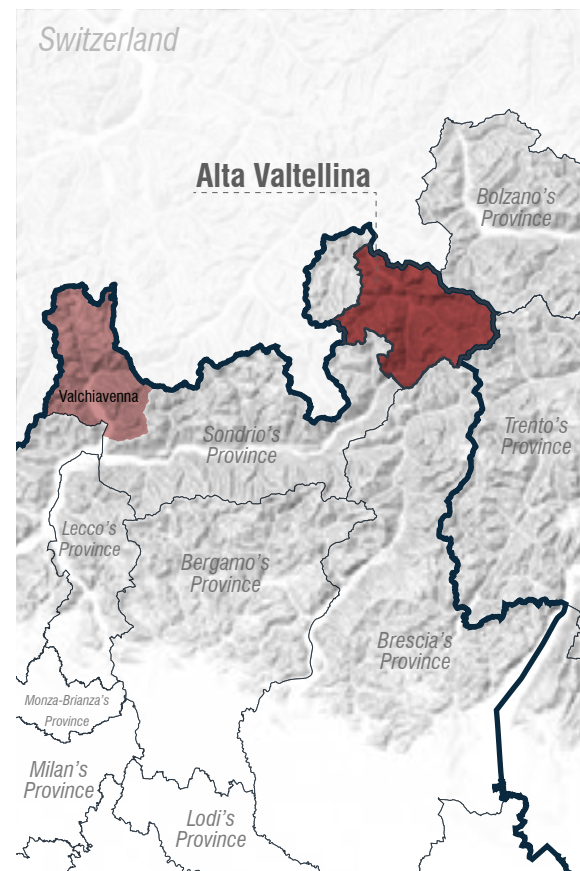
Within the arch of one year the desk phase came at its completion, same as the field phase where the Technical Committee for Inner Areas that visited the sites in April 2014. In the same month, the first Regional deliberation on the first Inner Areas for Lombardy was published having Valchiavenna and Alta Valtellina as pilot areas (Agenzia per la Coesione Territoriale, 2015)<sup>51</sup>.

At the same time when the SNAI project took place in Alta Valtellina, a zonal plan for the site has been published in 2014, aiming to deliver information and acknowledgement to the areas' dynamics of social services' crisis in the face of the recession experienced along the decades<sup>52</sup>.

This document stands as a very fine work of quantitative and qualitative sources of information aimed to structure a concrete set of problematics that affected local populations and eventually helped to frame a very successful Preliminary of Strategy redacted from the Comunità Montana promptly

approved from SNAI's committees. In accordance with the Communitarian funds and Regional funds, the V axe of Touristic development of Inner Areas constituted the prior reference for programmatic articulation of SNAI in Valchiavenna and Alta Valtellina<sup>53</sup>.

Map 17. Map of Lombardy's Inner Areas (2014)



53 Fasi.it. (n.d.). Lombardia: Programma Operativo Regionale - POR FESR 2014-2020. Retrieved March 21, 2017, from <https://www.fasi.biz/it/agevolazioni/program/40-lombardia-programma-operativo-regionale-del-fondo-europeo-per-lo-sviluppo-regionale-por-fesr-2014-2020.html#>

On the 5<sup>th</sup> November 2016 a press release from Lombardy Region<sup>54</sup> announced that Alta Valtellina has been the first IA in Italy that reached an agreement for its APQ, formally signed the 14<sup>th</sup> of February 2017. The role of Stelvio's park has been often cited as the ideal center of the whole SNAI strategy as it collects all the main claims that Alta Valtellina moves within its proposals: development of the touristic offer, environmental quality and sustainability, integrated models of development and resource exploitation, local enhancement of existing amenities. From the very first draft documents that the TCIA wrote the connotation of Alta Valtellina as a strongly unified reality emerged vigorously.

The high level of governance skills backed by the Comunità Montana assumes a strong presence in many terms in the territory, as they are in charge of the management of several public services and constantly monitor the state of its community.

Also in this case the problems regarding transports raises the principal concerns for the development of all the consequential strategies annexed to the IA's projects. Furthermore, strong emphasis is putted on tourism promotion and enhancement. Differently from many other Inner Areas, Alta Valtellina starts from a very satisfactory conditions of services' distribution and quality, but more importantly a very low rate of depopulation.

However, even though demographic decline is very contained – and actually positive (+ 5% between 2001 and 2011) Alta Valtellina sees the urgency to be more consistently competitive in touristic amenities and welfare services.

Most of the concerns regarding tourism is the fragile asset that mono-functional services related to wintery activities suffer from the shrinkage of rapidly shifting climatic condition of the valley. Different sources of information pointed out that the average occupancy of receptive structures (hotels, SPAs etc.) dropped from 70 to 40% in towns of Livigno on the whole winter season.

That's the reason why Alta Valtellina seeks for external aid to ultimately shift and diversify the touristic offer for more integrated assets. Another important element that distinguishes the 'state of the art' of this specific Inner Area is the high levels of access to broadcasting services and well established system of ICT in general. This is due to a previous APQ that dates back to 2005, where for the skiing world cup have settled optical fibers in Bormio and Valfurva.

51 Agenzia per la Coesione Territoriale (2015). Tabella istruttoria Regioni, Progetto Aree Interne. Source: [http://www.agenziacoesione.gov.it/it/arint/Stato\\_di\\_attuazione/stato\\_di\\_attuazione.html](http://www.agenziacoesione.gov.it/it/arint/Stato_di_attuazione/stato_di_attuazione.html)

52 Comunità Montana Alta Valtellina (2014). Piano di Zona dell'ambito territoriale dell'Alta Valtellina 2015-2017. Sistema integrato degli interventi e dei servizi sociali. Source: [http://www.cmav.so.it/\\_manage/upload/modulistica/PDZ202015202017.pdf](http://www.cmav.so.it/_manage/upload/modulistica/PDZ202015202017.pdf)

54 Lombardia Notizie. (2016, December 5). Parolo: nostra Regione prima in Italia per firma strategia aree interne. Retrieved March 21, 2017, from <http://www.eupolis.regione.lombardia.it/cs/Satellite?c=News&childpagename=Regione%2FDetail&cid=1213844840128&p=1194454694588&packedargs=locale%3D1194453881584%26menu-to-render%3D1194454694588&pagename=RGNWrapper>

4.2.2 Structures of interaction among stakeholders

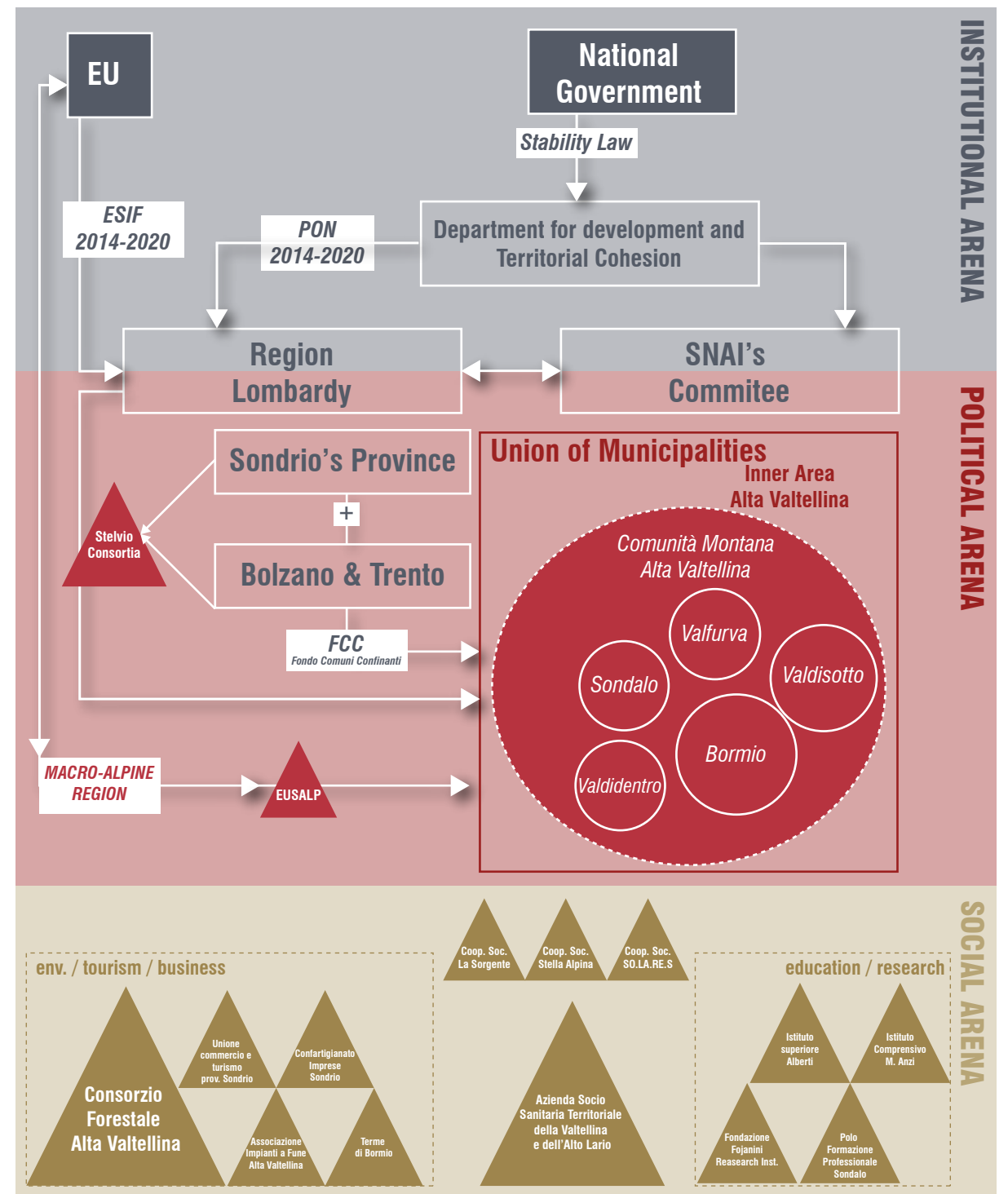
At this point we may identify the main modalities of interactions among key players of SNAI in Alta Valtellina. The previously cited competence of local authorities have surely contributed to the clarification, distinction and efficiency of all the relational systems among actors. As we'll notice, the structure of relationships is quite complex and diversified. The following diagram will try to frame the principal networks established, that of course will be destitute only synthetically.

Tab. 9. Alta Valtellina's actors analysis

Actor	Typology	Resources	Objective	Role
DPS	Bureaucratic	Political Financial	Process	Promoter
SNAI's committee	Political	Technical Knowledge	Process Content	Promoter
Region Lombardy	Bureaucratic Legal	Financial	Process Content	Filter
Sondrio Province	Bureaucratic Legal	Legal	Process Content	Mediator
CM Alta Valtellina	Bureaucratic Legal	Political Financial	Process Content	Pivot
Stelvio's National Park Consortia	General Interests	Cultural	Content	Allied
Consorzio Forestale Alta Valtellina	Special interests	Cultural economic	Content	Allied
Fondazione Fojanini	Special interests	Technical economic	Content	Allied
Azienda Socio Sanitaria Territoriale della Valtellina e dell'Alto Lario	Special interests	Technical economic	Content	Allied
Polo Formazione Professionale, sede di Sondalo	Special interests	Cultural economic	Content	Allied
Istituto Superiore Alberti	Special interests	Cultural	Content	Allied
Istituto Comprensivo di M. Anzi di Bormio	Special interests	cultural	content	allied
Unione del Commercio Turismo e servizi della provincia di Sondrio	Special interests	economic	content	Allied
Confartigianato Imprese Sondrio	Special interests	economic	Content	Allied
Ufficio di Piano della Comunità Montana Alta Valtellina	General Special interest	Economic political	Content process	Allied
Cooperativa sociale La Sorgente	General interests	Cultural	Content	Allied
Cooperativa sociale Stella Alpina	Special	Cultural	Content	Allied
Coop. SO.LA.RE.S	Special	Cultural	Content	Allied
Società Trasporti Perego	Special	Technical economic	Content	Allied
Associazione Impianti a Fune Alta Valtellina	Special	Technical economic	Content	Allied
Terme di Bormio	Special	Economic cultural	Content	Allied

Public Private Mixed

THEMATIC BOX 8. Decisional Arenas in Alta Valtellina



### 4.2.3 Operability of the Strategy

The meetings overall course of action of SNAI achieved the following steps prior to the promulgation of the final strategy and the formal signature of Alta Valtellina's APQ.

- ▶ 1<sup>st</sup> step. Identification of the technical references for the project.

The planning phase for the formulation of the “preliminary of strategy” has gathered several actors both coming from private sectors and public/institutional ones. In particular, once again the role of the Comunità Montana is the connecting point among all stakeholders, that has supervised the entire process and continues to assume a prior role in the whole management of the formulation of a SNAI strategy. The substantial advantage of having such a prominent role of the Comunità Montana, is that this actor is already within a logic of associated management of local services and surely a solid experiences matured along the decades. The collection of stake holders is pretty various, but one of the most important difference with the previous case study of Montagna Materana (beyond the quantity of stakeholders involved) is that this time we have the Province of Sondrio that is actively involved in the process.

- ▶ 2<sup>nd</sup> step: formalization of the union of municipalities, or in alternative, the agreement among them.

As for Montagna Materana, also Alta Valtellina has a Union of Municipalities, but differently from the other case study, Alta Valtellina's Comunità Montana is extremely active and has a predominant role in the area. From 1982 – due to the effect of the Regional Law 19 July 1982/n°18 – the Comunità Montana “Valtellina” of Sondrio's province has been divided in four different bodies among which Atla Valtellina's CM has been embodied. During the 80's the member of the CM's assembly were five

(three coming from the party of majority and two from the opposition parties) for the municipalities of more than 5.000 inhabitants. Along the years, due to the shrinking number of local residents, the number of members for the assembly has been adjusted accordingly<sup>55</sup>.

The high level of influence and engagement of Alta Valtellina's Comunità Montana is witnessed by the prolific publications that they do for their area, but also for the variety of services that they carry and manage, such as: public transports, cadastral registers, management of SITs, PGTs and relative variants, Zonal Plans for domiciliary assistance, emergency services and so on.

- ▶ 3<sup>rd</sup> step: selection of medium and long-term goals to be accomplished and the formalization of the APQ (Accordo Programma Quadro).

In Alta Valtellina's “preliminary of strategy” documents there's a wide array of initiatives that the area aims to achieve. Very generally we may distinguish three priority axis of intervention:

- ▶ Sustainable development and environmental enhancement: having Stelvio's Park as hinge point from which a series of initiatives module around it – from educational courses engaging pupils to actively create employment through activating special services for its protection and promotion. Other actions are instead devoted to the containment of climate-altering emissions and energy upgrade of public buildings (such as schools).
- ▶ Enforcement of services' provision, through the upgrade of an existing hospital, development of special programmes for education in accordance with the territory's vocation, im-

prove the offer of hosting facilities for commuting students and teachers etc.

- ▶ Promotion of activities for sustain associations and integrations among them.

In the following paragraphs the main projects will be more clearly specified.

### 4.2.4 Finance allocation in Alta Valtellina

The total amount for Lombardy's Inner Areas is around 60 million of euros, of which the largest share comes from FESR and FSE funds. For Alta Valtellina's specifically the repartition of resources is as follows

Also in this case, it is evident that communitarian funds play a fundamental role in the financing of the projects. we may notice that differently from Montagna Materana, the resources coming from Co-financing (FCC funds) fulfil the financial cost for the projects that the Strategy backs.

Here following a synthetic scheme that shows the distribution of amount of resources for each of the project appointed in the preliminary of the strategy. For a better understanding of each projects' content (that corresponds to the letters from A to I) please see the following sections.

Tab. 10. Resources' repartition for Alta Valtellina's SNAI projects. European funds and co-financed resources from FCC

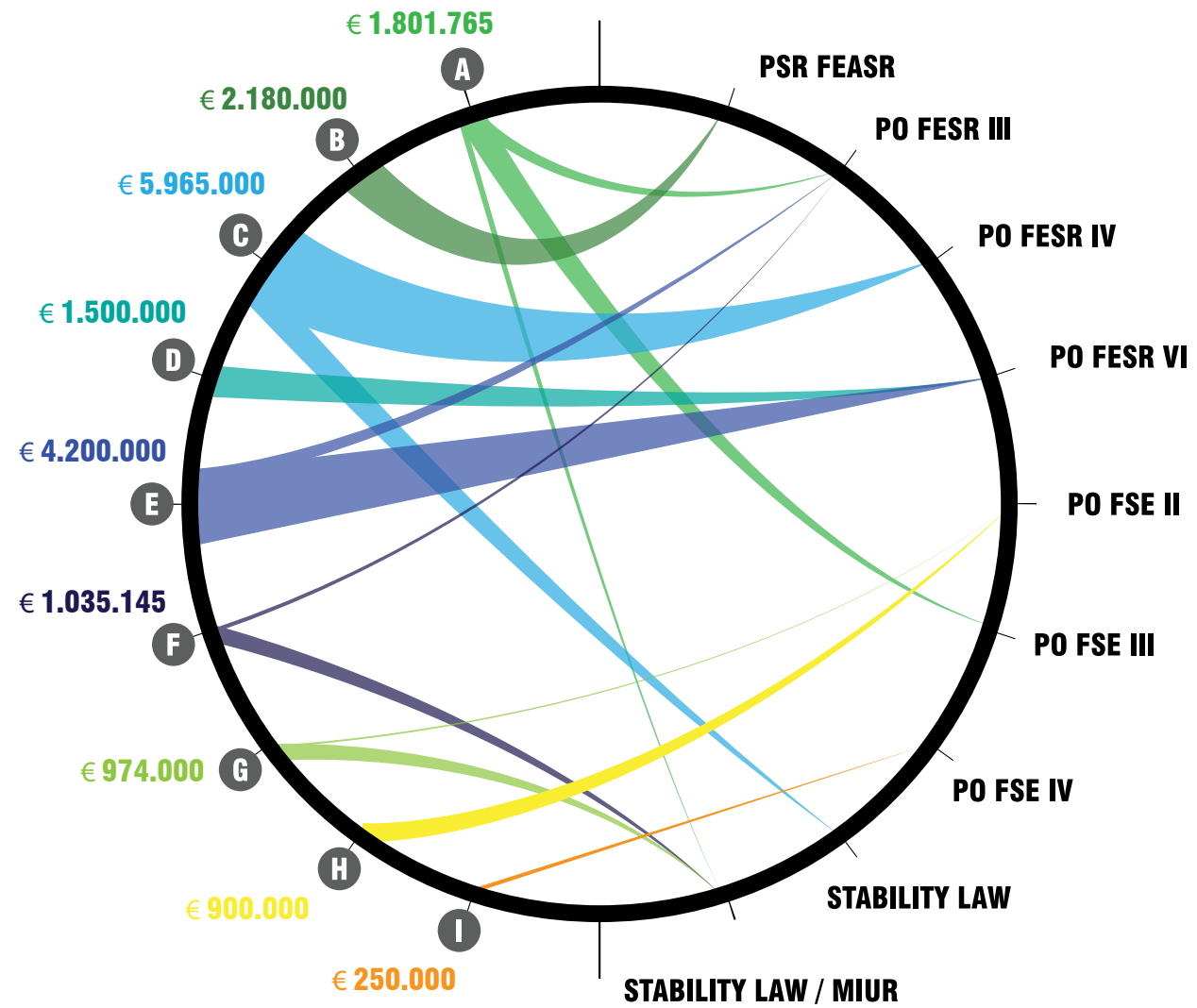
European funds 2014-2020	Amount of resources	Total cost of the projects	Resources from co-financing
<b>PO FESR Ax III</b>	500.000	500.000	0
<b>PO FESR Ax IV</b>	4.250.000	4.495.000	245
<b>PO FESR Ax VI</b>	4.750.000	5.050.000	300
<b>PO FSE</b>	3.750.000	2.844.000	0
<b>PSR FEASR</b>	2.831.000	2.180.000	0
<b>DPS*</b>	3.750.000	3.611.910	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>19.831.000</b>	<b>19.456.910</b>	<b>670</b>

→Source: Preliminare di Strategia - Alta Valtellina (2015)

\*From the Stability Law

55 Comunità Montana Alta Valtellina – Source: <http://www.cmav.so.it/CMAV/storia.cfm?IDPag=7547&IDPag2=7554>

Graph. 17. Resources' repartition for Alta Valtellina's SNAI projects, diagram



- A - Stelvio's national park
- B - Nature and Agriculture
- C - Climate-altering emissions
- D - Outdoor activities and sports
- E - Cultural heritage
- F - Education

- G - Innovation and workshops
- H - Public-social services
- I - Consortiums of services



### 4.3. Alta Valtellina's project

#### 4.3.1 General outline

The contents of this section mainly comes from official resources of the SNAI's Committee Reports and the Region's documents sent to the central government for Alta Valtellina's candidacy.

#### 4.3.2 Accessibility.

If most of the proposals are orientated to tourism, one might understand that the prior condition to make these services work it, is to provide rightful access to visitors to the area. However the articulation of the proposals also take care of local needs for an improved network also for residents. The proposal follows so a double track for the potentiation of public transport services and infrastructural networks.

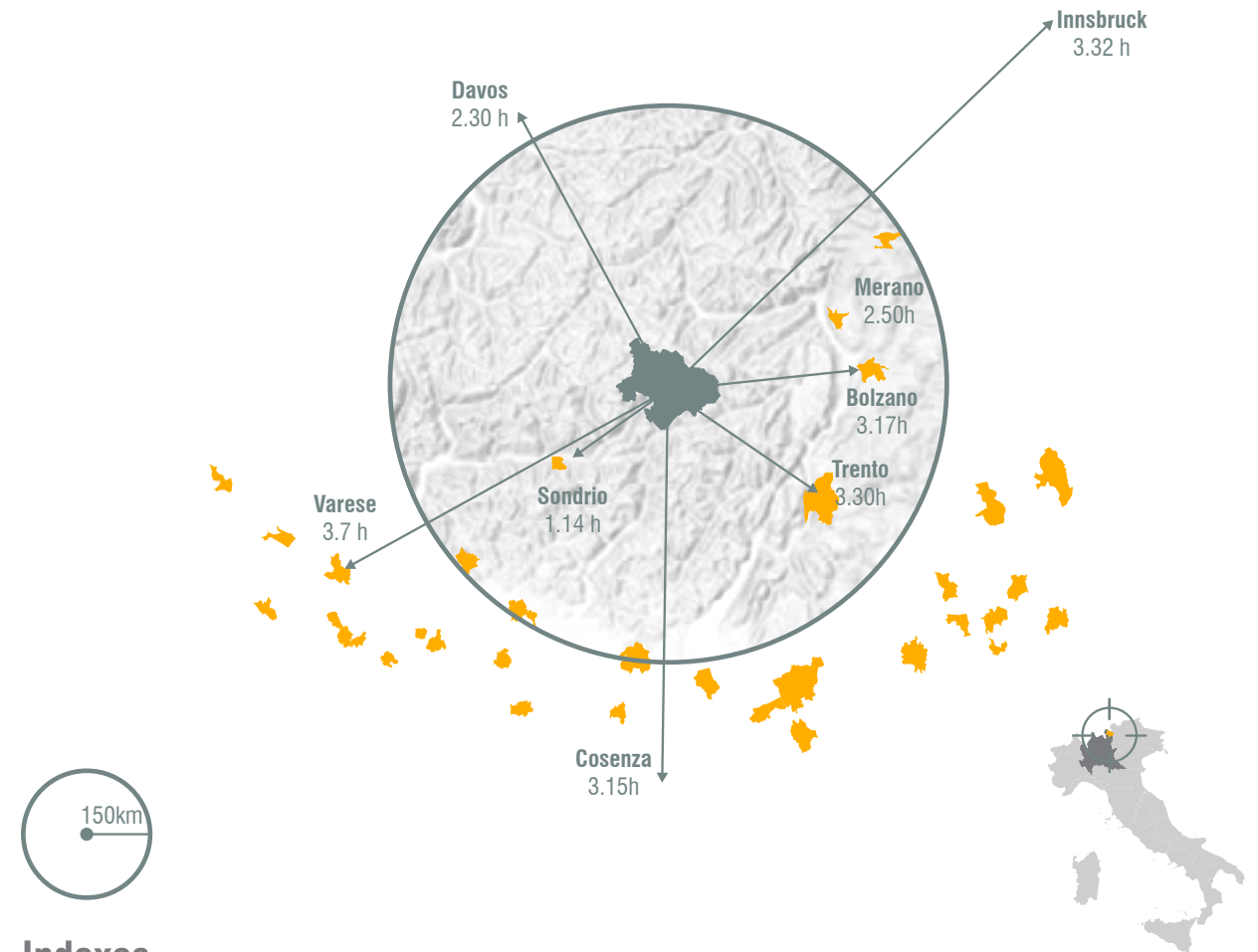
- ▶ **TPL for educational centers.** So to guarantee performative commuting times for pupils to their schools.
- ▶ **TPL for services of touristic fruition.** That means better transports along the panoramic points of the Valley, access to Stelvio's Park, better connection with the closest train station of Sondrio's city center. In addition, the projects for "slow paths" –already settled from the GALs in previous years and mountain bike paths for agonistic or leisure activities.



### Trasport services and accessibility

#### Long-range distance from urban poles and main transportation services

(Source: TCAI, ISTAT, GIS network analyst)



#### Indexes (Source: TCAI, ISTAT 2011)

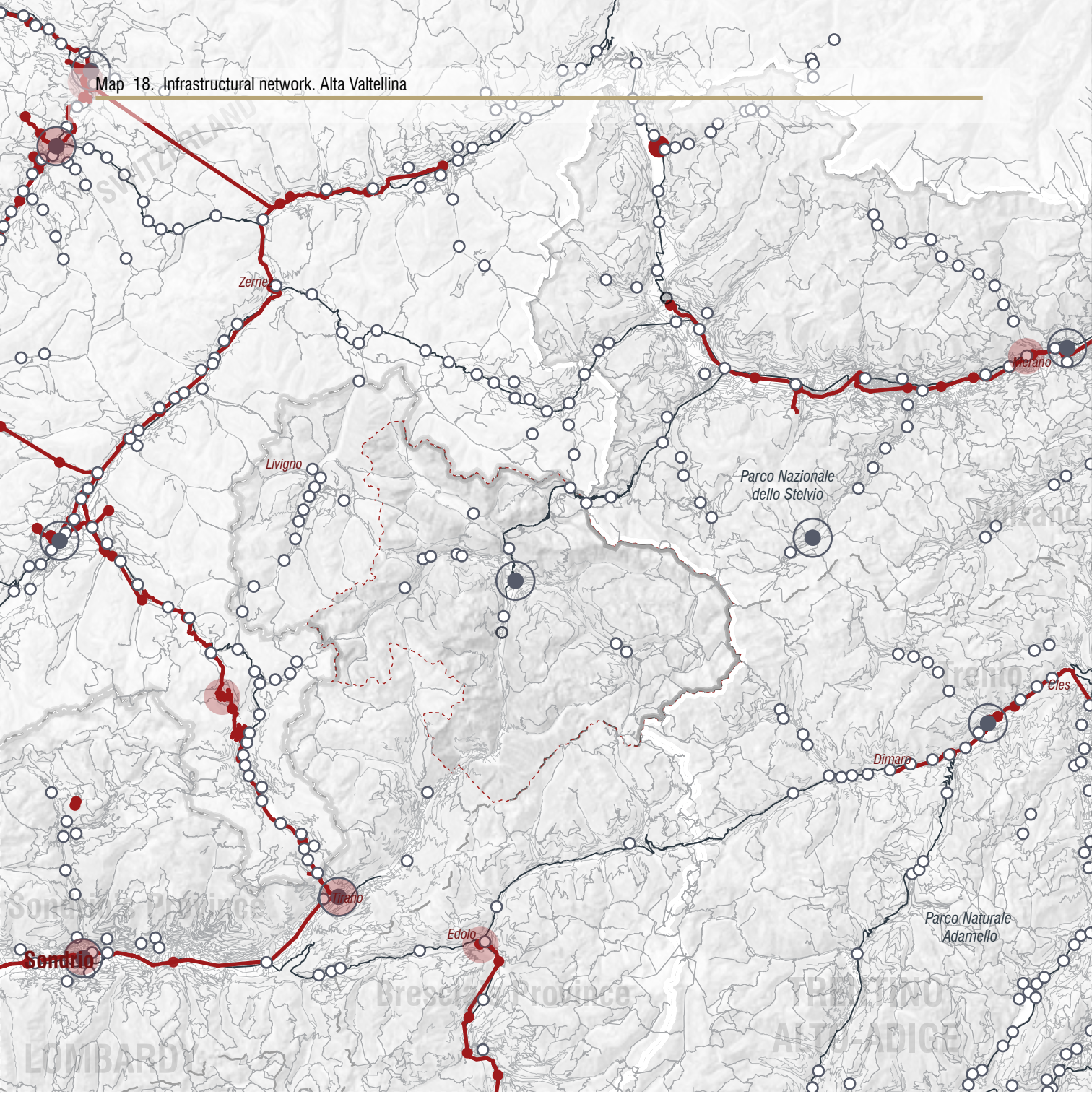
Commuting for education purposes



Commuting for labour purposes

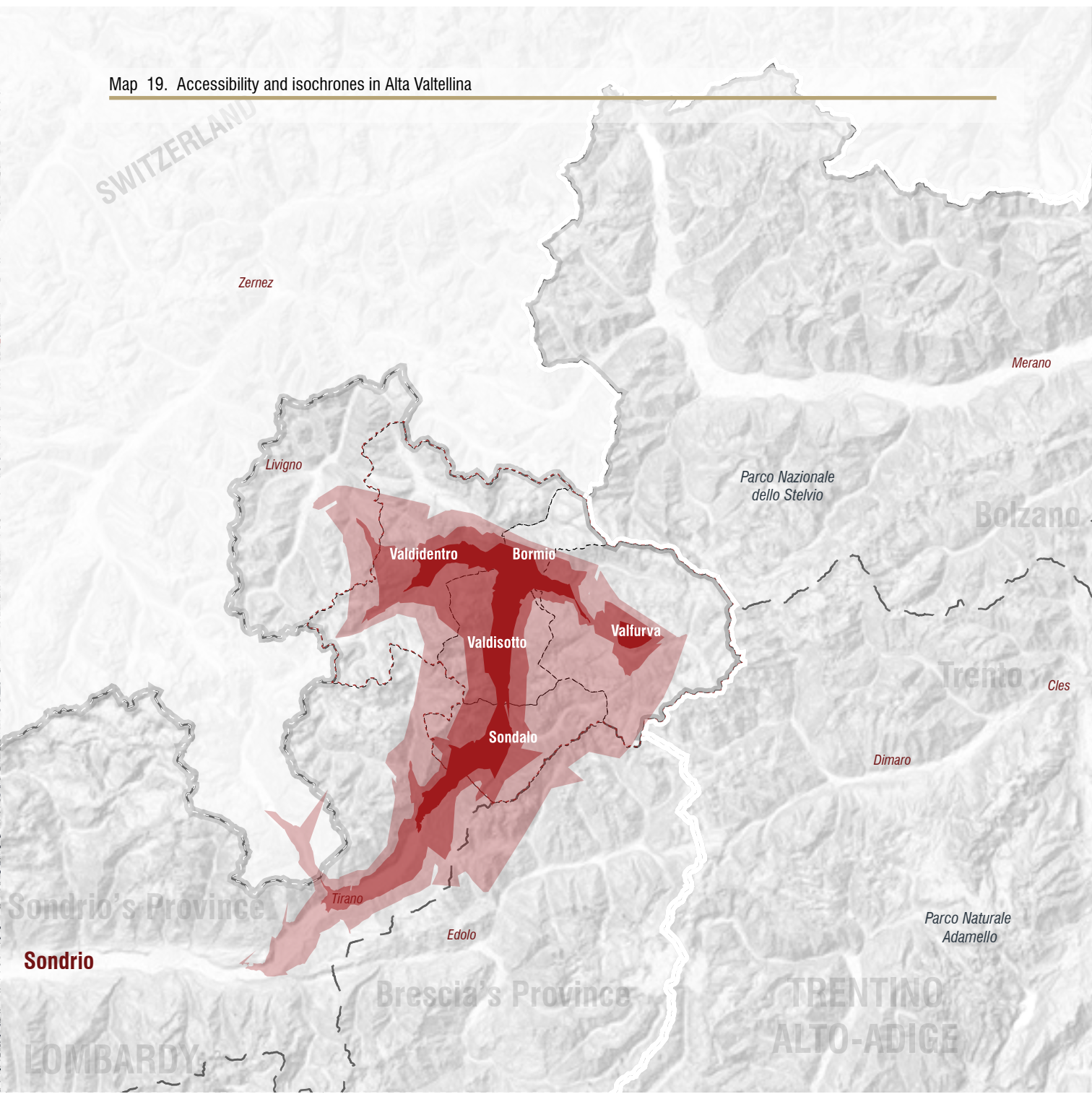


Map 18. Infrastructural network. Alta Valtellina



1:700.000

Map 19. Accessibility and isochrones in Alta Valtellina



0 10 20 30 40 km

Commuting times

Legend

- Railways
- Motorways
- Primary roads
- Secondary roads
- Main train station
- Secondary train stops
- Bus station
- Bus stops
- Inner Area
- Regional boundary

Sources

- ISPRA
- Geoportale Nazionale
- Geoportale Lombardia
- OSM Switzerland/Veneto

Legend

- 10 min
  - 20 min
  - 30 min
  - Inner Area
- } Isochrones



### 4.3.2 Environment and agriculture

Environment and agriculture in Alta Valtellina appear as an un-divisible asset that constantly self-propels itself. Agriculture is not the main economic activity of the area, but has an important role – as environmental quality and landscape – as identity-asset. In analysing the different proposals for SNAI we may notice that in fact agriculture is not mainly conceived as basic sustainment need for locals, but rather a resource to exploit for local promotion and skills-upgrading for local workers. Also in Alta Valtellina we find an active GAL that has published its PSL from which the Leader approach re-emerges as point of reference for developing agricultural programmes.

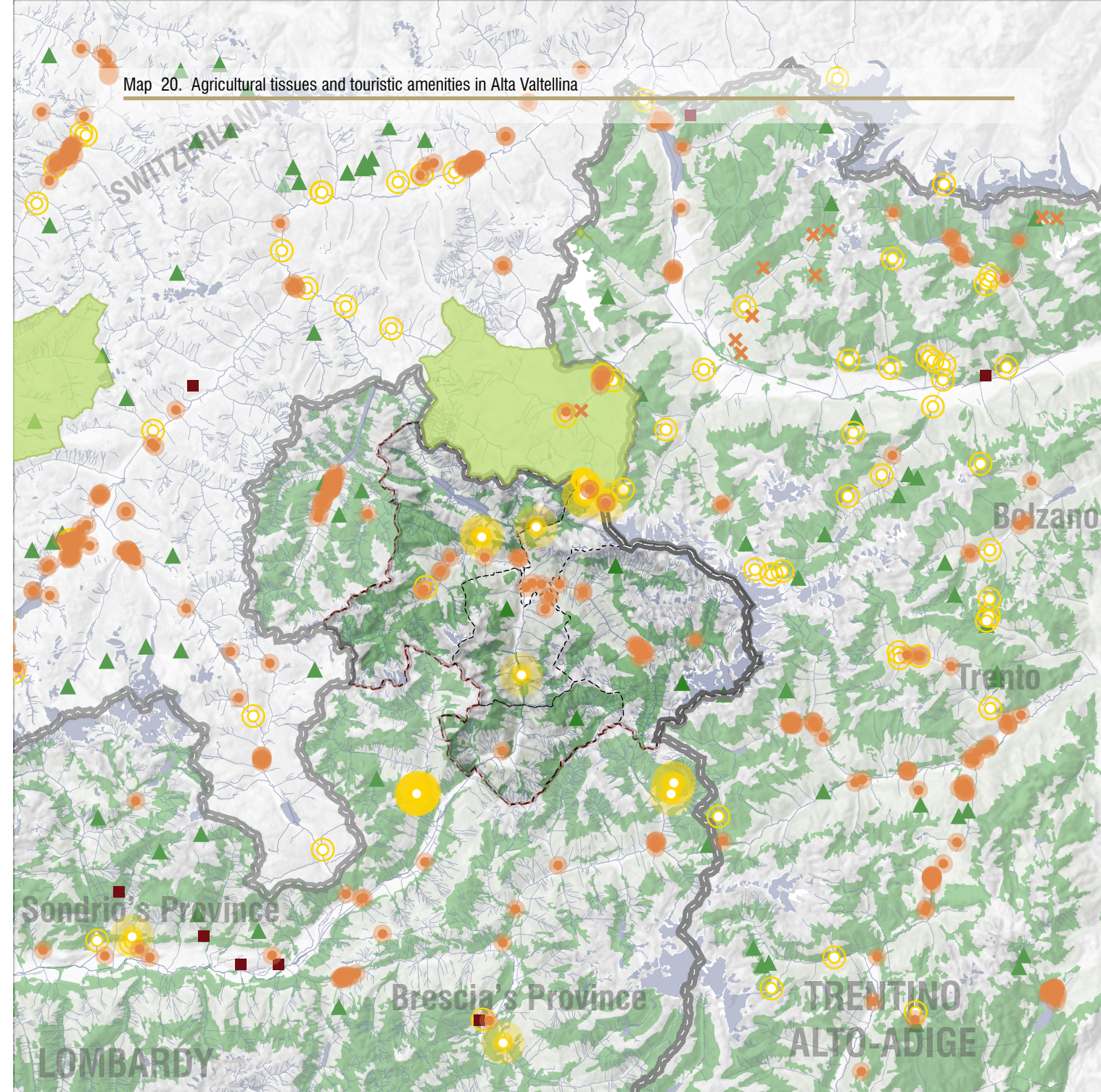
Within the preliminary of the strategy we find the “M19 – Sustainment for local development LEADER” that refers to actions for the sustainment of local development. In the proposals it is articulated in different ways so to achieve:

- ▶ Capitalization of human capital and skills-upgrading. Referring mainly to FSE 2014-2020's Axis 1 and 3, Alta Valtellina's Inner Area forecasts the creation of programmes for training and research by creating a FILIERA of agricultural and environmental education by using also pre-existing assets.
- ▶ Enhancement of the cultural assets and historical itineraries. By articulating different kinds of interventions aimed to improve pathways and generally the accessibility to the areas for the fruition of local heritage. This is more generally framed in the areas' will to create a sort of “Alpine-Model” of sustainable development and identity.

- ▶ Diffusion of local products and verified brands of the area. This ranges from food to wood production. The protection of local-branded goods grasps from the pro-

gramme of Rural Development in Lombardy different measures of interventions (M8 – investments for wooded areas, M10 – Compensations for agro-climatic and environmental measures, M11 – bio/organic agriculture, M16 – cooperation, M19 – Sustainment for local development LEADER)<sup>56</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Titone, P. (2017). Agricoltura: in tre anni di pac usato solo il 4% delle risorse assegnate all'Italia. C.I.A. Nuova Agricoltura, n°2, Febbraio 2017 pp.1-2



0 10 20 30 40 km 1:700.000

<b>Legend</b>		
Periurban areas	Hotels	Inner Area
Wooded areas	Hostels	Regional boundary
Parks	Local attraction	Alpine hut
Archaeological sites	Attraction of supra-local relevance	

Sources  
ISPRA  
Geoportale Nazionale  
Geoportale Lombardia  
OSM

## THEMATIC BOX 9. Alta Valtellina's claims for Stelvio's National Park

Stelvio's Park is one of the oldest natural National Park in Italy. It was constituted in 1935 and lies between the valleys of Lombardy and Trentino Altp Adige. It extends on a territory that comprehends 24 municipalities and 4 provinces, bounded on the northern section by Swiss' National Park while on south with the natural park od Adamello-Brenta. All these areas together cover a huge extention of 400 hectares, one of the largest protected areas in the central Alpine Arch. Its precious array of fauna and flora overlaps with the Alpine environment, that constitute a unique landscape prone both to host wilderness areas and equipped ones. The interests regarding the management of the park have often created conlicts among territorial representatives of the different regions, provinces and municipalities that surround the protected areas. Also the State intervned several times to guarantee its correct use and prevent speculations. In 2011 President Napolitano in 2011, after the solicitations of Legambiente has ceased the proposal of Bolzano's Province about creating new equipped areas for skiing and tourism<sup>57</sup>, but more importantly it was prevented the risk of parcel the Park's area mostly in favour of the two autonomous provinces. In 2016 a similar situation emerged again, and this time the criticisms where mostly moved by Valtellina's municipalities against Lombardy's Regional authorities<sup>58</sup>. they claimed that despite the high interest that Lombardy's municipalities (especially Alta Valtellina's area) where not included in the negotiation for Stelvio's management, despite they

have strong interests and also geographical contiguity with the park's area. Especially Valdidentro and Valcamonica's municipalities reminded to the Regional authorities that the Region was bound by a motion to include them presented back in 2014 in Park's management. Their interest was not only moved by some sort of contiguity claim, but most likely to have access also to the "Fondo Comuni Confinanti" from which Stelvio's Park would largely beneficiate. Finally in 2015 an agreement was finally achieved, by including also Valcamonica and Valtellina's municipalities (10 in total) in a plan for the management of the Park and hopefully ceased the disagreements<sup>59</sup>.

57 Repubblica.it. (2010, December 22). Parco dello Stelvio smembrato Il Pd: "Il prezzo della fiducia". Retrieved April 01, 2017, from [http://www.repubblica.it/ambiente/2010/12/22/news/parco\\_stelvio-10489313/](http://www.repubblica.it/ambiente/2010/12/22/news/parco_stelvio-10489313/)

58 AltaReziaNews.it. (2015, February 17). Parco dello Stelvio: Valdidentro esprime preoccupazione per il futuro. Retrieved April 01, 2017, from <http://www.altareziaNews.it/2015/02/17/parco-dello-stelvio-valdidentro-esprime-preoccupazione-per-il-futuro/>

59 AltaReziaNews.it (2015, February, 19). In una nota del sindaco di Valdidentro Trabucchi si conferma la posizione dei comuni lombardi, PARCO DELLO STELVIO: ALTA VALTELLINA E VALLE CAMONICA RIBADISCONO LE LORO OBIEZIONI. Retrieved April 01, 2017, from <http://www.altareziaNews.it/2015/02/19/parco-dello-stelvio-alta-valtellina-e-valle-camonica-ribadiscono-le-loro-obiezioni/>



Fig. 11. Passo dello Stelvio- Source: <http://www.in-lombardia.it/images/Passo-dello-stelvio.jpg>

### 4.3.4 Tourism

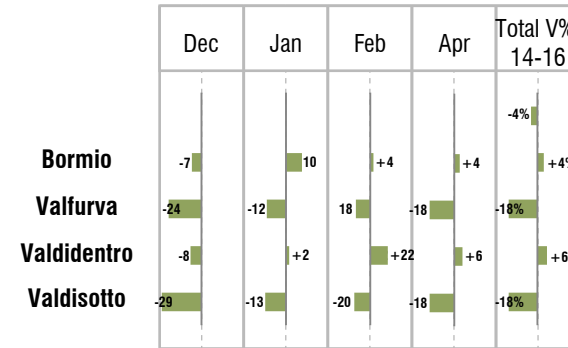
As stated in the previous sections, the emphasis on tourism is probably the greatest in the whole structure of SNAI's for Alta Valtellina. One of the key-projects within it is named "Bormio Marketing" that is a project proposed since several years by local organizations for culture and sports but only launched in 2015. Bormio Marketing is a mixed society that will pilot the whole touristic campaign of the area. Locals wanted to fully embody this action group in order to gather and give directions to the different initiatives that autonomously take place in Alta Valtellina. The project was initially drafted in 2014, but due to several disagreements among directors, and especially due to financial inertias, Bormio Marketing struggled to become a concrete project. due to SNAI and the former Odi Fund (fund established with the bordering provinces of Trento and Bolzano), the project of Bormio Marketing became reality and today fully included in Inner Area's strategy for Alta Valtellina<sup>60</sup>.

60 AltaReziaNews (2015) BORMIO MARKETING: A GENNAIO 2016 PRONTA A RIPARTIRE IL PROGETTO. Published on 5<sup>th</sup> December 2015 – Web Source: <http://www.altareziaNews.it/2015/12/05/bormio-marketing-a-gennaio-2016-pronta-a-ripartire-il-progetto/>

## THEMATIC BOX 10. A shift in Alta Valtellina's seasonality and tourists

As an Alpine territory one might assume that winter season is the period in which the highest occupancy rates are scored<sup>61</sup>. Of course such condition needs to meet an adequate offer of wintery-specific kinds of services that surely the whole alpine arch provides to its largest extent. However the last reports from the Alta Valtellina's CM a slight shift in tourism's demands are challenging local municipalities in their economic positioning, especially compared to their neighbours as Trento and Bolzano Italian provinces and Switzerland in its north-bound. The following graphs will show some of the main data recorded from the CM that justify some of the positions taken from the AV's project for SNAI. December among all the months records the lowest shares of occupancy rates for the four main touristic municipalities of the Inner Area: Bormio, Valfurva, Valdidentro and Valdisotto. The total variation between 2014 and 2016 generally records slight increases for Bormio and Valdidentro, while bigger losses for Valfurva and Valdisotto. This somehow explains the big concern for local administrators to push much on touristic services and offers development and diversification, that confirms not much and quantitative inadequacy (since they dispose of several rooms and hosting facilities) but rather a qualitative one, that on one side, suffers of the neighbours' competition, and on the other hand the need to better distribute touristic engaging activities also for spring time.

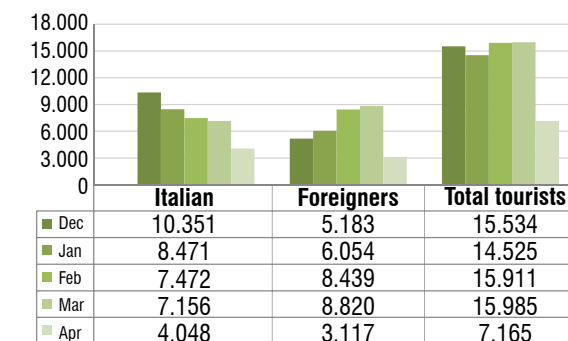
Graph. 18. Occupancy rates variation between 2014 and 2016 in Alta Valtellina



—Source: Osservatorio Alta Rezia (2015). Risultati Competitivi Bormio, Valdisotto, Valfurva, Valdidentro, Stagione Invernale 2014/2015. Bormio, 28 Maggio 2015

Another interesting aspect regards the origins of the tourists whether if Italian or internationals<sup>62</sup>. As we can appreciate from the data, foreign tourists choose AV's area especially from February to April. This justifies the recurrent proposal to diversify the touristic offer for spring season and also improve educational activities and training for foreign languages.

Graph. 19. Arrivals from Italian and Foreign tourists in Alta Valtellina



—Source: Osservatorio Alta Rezia (2015). Risultati Competitivi Bormio, Valdisotto, Valfurva, Valdidentro, Stagione Invernale 2014/2015. Bormio, 28 Maggio 2015

61 Osservatorio Alta Rezia (2016). Risultati Competitivi Bormio, Valdisotto, Valfurva, Valdidentro, Stagione Invernale 2015/2016. Bormio, Giugno 2016

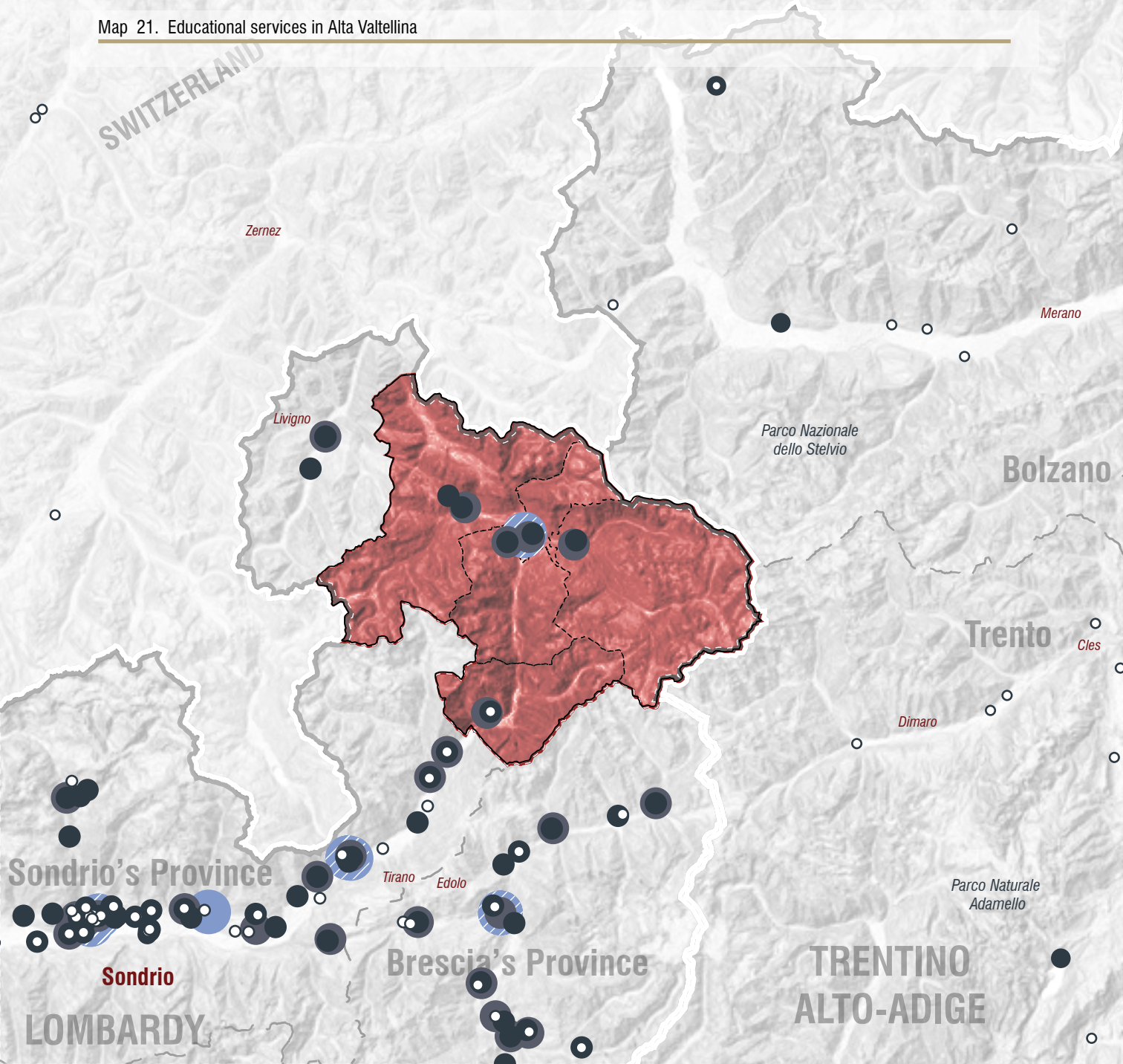
62 Osservatorio Alta Rezia (2015). Risultati Competitivi Bormio, Valdisotto, Valfurva, Valdidentro, Stagione Invernale 2014/2015. Bormio, 28 Maggio 2015

### 4.3.5 Education

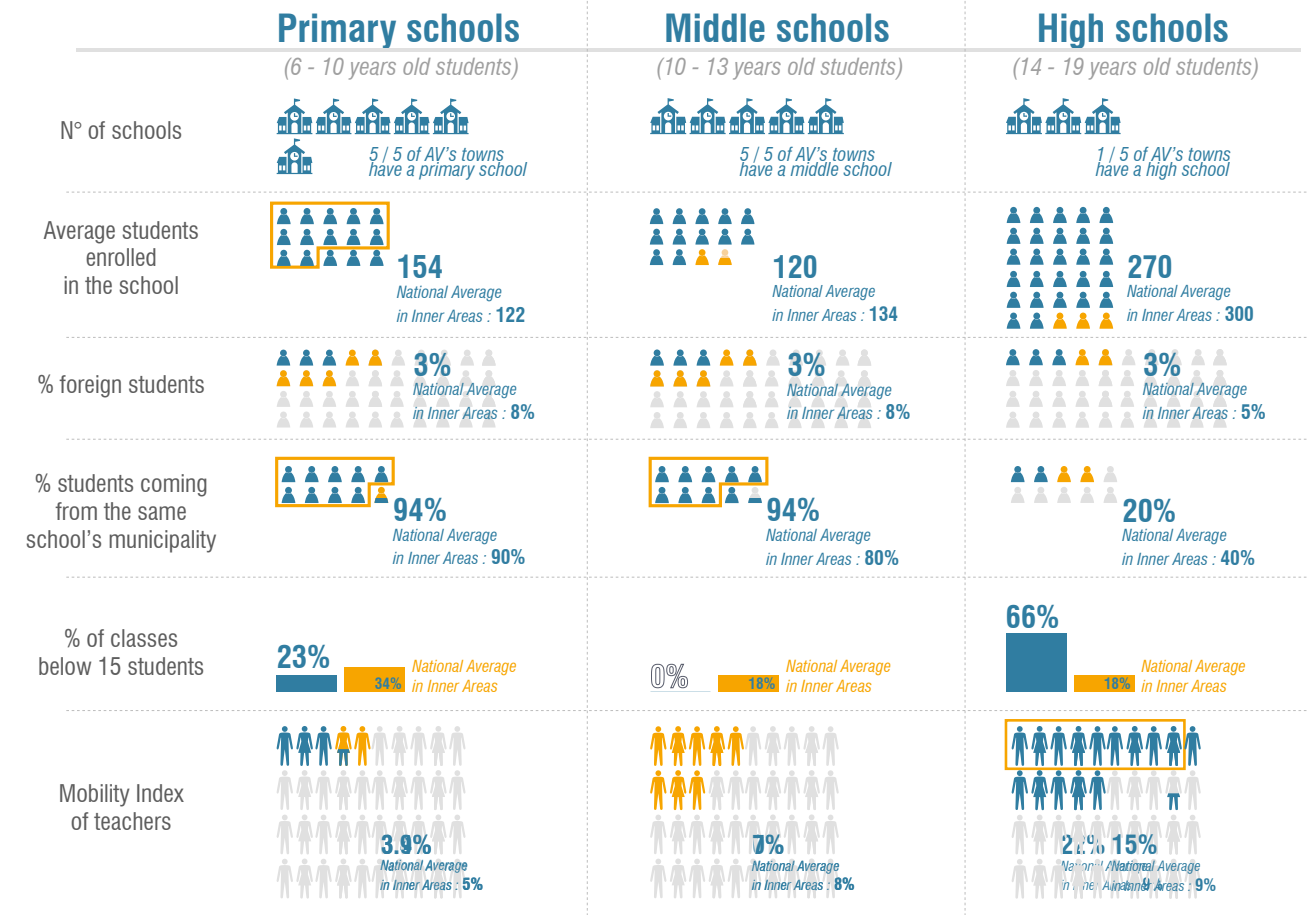
The preliminary proposal for the SNAI project embraces different kinds of training and education initiatives that can be gathered in the following three categories:

- ▶ **Convitto di Bormio.** That is a hosting facility for students and teachers enrolled in the "Istituto Alberghiero" of Bormio. That is intended on one hand to facilitate the stay of commuting or off-site students that study in the high school, but even more it is aimed to create a sense of permanency for the teachers, that also in this Inner Area, have high indexes of turn-over. This project also aims to create a competitive offer that most likely wants to attract students coming from outer municipalities.
- ▶ **Schools' digitalization.** That is included in the general plan of empowerment of optical fibre for the whole built areas.
- ▶ **Intensive foreign languages courses.** Due to the high touristic interest but also for geographical needs, the empowerment of the didactic offer on foreign languages – German above all – appears as fundamental in the strategy for educational services.

Map 21. Educational services in Alta Valtellina

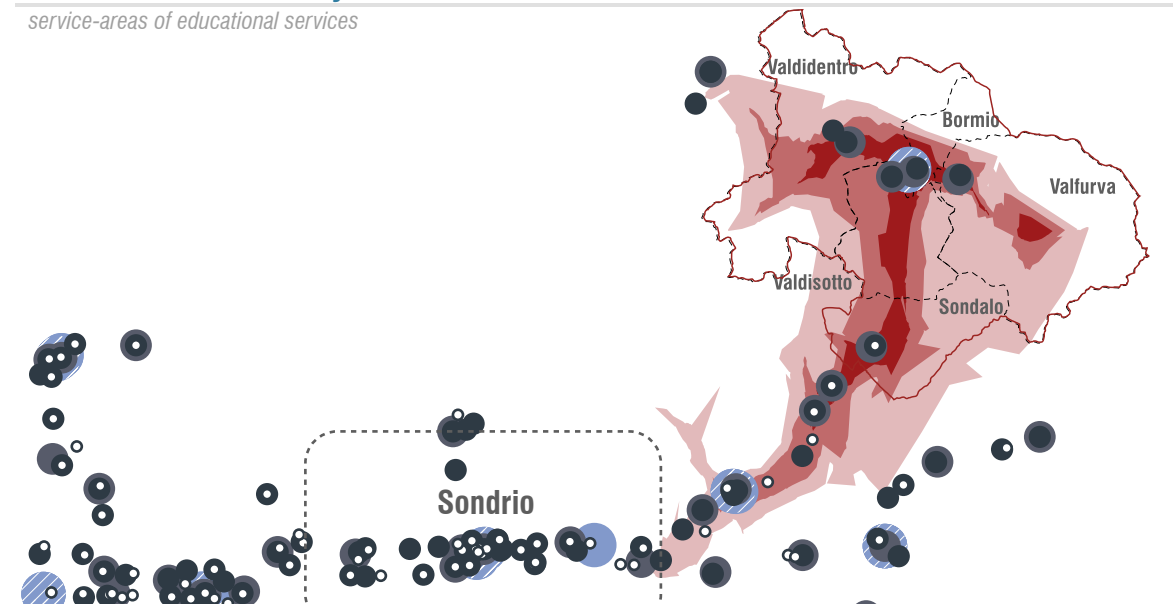


## Educational services in Alta Valtellina



### Schools' accessibility

service-areas of educational services



### Legend

- Kindergartens
- Elementary School
- Middle School
- High School
- Technical / Professional Institutes
- Universities
- Inner Area
- Regional boundary

### Sources

- ISPRA
- Geoportale Nazionale
- Geoportale Basilicata
- OSM

#### 4.3.6 Healthcare

Within the definition of a comprehensive economic model of Alpine character, also healthcare services in SNAI's for Alta Valtellina are very much in line with the peculiarities of the territory. The offer of healthcare assistance is quite rich and diverse, but the prior service to empower is to establish a sport-medical pole. The area already hosts important ski championships facilities, but also some soccer and rugby fields for high-quote training.

► **Empowerment of know-how on sportive-medical treatment - Morelli's Hospital.**

The already existing center for sportive-medical treatment "Mario Mevio" is one of the most successful branches of Morelli's Hospital.

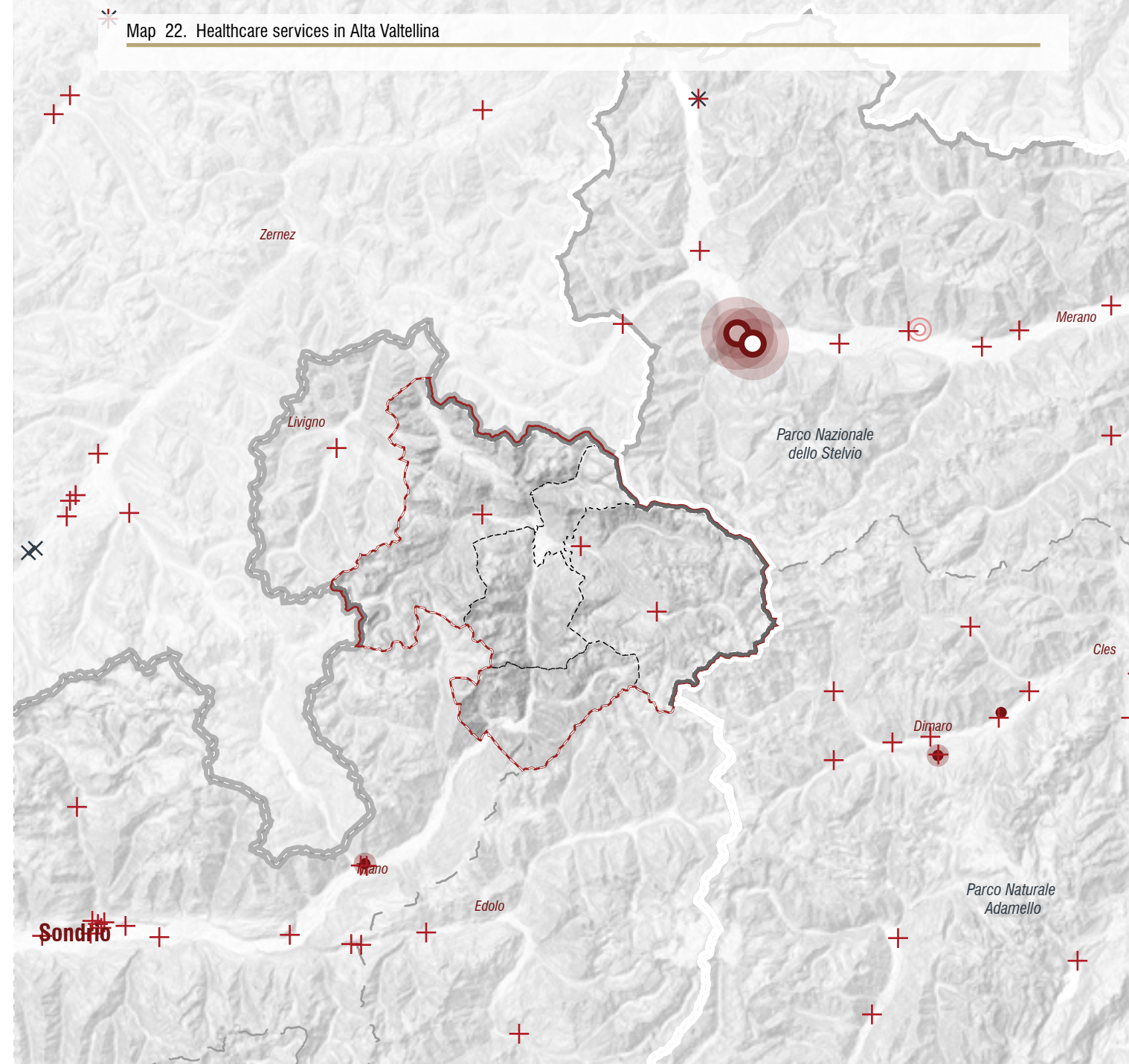
► **Creation of a healthcare chain of services.**

The intention of SNAI is to potentiate the present offer and connect it also to other kinds of services active in the area, as the thermal centers in Bormio, especially for sport rehabilitation and trauma treatments.

In regards of the latter proposal about the creation of a healthcare model for Alpine healthcare, the Inner Area proposal intelligently exploits SNAI for a creation of a service for excellence enhancing also its own character.

This proposal comes from Morelli's Hospital structure has been experiencing progressive threats of closure. The large structure originally hosted 9 pavillions, but today in 2017 only 4 of them are actually active, due to the unsustainable cost for keeping the whole structure opened- different stake holders - from the public ones as the region and province, to privates - are getting interested in the rehabilitation of the structure with more competitive and specialized services in the optic of sport and alpine-specific treatments.

The Healthcare Reforms, upon which the Region Lombardy is working on, has forecasted the creation of an "experimental sanitary district of the mountain" that seeks from the join of Valtellina and Valcamonica know-how to acknowledge and create a sanitary model for healthcare centers in the Alpine environment, and most likely to replicate it.



0 10 20 30 40 km 1:700.000

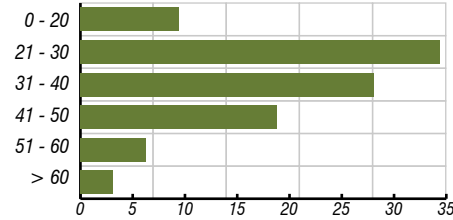
<b>Legend</b>			<b>Sources</b>
● Ambulatory	× Asl	▭ Inner Area	ISPRA
● Poli-ambulatory	+ Pharmacy	▭ Regional boundary	Geoportale Nazionale
◆ Clinic	○ Hospital		Geoportale Basilicata
○ Guardia medica			OSM

## 4.4. Living Alta Valtellina, witnesses and impacts

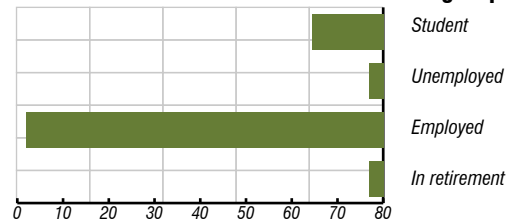
### 4.4.1 Interviews and site visit

#### Interviewed's profiles

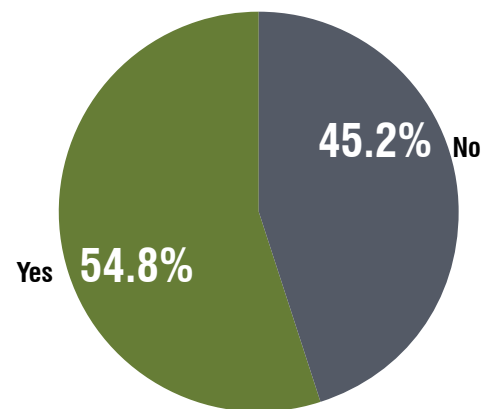
##### Age groups



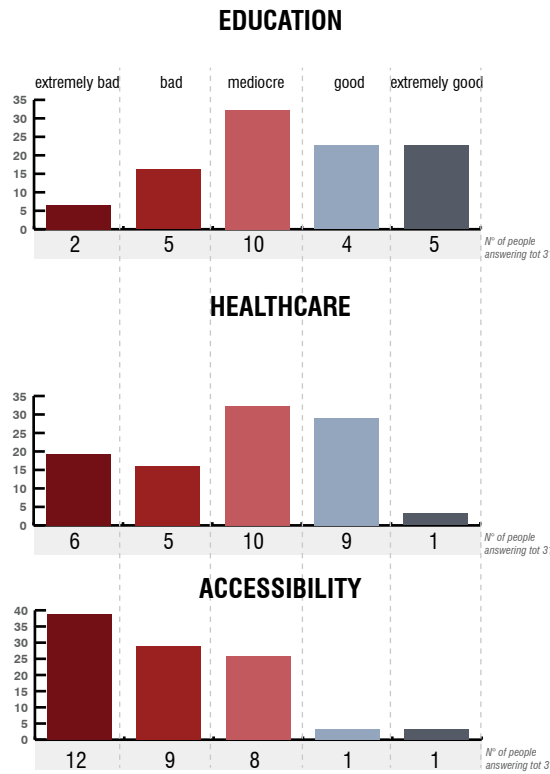
##### Social groups



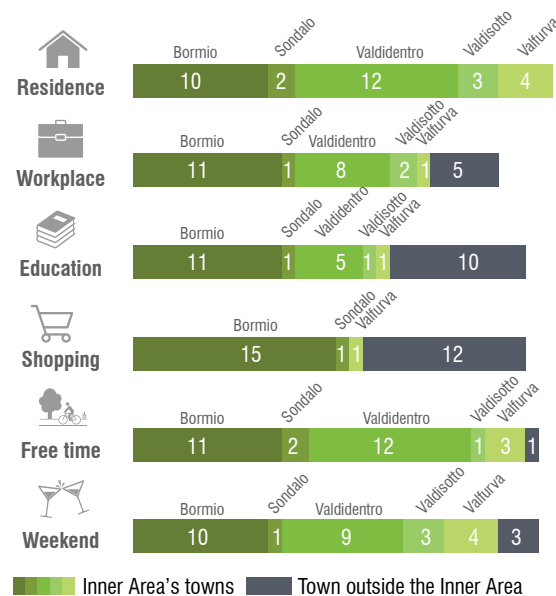
#### Do you think that your area is depopulating?



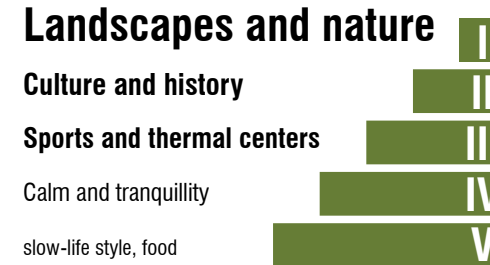
#### How would you evaluate the performance of local services in your area?



#### Where do you spend time for your everyday activities?



#### What are the most positive aspects, that you'd like to promote to make your area more attractive?



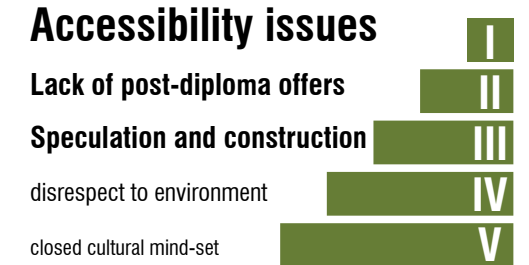
"We are a strong community. We have many associations and we're all friends to our neighbours. Despite our isolation, we're never really alone"



"The beauty of our landscapes make everyone feel better after a long day of hard work. Our children raise in a friendly and quiet environment, they can do any sports and be outdoor. Also who comes from elsewhere appreciates very much. Calm and tranquillity are so rare nowadays."



#### What are the most negative aspects, that make your area un-attractive?



"we're focusing on elite-touris, rather than diversify our offer... plus, too many are building too many homes, that nobody will ever inhabit"



"Accessibility and transport are generally a big problem for us. Going north-west, there's too congestion towards Livigno, while on south, the connection with Tirano's station are terrible. Is very hard for us to go out from our area..."





## 4.5. Alta Valtellina, what forms of citizenship claim?

### 4.5.1. Citizenship as a project.

#### 4.5.1.1 Surplus or deficit? The paradoxes of a tourism-oriented territorial economic model

Second homes have held a central place in the development of many rural regions in Europe, mainly on the coastline shores and in mountain regions (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2000)<sup>63</sup>.

Second homes' contribution to local development is mainly of economic-speculative nature as it creates added value and jobs in a region (Sonderegger & Bätzing, 2014) and often (if not primarily) made out of fiscal agreements. Not by chance the hidden loss of control and the capacity of public bodies to control its dissemination is often bitterly criticized in Alpine tourist destinations (Stettler & Danielli, 2008)<sup>64</sup>. Furthermore, the perception of second homes as "cold beds" (Sonderegger & Bätzing, 2014) – for its ephemeral nature – raise lots of concerns regarding the actual state of services' provision in touristic places, where most likely after the seasonal touristic flow are left out as brain-drained places.

However, apart from being a more or less appreciated practice, second homes serve a fundamental function as they:

- ▶ Accommodate guests and help to fill the local capacities of bed seats apart or alternati-

vely from Hotels – that today is particularly evident in the spread of hosts of AirBnBs.

- ▶ Create the substantial purpose and motivation for an Alpine town to refurbish their space – as generally the character and style of Alpine settlements are positively perceived for their integrity with the aesthetic of the landscape.
- ▶ The virtual demand for more or less permanent future residents pushes forwards the necessity to innovate services and places.

Nevertheless, since offers usually exceed the demand, the direct contribution of second homes is very modest in town's accountability, as usually there are financial procedures that ease the purchase and also taxation. It creates short-term benefits for municipalities in the form of fees and property tax (Sonderegger & Bätzing, 2014).

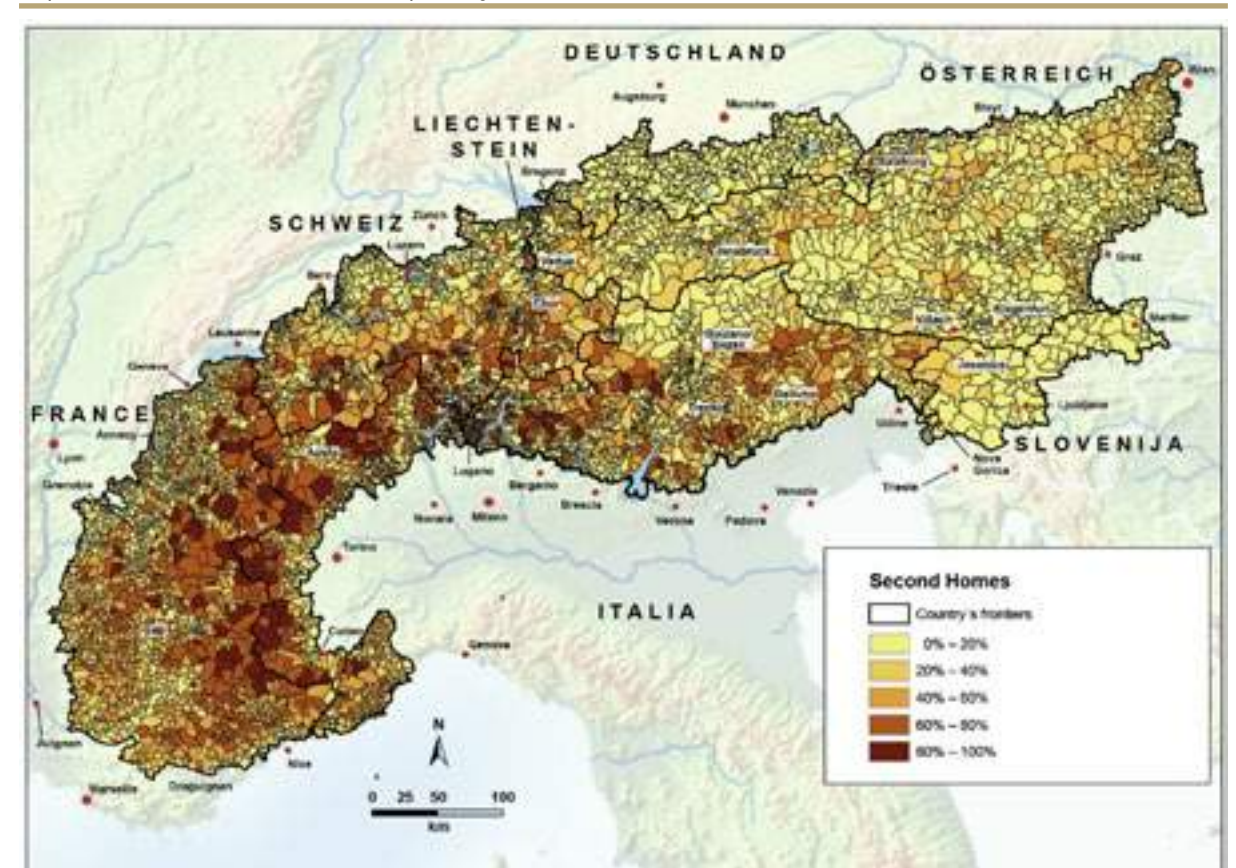
A strong focus on migration and construction processes is taking stage in among Alpine researchers especially in the shift in lifestyles and demand from international cross-bordering international tourism, as multi-locality studies, amenity migration and mobility types in the Alps (Bender & Kanitscheider, 2013)<sup>65</sup>. One big obstacle is that countries provide insufficient data on the non-hotel accommodation sector, and in particular on second homes (Sonderegger & Bätzing, 2014), however some quantities can be displayed – even though if very partial and most likely they underestimate the burden of second house phenomena.

Many differences exist among Alpine regions, but France and Italy have by far the largest number of share of second homes (both per inhabitant and per square kilometre). Two main processes seem to be relevant in the large set of situation along the

alpine arch: first, an intensive construction of second homes for tourism and leisure purposes, secondly, an outmigration of local population, whether if in the plainer areas of the alpine region or completely outside the area.

The Italian Alps underwent an intense construction of second homes, not just in Alpine areas but also at the fringes of large urban centers. Sharper problematics on this matter, as informal processes and money laundering, shadow these practices even more (Bätzing, 1996)<sup>66</sup>.

Map 23. Share of second homes in the Alpine Region



—Source: Sonderegger, R., & Bätzing, W. (2013). Second homes in the Alpine Region. On the interplay between leisure, tourism, outmigration and second homes in the Alps. *Journal of Alpine Research/Revue de géographie alpine, (Hors-Série)*.

63 Gallent, N., & Tewdwr-Jones, M. (2000). Rural second homes in Europe: examining housing supply and planning control. Ashgate Publishing Ltd.. ISO 690

64 Stettler, J., & Danielli, G. (2008). Image, truth and illusion in tourism promotion: The problem of the rapid spread of second homes in Switzerland and planning strategies. *Real Estate and Destination Development in Tourism. Successful Strategies and Instruments*, Berlin, Erich Schmidt Verlag, 249-266.

65 Bender, O., & Kanitscheider, S. (2013). Amenity Migration in the Southern Andes and the Southern European Alps—a key factor for sustainable regional development?.

66 Bätzing, W., Perlik, M., & Dekleva, M. (1996). Urbanization and depopulation in the Alps. *Mountain research and development*, 335-350.

#### 4.5.2 Citizenship as a process.

##### 4.5.2.1 The project of an Alpine Identity

The area of Valtellina has a privileged position geographically speaking, that refers not only to a uniqueness of its environment but more intrinsically, its luck lies in the possibility to confront itself with surrounding competitive neighbours.

The perception of competitiveness is particularly important as it mobilizes public administrators to focus on efficiency, diversity and quality of local amenities (especially touristic ones). Such quality is extremely important as in areas where the “slow life” is often referred also to the perception of social and administrative inertias, while here it becomes a choice of lifestyle. This “choice” is more or less induces by special duties that Alta Valtellina perceives in respect to supra-national organizations engaged in creating an image that aims both to unify and diversify the offer of experiences taking place in the Alpine Region. Valtellina is in fact part of a “Macro Alpine Region” that is an area that stretches all along the Alpine Arch and diagonally from Marseille (south-west) to Vienna (north-east). The macro-region had an historical precedent: the CIPRA, established in 1952 through a special International Commission for the Protection of the Alps (CIPRA) as a non-governmental type or organization.

**«To ensure sustainable growth and promote full employment, competitiveness and innovation by consolidating and diversifying economic activities in view of a specific mutual solidarity between mountain areas and urban areas»**

Eusalp, 2015<sup>67</sup>

67 Commissione EUSALP (2015). Comunicazione dalla commissione Al Parlamento Europeo, al Consiglio, al Comitato Economico e Sociale Europeo a al Comitato delle Regioni, Concernente la Strategia

The majority of the states fall under the EU, with the exceptions of Switzerland and Liechtenstein, which are an element of originality<sup>68</sup> for EU’s cooperation programmes. The most important results from being part of EUSALP is revealed in the clearness on what is crucial to preserve, to develop and to innovate. More concretely, the added value of transnational programs for mountain regions and localities can be recognized in the development of multi-stakeholder environments, creating and transferring new solutions for the labour market (Marot, Gantar & Černič Mali, 2015)<sup>69</sup> and eventually engage local citizens to cooperate in order to maintain – but also develop – an Alpine identity. The “Resolution of Grenoble” signed in October 18<sup>th</sup>, 2013 by the Ministers and Presidents of the 48 regions, have established three pillars upon which the whole EUSALP poses its vision that aims to:

##### **Pillar 1 “Developing Alps” – Economic development, innovation and research**

- ▶ To set integrated clusters for science, technology parks and research centers for SME development, in synergy with S3 Strategy (Smart Specialization Strategy).
- ▶ Supporting arrangements for training courses that alternate work and study, to multi-country careers, with full recognition of diplomas and qualifications.
- ▶ To encourage investments in process innovation.
- ▶ Promote products of the Macro-region

68 Macro Regione Alpina. <http://www.macroregionealpina.net/?cat=2>

69 Marot, N., Gantar, D and Černič Mali, B., (2015). Added value from European Territorial Co-operation: the impact of demographic change in the Alps on the young. In: Szymańska, D. and Biegańska, J. editors, Bulletin of Geography. Socio-economic Series, No. 30, Toruń: Nicolaus Copernicus University, pp. 87–107. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/bog-2015-0037>

with a “brand awareness” policy.

- ▶ Support the creation of cross-border areas with homogeneous taxation.
- ▶ Structuring a complementary Coin circuit (or “chamber of pre-monetary compensation”) for SMEs the Alpine, as an innovative tool to facilitate the exchange of goods and services

##### **Pillar 2 “Connecting Alps” - Transport, accessibility and intangible infrastructure**

- ▶ Elimination of the digital divide in the inland areas and developing ultra-broadband;
- ▶ Integration of the major infrastructure networks, also for cross-border connections and plan inter-modalities.
- ▶ Promotion of innovative solutions to ensure basic services for the mountainous and inland areas (education, health, social and mobility services)

##### **Pillar 3 “Protecting Alps” - Water, energy and environment, biodiversity**

- ▶ Plans coordinated adaptation to climate change in the various economic sectors of interest, with support for investment in the prevention of natural disasters and widespread maintenance problems.
- ▶ Common lines for the development renewable energy, particularly biomass and hydropower, with the parallel protection of aquatic and forest ecosystems, and adequate assessments of the territorial compensation.
- ▶ Boosting energy efficiency of public bu-

dell’unione europea per la Regione Alpina. {COM(2015) 366 FINAL}. Brussels, 28.07

ildings, and the gradual restructuring of the towns to improve the overall energy efficiency

All member territories are coordinated through either national specific regulations and Communitarian ones. The whole areas are in a mutual relationship even with the positive and negative characteristics of the Alpine Space, which in turn expresses the site-specific dynamics are very different. The characteristics of mountain regions also largely exacerbates these conflicts. Problems of housing, transport, soil consumption, integration between the systems anthropogenic and natural eco-systems, are the thematic domain of the macro-region, as evolutionary dynamics in Regional and Communitarian planning are increasingly complex due to its cross-border nature, and it needs a unified and continuous governance interventions. EUSALP is outlining a model of sustainable development of the Alpine region also respectful of biodiversity and landscape, through broader forms of public consultation (eg. 2040 Alpine Region, the Rhône-Alpes pattern, Mountains 2040 etc.). In this way, the process triggered by EUSALP – but also other financial programmes as the “Fondo Comuni Confinanti” – crafted a very defined character of Alpine citizenship, that is also politically and identity-wise. These achievements although came after a long period of struggles (environmental instability, landslides, savage urbanization, a-critical implantation of large industrial sites in the valleys, abandonment of villages, speculation etc.) for which today some areas are still paying their dues with the past, and others instead face anxiously the current economic turmoil.

To sum up, the positive aspects of creating a sort of “Alpine Identity” turns out to be ideologically defined (in the slogans of the three pillars) but also structurally composed by financial aids, subsidies and taxation. At this point some critiques that may

rise: is EUSALP a Cooperation or segregation policy? By using the appeal of co-operative programme, by enhancing the necessity to work together as a region instead of single administrations is particularly helpful in the management of services in such a low-densely inhabited areas, but the threat of using the Alpine unicity to justify some attitudes, some inherent features or their economic models – as the easement in building constructions or taxations – can constitute a threat and also a reductionist understanding of Alpine Identity. The threat of hyper-protected federalism that separates the Alpine Region from the outside, instead of reinforcing the macro-region can actually deprive it from the possibility to knit more intense relationships with the outside world, made out of large urban poles and metropolitan cities – that are the source of tourists that Alpine areas seek so much.

Map 24. Boundaries of EUSALP's Macro-Region, Alpine Space and Alpine convention's limits



→Source: ESALP, <https://www.alpine-region.eu/>

## 4.6. Conclusions and critical points

### 4.6.1 Margins of reversibility: is Alta Valtellina in demographic decline?

Alta Valtellina is an extremely positive example of how SNAI's strategy can actually take ground in Italian Inner Areas. Nevertheless one big paradoxical situation dismantles the coherence of choosing Alta Valtellina as an Inner Area at first place: it is not losing population. Data confirm that Alta Valtellina has positive variances of population both in the latest census years (2001-2011 variation: + 0.5%) and in the older time spans (1971-2011: + 2.1%). Despite its very low increase, the positive gain on demographic balances is particularly unique since most of the Inner Areas' municipalities (80%) share a negative balance from the 70's. This implies that the area doesn't fit with probably the first criteria of SNAI, so being inherently inconsistent with the policy's claims. Such situation undermines SNAI's legitimation in Alta Valtellina. However more interesting investigations can prove that the Alpine Arch and Valtellina specifically should be regarded with a different, more acute point of view of migration patterns and structural composition of the population.

A wide array of reports upon depopulation along the Alpine arch (Bender & Kanitscheider, 2012; Ferrario, 2008)<sup>70,71</sup> have shown that in various areas of this area the out-migration experienced over the decades – from the second post-war till the 80's as peak period – is today replaced by new patterns of immigration. From Löffler's studies we find in-

teresting categories of migrants, that make more complex the issue of demographic balance in alpine regions, and more likely, it enhances the site-specific approach for cross-bordering populations.

Löffler's (et. al. 2014) created a model for understanding the so-called "amenity migrants" or also "new-highlanders". The concept of "amenity migration" has been allegorized in recent years (Bender & Kanitscheider, 2013; Glorioso, Moss, 2011 p.44)<sup>72,73</sup> and it refers to those kinds of migrants that «*who deliberately opt for a life in the mountains, leaving the non-Alpine towns behind, and thereby contribute to a revitalization and preservation of peripheral mountain villages*» (Löffler et. al, 2014)<sup>74</sup>.

For areas as Alta Valtellina this situation of amenity migrants can actually stand as a possible key-reading not much regarding population loss, but future possible gain of population. The great emphasis on specific kind of amenities that the Alta Valtellina constantly promote are the quality of a "slow" life, good air, rich variety of outdoor activities and also high-rated and luxurious services

In this sense seasonal employment plays an important role as it attracts workers and takes the chance to promote not only ephemeral stays, but more or less explicitly, seeds in the experience of a tourist the question if whether to choose the area as place for second-home, for people in retirement and so and so forth. Even though we cannot rely on much information to proof that this is the exact model that Alta Valtellina is experiencing at the time (Census and local data could not provide information

70 Bender, O., & Kanitscheider, S. (2012). New immigration into the European Alps: emerging research issues. *Mountain Research and Development*, 32(2), 235-241.

71 Ferrario, V. (2008). Rural/leisure landscapes and amenity-led migration: an example in the Eastern Alps. In *Understanding and managing amenity-led migration in mountain regions*. Proceedings of the Mountain Culture at the Banff Centre conference held May (pp. 15-19).

72 Bender, O., & Kanitscheider, S. (2013). Amenity Migration in the Southern Andes and the Southern European Alps—a key factor for sustainable regional development?.

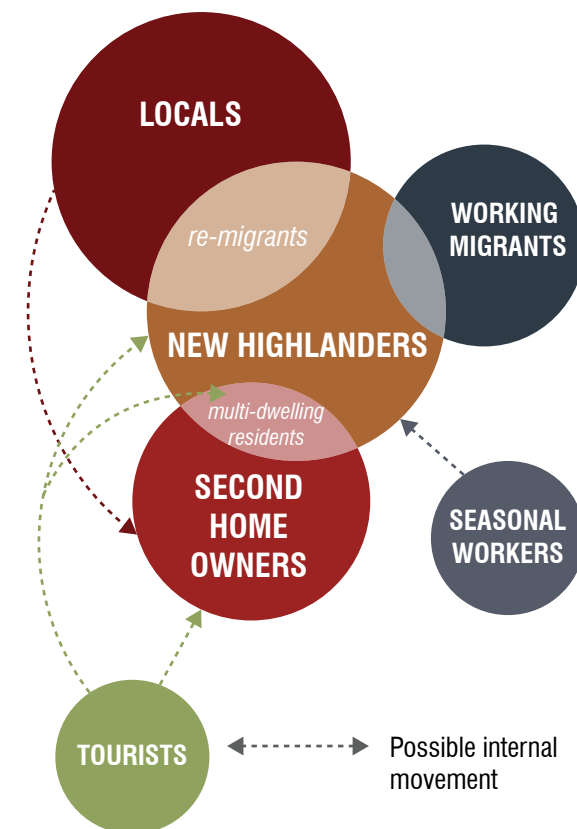
73 Glorioso, R. S., & Moss, L. A. (2011). Origines et développement du concept de migration d'agrément. na.

74 Löffler, R., Beismann, M., Walder, J., & Steinicke, E. (2014). New Highlanders in Traditional Out-Migration Areas in the Alps. The Example of the Friulian Alps. *Journal of Alpine Research | Revue de géographie alpine*, (102-3).

as share of second-home owners, seasonal worker etc.) but it is generally a very to happen in touristic places as the Alpine Valleys. Here follows a model that represents the composition of the population for a typical successful alpine area that experiences a demographic change according to amenity migration. The migration flows from and to the outside, as well as potential categories of transitions within a study area such as settlement or valley community.

Positive effects of the newcomers in remote high-mountain regions of the Alps are the stabilization or revitalization of local structures and the associated prevention of abandonment and desertion of settlements (Abrahams, Gosnell, Gill & Klepeis, 2012)<sup>75</sup>. Through innovation, amenity migrants also produce impulses for an upturn in the social and economic life of a community. Even those who do not live there all year contribute by the maintenance of their homes, which the autochthonous population no longer could accomplish alone. So instead of a demographic compression, Italian Alpine areas are more likely to experience a demographic transformation. Although population losses continue to exist, the main factor now in the development of the population is the birth deficit, which appears as bio-demographic consequence of decades to centuries of out-migration (Löffler et al., 2014).

Graph. 20. Population Composition and Migratory movement in a Peripheral Alpine Community



Source: Abrams, J. B., Gosnell, H., Gill, N. J., & Klepeis, P. J. (2012). Re-creating the rural, reconstructing nature: An international literature review of the environmental implications of amenity migration. *Conservation and Society*, 10(3), 270.

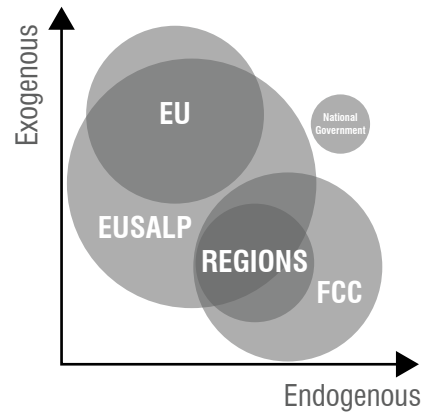
#### 4.6.2 Margins of innovation among stakeholders: is SNAI encouraging new comers into the decisional arena?

The networks are pretty solid at the local scale, and the natures of the stakeholders is quite diverse, by welcoming both privates and no-profit organizations for the articulation of the projects.

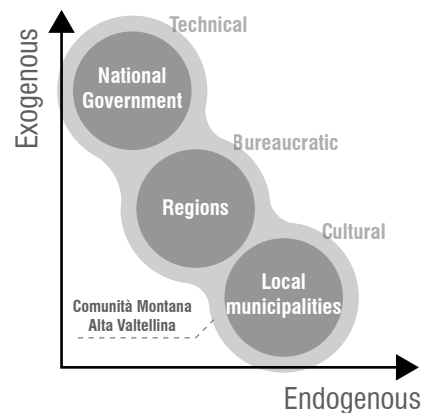
However it is important to notice that some of the stakeholders included in the SNAI programme for Alta Valtellina are repeated. For instance, the simple fact that some actors are already part of other projects and groups of action. This means that despite the selection of stakeholders might appear quite rich, in reality we find the same actor involved in different project, and that quite understandably, they pushed to include in the stakeholders composition. Some examples are the Stelvio Consortia, that includes two out of five municipalities of the Inner Area (Bormio and Valdidentro) or the Consorzio forestale Alta Valtellina that is composed by the CM, all five municipalities of Alta Valtellina, AIFAV (associazione Impianti a Fune Alta Valtellina) also mentioned as actor involved in the development of alpine-sport dotation. This may suggest that in reality there's a little novelty in whom is entering the process of SNAI. The threshold for being included appears to be dependent from past positive initiatives that the Comunità Montana hopefully wants to replicate in the frame of opportunities given from the SNAI programme.

75 Abrams, J. B., Gosnell, H., Gill, N. J., & Klepeis, P. J. (2012). Re-creating the rural, reconstructing nature: An international literature review of the environmental implications of amenity migration. *Conservation and Society*, 10(3), 270.

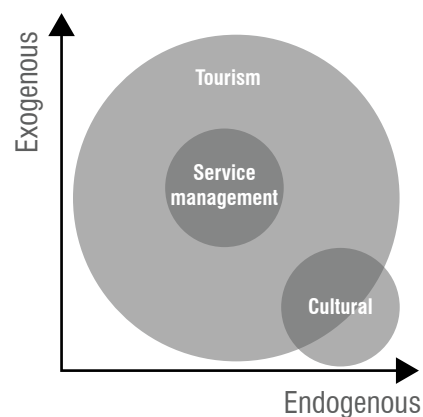
### Financial resources



### Cognitive resources



### Networks



#### 4.6.3 Margins of integration between resources and their mobilization in Alta Valtellina

Financial resources once again are extremely relevant for the accomplishment of SNAI programme. In Alta Valtellina, that is the first Inner Area that has fully formalized the SNAI programme and already framed most of their project operability in the mid-term, the financial allocation for each initiative shows the capacity of the CM as Pivot, that has quite successfully mixed exogenous resources coming from the national government, to endogenous ones, mostly mobilized by local private stakeholders or public initiatives already in place in the area. About the latter, three are the main public initiatives that constitute an exogenous source of financial aid:

- **Fondo Comuni Confinanti**, or Fondi ODI. This special fund is established by an inter-provincial committee established from 2013 (envisaged by the Law 147/2013 art. 1 Comma 519 – Legge di Stabilità 2014) that foresees for the two autonomous provinces of Trento and Bolzano – that bound at east with Alta Valtellina – an annual financial intervention of 40 million of euros for projects of Regional relevance (as established from the Law 191/2009 art. 2 commas 117 and 117bis., within the Financial Law 2010). From September 2014 the Region Lombardy, Veneto and the autonomous provinces signed an agreement that extended the access to the funds to the administrations that bordered the two autonomous provinces, creating by consequence a preferential channel of resources also for Alta Valtellina’s area<sup>76</sup>. The consequence

76 Ministero degli Affari Regionali (2014). Intesa tra il Ministero dell’Economia e delle Finanze, il Ministero degli affari Regionali, la Regione Lombardia, la Regione Veneto e le province autonome di Trento e di Bolzano avente ad oggetto la disciplina dei rapporti per la

of the agreement are that in addition to the funds from SNAI is 19 million euro, 49 more are added through other financial programmes coming from the “Fondo Comuni Confinanti” on the very same axis of intervention<sup>77</sup>. Moreover, the fund also finances the projects for Stelvio’s National Park (in 2016) that, we recall, is one of the central focus of SNAI strategy.

- **EUSALP**. As mentioned previously, EUSALP backs in many different ways the financial and political asset of the Alpine Arch. Even though is not yet clear the level of engagement of this body, Alta Valtellina is in any case included in their scale of action. EUSALP is a communitarian body, even if exceptional in its internal composition (inclusion of two EU not-state members) and also for its purposes, it is yet included in one of the several examples of cooperation project pursued by the EU committee. The most important function of EUSALP is to guarantee the access to specific interreg programmes for development, by selecting the axis of financial aid from the ESIF. This constitutes an additional opportunity for Alta Valtellina to have a privileged access to more communitarian funds that are specific to the alpine macro region.

The “**ripple effect**” of financial resources guarantees – from EU to local private investors – guarantees a quite solid financial backing for Alta Valtellina’s project, that most likely influenced also the

festione delle risorse di cui all’articolo 2, commi 117 e 117bis, della legge 23 Dicembre 2009 n°191 e S.M.I. Source: <http://www.affariregionali.it/media/169365/intesa-fondi-odi-del-19-settembre-2014.pdf>

77 La provincia di Sondrio online. (2017, February 16). Area interna, ora l’accordo è realtà e pioggia di milioni in Alta Valle. Retrieved March 21, 2017, from [http://www.laprovinciadisonndrio.it/stories/Economia/area-interna-ora-laccordo-e-realta-e-pioggia-di-milioni-in-alta-valle\\_1224844\\_11/](http://www.laprovinciadisonndrio.it/stories/Economia/area-interna-ora-laccordo-e-realta-e-pioggia-di-milioni-in-alta-valle_1224844_11/)

good results in terms of programming and scheduling of SNAI’s deadlines, and so to be the first area with a fully approved project that signed the first APQ out of all 61 Inner Areas selected nationwide.

Cognitive resources are highly differentiated and pretty advanced for being a marginalized area. Above all we need to mention the cumulative capacity of exploiting some fragilities of the area (mostly referred to geo-hydraulic conditions) have triggered from the 80’s landslide a series of initiatives that involved the Alta Valtellina with researchers from several universities and companies to study the Alpine territory both for its environmental features and for geomorphological ones. The production of scientific papers, focus groups and even specialized technical bodies have created a great interest in the area and consequentially forces to equip local administrators – Comunità Montana above all – to create portals of access to geographical information. Also the backing of Region Lombardy, Sondrio’s Province helped to guide this capacity-building process by homogenising cadastral information, GIS materials etc. (due to the directions of the Regional Law). Regarding political-cognitive resources, that are probably the most important ones in the explanation of the relative success of the area, the gradual accumulation of administrative initiatives has likely pushed local administrators to take into account the different interests overlapped in the area, and meaningfully exploit them as an opportunity. For instance, the fact of being included in EUSALP implies that every action undertaken within the area has to deal with a greater scope of coherence in regards of the Alpine macro-region. Even though if is not clear how much EUSALP influences local forecasts for development, it surely gives a clear-cut direction, a vision to aspire.

Networks – The reasoning on “chains” is very explicit within Alta Valtellina’s SNAI project. The

Preliminary of Strategy identifies at its very early stages the key points of strengths and weaknesses of the area, framing also whom would be in charge of carrying the project – having the Comunità Montana as Pivot – and eventually all the possible allies for the accomplishment of their mid-term strategies. The CM guides the overall process of development for the area, as it holds the largest share of cognitive resources (technical but also political), that however assume incremental approaches, raised from the acknowledgement that along the years they've acquired satisfactory managerial capacities and governance skills. More generally we find some weaknesses on the diversity of purposes, that, as mentioned several times in this chapter, are mostly articulated around the need for touristic enhancement. Quite surprisingly EUSALP – that is probably one of the most interesting cooperation programme pursued by Alta Valtellina is barely mentioned as a network resource, but merely as source of financial aid and political vision.

#### 4.6.4 Final conclusions and open questions

- ▶ **Demographic decline.** As we stated in paragraph [4.6.1 margins of reversibility] the area of Alta Valtellina is not experiencing a consistent decline of its population, and nor even a stagnation, as it holds a relatively low shares of elders within its demographic composition. It is rather stagnating in its demographic account, but no serious concerns may rise from abandonment. Further analysis on occupancy of built spaces and the matter of the “second homes” raise other kinds of concerns regarding speculative tourism in the housing sector, that is partially justified by the ambition to attract second-home seekers or the “new highlanders” that individually opt for a slow-life in Valtellina. Larger effects of demographic drainage is experienced at the macro-region of the Alps, but the area of Alta Valtellina is only tangentially tacked by the urgency to restore actual inhabitants of its municipalities.
- ▶ **Citizenship and essential services.** Regarding citizenship we explored the efforts of EUSALP to constitute an extra-ordinary form of Alpine identity, that is way more complex than defining a bundle of characteristics (environmental, aesthetical, folkloristic etc.) but it actually aspire to create a solid political and fiscal community. Beyond any possible criticism regards its protectionist approach, the opportunity to gather different political systems among state members and their provinces is an interesting exercise that takes roots also in the civic vitality that very likely attracts effortlessly administrators and representatives of economic sectors. In the case of the tackling problems regarding the distribution, potentiation and refurbishment of essential services, SNAI programmes in

Alta Valtellina appear quite weak as tourism englobes most of the initiatives contained in the strategy. Wherever something related to education and healthcare appear has a cumulative nature, since they forecast potentiation of an already existing set of amenities. Transports instead follow a double track by serving both to ease the accessibility to schools but generally it is still highly instrumental to touristic enhancement.

- ▶ Margins of innovations? How to evaluate if SNAI fostered an innovative process in Alta Valtellina? At a first glance most of the contents of the projects are innovation-oriented (digital learning, diversification of traineeship regards the use of ICT or the specialization on healthcare pavilions for mountain-related sports etc.) but also in this case they land on an already existing set of initiatives launched years before (for the ski world championship in the early 2000's). Other ways to weight the burden of innovative processes in SNAI project is the acknowledgement of new comers in the stakeholders' composition into the project. as emerged from the interviews, the role of the Comunità Montana Alta Valtellina assumed an absolute role of leadership that probably has shadowed others. By breaking down each actor's nature we see a high participation of privates that have already worked since decades in the area, that local administrators and the Comunità Montana had welcomed as allied probably confident of their work as they knew participants for long time. Here no reference to clientelism should raise, but generally the missed inclusion of new groups, nor the will to create new ones revealed that also in Alta Valtellina the interaction among stakeholders is occluded to novelty and poor in constructing a meaningful project of citizenship as a process.



# CHAPTER 5

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**SNAI as an innovative  
project of citizenship?**

Ambrogio Lorenzetti, "Effects of the Good Government in the city" (1338-1339). Part of the allegory and effects of good and bad government in the city and countryside in Palazzo Pubblico, Siena (Italy).

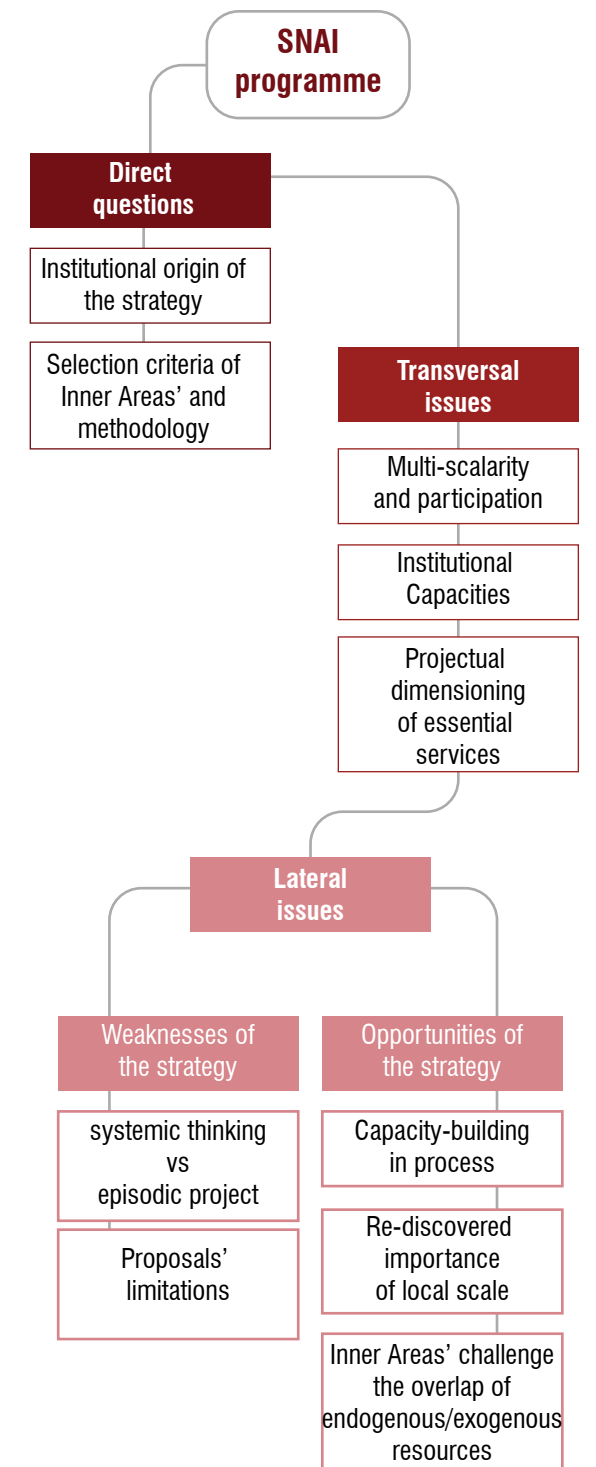
« [...] 'progress' is an ideal notion (social and political), while 'development' is a pragmatic and economic fact» (Pasolini, 1975)<sup>1</sup>

## 5.1. Inner Areas as innovative projects of citizenship design?

### 5.1.1. Is depopulation a policy issue?

This initial question is fundamental for revising SNAI programme. As depopulation is a demographic phenomenon, a quantitative trend, **but it is not obvious that it is a policy issue.** In the first chapters of this research we acknowledged that depopulation has been extensively studied in various sectors and raising awareness worldwide. From the American experience – and recently also from eastern-European contributors – Shrinking cities theories drove the attention for seek alternative models that guarantee local urban quality despite the severe economic compression of cities' expenditure, as consequent from the exit of taxpayers (Rumpel, Slach & Koutsky, 2013)<sup>78</sup>. In this sense, depopulation is an object around which architects, planners, administrators, social scientists and economists search and act against its consequences.

In SNAI programme depopulation rather becomes a driver for an alternative nationwide vision. From its recognition as relevant problem that affects large portions of the Italian peninsula, it becomes a sort of motivation, the primer from an holistic process of revision. In SNAI depopulation becomes fully an object of policies, in the way it includes a series of actions that underpin relevant issues as citizenship, rehabilitation of local services, and as an interpretative lens for scenarios of local development.



Pasolini, P. P. (1975), Sviluppo e Progresso. Inherit from 'Scritti Corsari' 1975, and in Saggi sulla politica e sulla società, a cura di W. Siti e S. De Laude. 1999, Milano, Mondadori.

78 Rumpel, P., Slach, O., & Koutský, J. (2013). Shrinking cities and governance of economic reneration: the case of Ostrava.



### 5.1.2 Conclusion's structure

In order to answer to these questions, it might be useful to parcel the analysis of SNAI in three branches of issues:

#### [Paragraphs 5.2 ] Direct questions

That consist in questioning SNAI's founding elements. From its institutional origin [5.1.1.] to its methodology in the selection of the target areas [5.1.2.]

#### [Paragraphs 5.3 ] Transversal issues

That confront SNAI's aspirations with its actual impact on the two case studies, questioning its attempt of being multi-scalar and participative[5.2.1], their Institutional Capacity (IC) [5.2.2.] but also evaluating how Inner Areas are designing the three main objects of citizenship (education, healthcare and accessibility) in their proposals [5.2.2.]

#### [Paragraphs 5.4 ] Lateral issues

This final part will treat other kinds of problems that emerged mainly from empirical confrontation with local administrators and citizens. It will unveil latent problems that locals perceive both in SNAI's operability, but also shows the unspoken or unresolved questions that Inner Areas' citizens perceive.

THEMES	main supralocal initiatives and programmes in Italy
Gap-narrowing strategies for synergic economic development	<b>Cassa del Mezzogiorno</b> 1950-1984
Launch of infrastructural projects and estates of public relevance	<b>Leader Programmes</b> 90's - 00's <b>POR / PSR</b> 2000 - 2006 2007 - 2013 2014 - 2020
Aid for agricultural development	<b>European Landscape Convention</b> from 2000's
Initiatives for environmental enhancement and preservation	<b>P.I.C. URBAN</b> I: 1994 - 1999 II: 2000 - 2006
Initiatives for the refurbishment of built-assets of historical and cultural value	<b>P.I.C. + FESR URBACT</b> I: 2002 - 2006 II: 2007 - 2010
Programmes for for integrated socio-economic development of urban areas	<b>Casa Italia</b> 2016
Programme for environmental and seismic protection of built-environments	

## 5.2. Direct questions. What sort of policy design?

### 5.2.1 SNAI as an economic measure of territorial nature

Differently from the past, Inner Areas' project is an economic measure is coming from the departments of Economic development Ministry. This is particularly interesting especially in the face of SNAI's contents - rehabilitation of marginal territories, preservation of cultural and historical assets, retrofitting citizens' essential services - that in previous seasons where extremely sectorial (Bonfanti, 2016), carried by the Ministry for infrastructure and public works, or MIUR or also by the Ministry of cultural heritage (all included in SNAI, but not main promoters).

This is due to three main reasons:

- ▶ 1. It is a policy explicitly aimed to channelize EU Structural Funds. SNAI's very nature deals with financial tools, so this could explain the reason why economic-related governmental bodies wanted to take charge of SNAI's promotion. However, the scale of intervention is quite unique, as it applies to the entire nation and seeks to guide local realities to Communitarian operations. SNAI tries to bridge Italian Areas to the European Community and inextricably bound their opportunity of growth to the accomplishment of communitarian bundle of rights and duties - in order to access to the disposal of EU's financial aid, that hold the largest share in the total amount of economic resources for each project<sup>79</sup>. This is particularly relevant also in

<sup>79</sup> Share of European funds over the total value of the projects: Alta Valtellina: 81%, as the Fondo Comuni Confinanti infilled the gap between some of the projects costs; Montagna Materana: 99% in 2015, as

the political debate, where more and more parties question the legitimacy of national obligations towards EU.

- ▶ 2. The acknowledgement that the State's economic stagnation lies and get more acute in large portions of the country that are suffering from systemic demographic crisis that affects and is affected by un-performative welfare assets in a large portion of the Italian soil [see Chapter 1 and 2]. The economic-financial crisis has affected pervasively the whole nation, and exacerbated the already difficult situation in marginal Italian territories. Inner Areas are in fact the areas where incomes are lower and unemployment is higher. Depopulation in Inner Areas is highly related to job-driven migration, maybe even more than its geographical marginality.
- ▶ 3. The recognition that those very same territories have a financial value (made out of valuable assets natural resources, estates, human capital, local economies). The possibilities disclosed by the financial mobilization of EU's funds triggers - but also forces - locals to overcome their inertias and hopefully seek for a meaningful exploitation of the chance given. The success of the strategy can be evaluated through the capacity for Inner Areas to combine exogenous aids with endogenous resources.

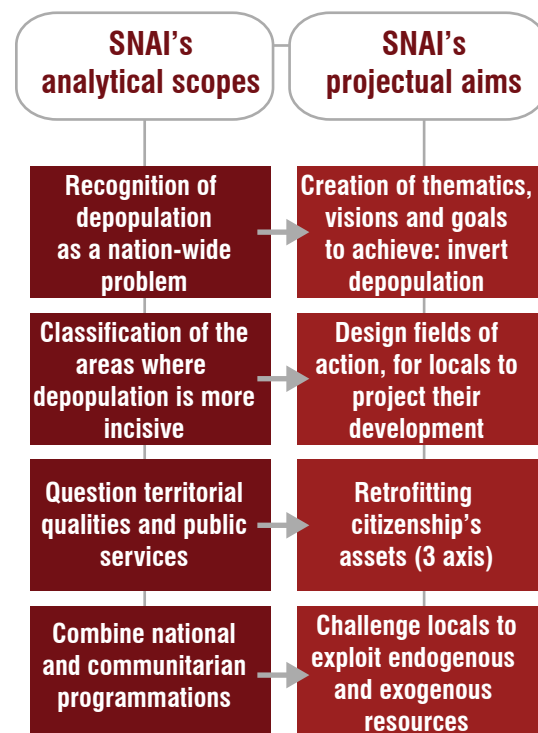
### 5.2.2 The relevance of Inner Areas' recognition and its methodological limits.

SNAI's scale of intervention poses the important challenge of recognizing in depressed territories the presence of the 'backbone' of Italian heritage and identity. Inner areas collect several elements that have been recognized as characteristic of our

co-founding sources are not yet settled

country, as landscape and traditions, that today require additional attention for the construction of explicit policies in the face of their pauperization (Barca, 2016)<sup>80</sup> – abandonment, depopulation, ageing population. The relevance of these themes have been largely discussed in the past, but merely confined in sectorial ambits (Bonfantini, 2017)<sup>81</sup> and episodic story-telling (i.e. ANCI's reports on Italian small towns or Teti's works, 2004<sup>82</sup>). The effort made by SNAI programme has ultimately consolidated and broaden the policies' analytical and projectual scopes as follows in the scheme on the right:

- ▶ Recognizing through nation-wide analysis the pervasive scale of built spaces pauperization and abandonment of territories.
- ▶ Classifying the whole Italian territory in clusters of areas based on levels of accessibility.
- ▶ Acknowledging the relevance of territorial quality and amenities' performances, seeking its correlation with exit dynamics of local populations.
- ▶ Qualifying communitarian and governmental policies' legitimation in promoting local development that aims to combine two important strategies: preserve the uniqueness of the areas' identity and give strength to local latent resources also in a competitive development perspective.



However, through the empirical evidence of direct contact with Inner Areas one great concern rises: is SNAI project too ambitious? Is the selection adequate? Do accessibility, healthcare and education have the same importance? Are the projects feasible? With the experience of Alta Valtellina and Montagna Materana's site-visits the very first aspect that emerges is that in these areas infrastructural works are the real discriminant for most of the educational and healthcare projects' feasibility. Web-interviews with the citizens and direct discussions with the mayors of Stigliano and Craco in Montagna Materana, and Bormio's representatives in Alta Valtellina, have often recalled the infrastructural works as prior for many, if not all, their SNAI proposals. Mayors argued that despite the large amount of resources mobilized by DPS and EU structural funds, these are not enough to heal accessibility issues. This important limit is surely dependent from TCAI's methodology adopted for the selection of Inner Areas. The overlap of orographic features and its consequential problems related to infrastructural networks led to select as pilot-projects very "difficult" areas, in which SNAI's programme will struggle a lot to achieve success. This can be particularly worrying for the 'second round' of Inner Areas' projects that is already in place in some Regions.

80 Barca, F. (2016), La diversità come rappresentazione del paese, in S. Munarin, L. Velo (a cura di), Italia 1945-2015: urbanistica prima e dopo. Radici, condizioni, prospettive, Donzelli, Roma pp. 13-21.

81 Bonfantini, G. B. (2017), Integrazione informativa e strategie d'insesco territoriale nel palinsesto insediativo storico, in Attivare risorse latenti: metodi sperimentali per l'analisi, mappatura e la gestione informativa integrata delle trasformazioni di territori e manufatti del patrimonio culturale diffuso.

82 Teti, V. (2004), Il senso dei luoghi. Memoria e storia dei paesi abbandonati, Donzelli, Roma.

### 5.3. Transversal issues. SNAI as an exercise for governance and policy innovation?

SNAI is first nationwide programme after a long period where regionalism and devolvement of responsibilities to local administrative bodies where transferring responsibilities from the Central State to local administrative garrisons. It is a kind of public policy that intimately looks also to State's past experiences, coping with its own actions and also its failures. We may distinguish some key-points to comment these assumptions.

#### 5.3.1 Italian governance levels in question. Is SNAI innovative and multi-scalar?

SNAI promotes multi-level governance, it sets different ways to cooperate among administrative levels and promotes more fluid relationships from the local scale of the municipality and supra-local levels. However, as evident in the case studies of actors analysis but also in the development of the project, SNAI programme suffers of the several weaknesses regarding the real state of integration among territorial levels. The following section will briefly summarize how different administrative levels played a role in SNAI's operations in the two Inner Areas.

► **The role of the Regions.** As SNAI channelizes communitarian funds, that are assigned at the regional level, Regions play thus a fundamental role in the articulation of the programme. As shown in the two case studies, the skills of technical offices and administrators are discriminant on the quality of the proposals and also scheduling times. Lombardy has a set of legal/bureaucratic tools coming from its regional law that surely helped Alta Valtellina's operators in the creation of their proposals for SNAI (i.e. the constitution of

a Regional Database of geographical information systems, the diversified networks consolidated along the years – as EUSALP of FCC) have deposited a series of capacities that allowed local operators to better compete in the Regional public calls and scheduling deadlines for SNAI.

► **The role of the Provinces.** If Regions have very clear duties in SNAI's operability, it is not yet clear the responsibility of Provincial authorities assume in inner Areas' project. Before SNAI and before the EU's programmes the Provinces were the administrative body that had to 'take care' of similar themes that the SNAI promotes: infra-marginal development, harmonization of growth dynamics between large urban poles and their hinterland, environmental protection, set the vision and operation for resources' exploitation etc. The prominent role of the Regions is substituting Provinces' past duties? Even in DPS documents, provinces are barely mentioned, despite SNAI's themes overlap quite often with Provinces' original responsibilities. This situation may unveil provincial authorities' weaknesses in their political and projectual legitimation.

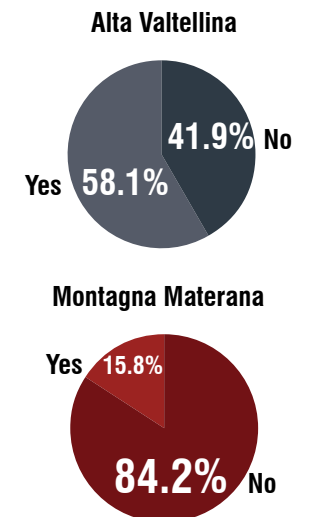
► **The role of municipalities and local citizens.** Is SNAI bottom-up as they claimed? Despite the great emphasis on the "importance of the local scale" and public participation, the over-cited importance of social mobilization in reality has very few evidences from all Inner Area's project. Thus, several bureaucratic frictions took place in SNAI's operability in Italy, both evident in the little changes in stakeholders' analysis for the case studies, but also with the empirical evidences of the interviews to Alta Valtellina and Mon-

tagna Materana's citizens – the majority of the interviewed never participated to any of Inner Areas' meetings or even never heard of SNAI project.

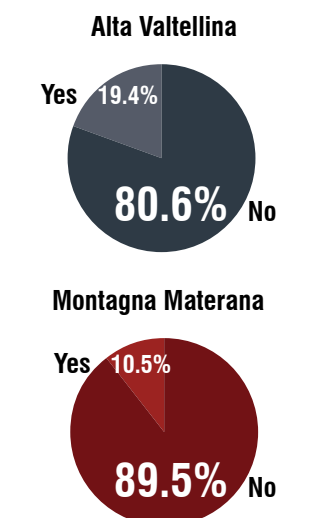
► **The role of local stakeholders.** From the evidences of actors composition and their networks, both cases have shown that the level of engagement of local operators had a very little – if not totally absent – innovation in stakeholders' composition. The low number of actors in SNAI's proposals on one hand is quite understandable due to the public nature of SNAI projects, but on the other hand it is a missed opportunity for lever their contribution in the projects. The almost complete absence of social groups, associations, NGOs is quite concerning. However, the role of GALs for Montagna Materana can be an important mention regards the capacity building that past communitarian programmes as LEADER have created locally and be as a reference of possible innovative groups of action. For Alta Valtellina's case, the role played by its CM can open a series of discussions upon the nature of the interests and power that SNAI mobilizes. Above all we notices that the vast majority of other inner areas are traced by ordained establishment of Comunità Montane that are or where present in the 71% of the current cases of Inner Areas. Could SNAI be the last "safety raft" for the Comunità Montane, despite the several attempts to cease their activities (Di Corrado, 2014)<sup>83</sup> Or what did local CM gained such an important role in the success of Alta Valtellina? The high reliance

<sup>83</sup> Di Corrado, V. (2014). Le comunità montane sono state abolite ma non muoiono. Le regioni che le hanno cancellate sono alle prese con i commissari liquidatori. Retrieved April 08, 2017

#### Do you know the National Strategy of Inner Areas?



#### Have you participated to any of SNAI's meetings?



	total answers	local citizens
Alta Valtellina	32	31
Montagna Materana	69	19

on pre-ordinated boundaries of today's inner areas that overlap with current or former CMs can question the importance of this administrative body, but more important findings should be explored in the reasons why the Comunità Montana Alta Valtellina was so important in structuring SNAI programme for Alta Valtellina, what are the capacities ascribed to this actor? What sort of skills, values, know-how has to be mobilized? How to identify valuable actors? The next paragraph will try to explore the themes of Institutional Capacity and its very limited evaluation in the two case studies.

Map 25. Share of CM's presence in Inner Areas



**78%** 48 out of 61 Inner Areas host (or hosted) Comunità Montane

### 5.3.2 Questioning Institutional capacity in the two case studies

The previous paragraph questioned the level of engagement of different representatives of administrators and stakeholders that were actively challenged by SNAI. Beyond each single performance in SNAI, the quality of the national programme's impact on local stakeholders emerges from a broader issue of distribution and exploitation of competences that strictly define institutional capacities (IC) – local and regional – that is extremely crucial in the debates raised upon Europe's latest programming 2014-2020 (Brusetti & Pacchi, 2014). In this paragraph we'll try to frame Montagna Materana and Alta Valtellina's experiences by evaluating the contingent episodes where institutional capacity was questioned and challenged, by breaking down the main variables for IC's evaluation. IC, intended as the capacity of local administrators to govern and coordinate collective decision-making is articulated around three main concepts that are specifically relevant for EU policy (Brusetti & Pacchi, 2014):

- ▶ The ability to come to terms with EU rules and procedures, and how to combine them with contextual ones (national and regional ones).
- ▶ Capacity to produce or bring forward ideas and projects that local actors had already in mind.
- ▶ Ability to use competences built through the use of EU funding in order to improve the overall quality of administrative action.

For each of the three concepts we may spend a few words regarding the two case studies.

For the first, Alta Valtellina brilliantly achieved SNAI's deadline for the APQ and had also the capacity to combine SNAI's programmes with lateral initiatives that local administrators were already

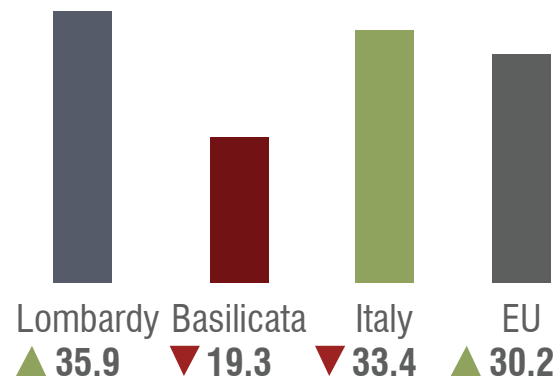
settling, as the FCC financial contribution to SNAI's proposals, or also the agreements on Stelvio Park, that eventually became of the principal themes for Inner Areas' projects. Montagna Materana instead is lagging behind SNAI schedule despite it was one of the first pilot areas to send its documents to the CTAI; while for the combination with contextual rules and regulations, but also initiatives, is not yet explicit.

From the consultation with the mayors it emerged that the contents of Alta Valtellina's proposals were discussed extensively with local actors (also present in stakeholders' analysis in chapter 4) that mostly operate in sectors more or less directly with touristic sector and local promotion (Stelvio's park consortia, Terme di Bormio, Associazione impianti a fune Alta Valtellina, Consorzio Forestale Alta Valtellina, Unione del commercio e del turismo e servizi from Sondrio's province etc.), which saw from SNAI an opportunity to finally launch initiatives of their interest. While the proposals of Montagna Materana appear more vague, as they are still in their programming phase. The feeling is that their proposals are surely pertinent to SNAI's objective and of 'good sense', but weak as they look like exhortations rather than real projects.

For the use of the competences built through EU funding is less explicit in Alta Valtellina as they could rely on the high managerial skills of the CM. Their Pivot role in Alta Valtellina's case was fundamental for the success of the strategy. This is surely due to a series of practices accumulated by the CM itself but also to external influences (the large contribution of technical studies of the area from the 80's and on, EUSALP, Lombardy Regional Law etc.). While for Montagna Materana, Leader programme's influence is very explicit in the way that it raised awareness on environmental protection and innovative agriculture, that will be explained in further paragraphs.

Finally, we may say that SNAI's success in Alta Valtellina is highly dependent from local Institutional Capacity, that is way more advanced than in Basilicata's case. However contingent difference of 'structural variables' (Brusetti & Pacchi, 2014) among regions is highly influent in IC, and so in SNAI's projects in the two areas. Region's GDP and socio-economic conditions are relevant in the projection of development trajectories and by consequence also for proposals' feasibility.

Graph. 21. GDP per capita (Million euros) 2015



—Source: Istat (2015). Conti Economici Territoriali, anno 2015. Published on 12th December 2016. Source: [http://www.istat.it/it/files/2016/12/Conti-regionali\\_2015.pdf?title=Conti+economici+territoriali+-+12%2Fdic%2F2016+-+Testo+integrale+e+nota+metodologica.pdf](http://www.istat.it/it/files/2016/12/Conti-regionali_2015.pdf?title=Conti+economici+territoriali+-+12%2Fdic%2F2016+-+Testo+integrale+e+nota+metodologica.pdf)

Once the Region has identified the two areas in Lombardy, we established a series of meetings between groups, regional authorities, mayors and CM. We immediately started to identify exogenous financial aid that could integrate the SNAI funds. Through FCC we're reaching 60 millions - from the 20 million of SNAI. The integration with the FCC allows us to think broadly. Through FCC fund we're required to develop projects that would benefit us and our neighbours of Trento and Bolzano, so we're focusing on accessibility-related issues, that would open our area to greater touristic fluxes that richer regions have.



Mayor of Bormio

### Comunità Montana Collina Materana



Phases claims and nature

**Reasons for creation**  
create service-consortium of local services



**Type of network**  
enclosed and horizontal among 8 municipalities

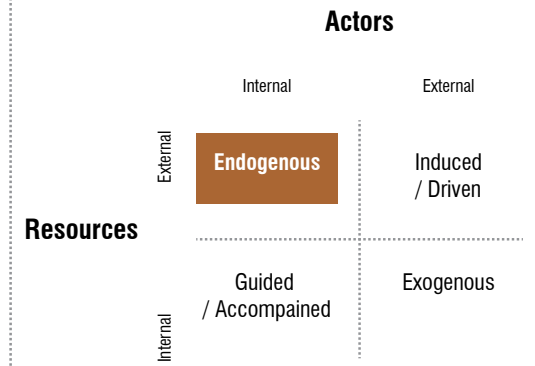


**Main outcome**  
officially recognized autonomous body



Phase's aim : **Recognition**

Types of development based on resources and actors



Resources' exploitation: **Local use of local goods**

### Gruppo Azione Locale (GAL) Le Macine



**Reasons for creation**  
outsourse environmental and rural development



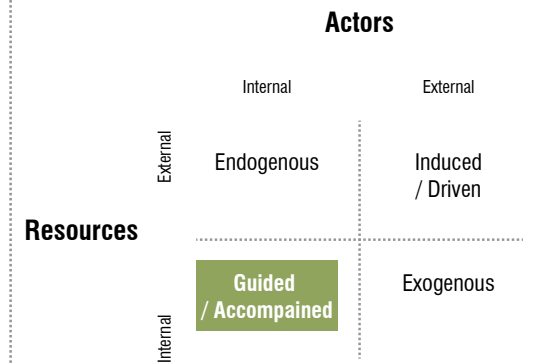
**Type of network**  
horizontal (GAL) and vertical (towards EU)



**Main outcome**  
testbed of communitaria cohesion strategy



Phase's aim : **Capacity-building**



Resources' exploitation: **Local use of external goods**

### Inner Area Montagna Materana



**Reasons for creation**  
commonly achieve local development to invert depopulation



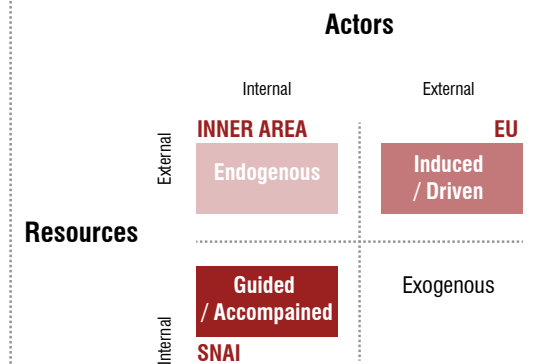
**Type of network**  
horizontal (Union) and vertical (Region + EU)



**Main outcome**  
application of multi-scalar and multi-sectorial strategies under a solid theme on citizenship claim



Phase's aim : **Consolidation**



Resources' exploitation: **Local use of external goods**

## *governance-related issues*

I'm profound appreciator of EU's programme and its institution, the problem is that SNAI strategy, as many others have to be filtered all along our bureaucratic hierarchy, and many "dispersions" happened, both in terms of financial aids but also in terms of visions, ideas, objectives.

We don't have problems among us mayors, we know each other and meet quite often. Also with the Technical Committee of IA we're in constant contact with them. While more frictions are experiences at the higher levels of our administrative sphere. Region and Province often lag in their response. To manage the whole SNAI process though derogations increase costs.

We had a prolific relationship with the Region, that had established a special committee for Lombardy's Inner Area. They have also appointed a consulting agency, "Eureka!" that supported us for SNAI's reports and their content. CM and all our towns work together since decades, we know and trust each other.

The support of our Regional authorities was extremely important. They have chosen our community to experiment SNAI without leaving us alone, at any stage of the process. We had the advantage of having just 5 towns in our Inner Area that were already prepared to work together, as they are included in the CM and also members of local consortias.

**Mayor of Craco**      **Mayor of Stigliano**      **Mayor of Bormio**      **Director of Alta Valtellinas' CM**

### *5.3.3 The three dimensions of citizenship. How to size them?*

By abstracting the concept of citizenship applied to plan making, we can recall specific quantitative problematics. Above all it is a matter of "quotas" of public services. In Italy, public services are balanced according to the demographic concentration of each city assigning for each citizen a given minimum amount of a public service (Urban Standards D.M. 1444/1968). By consequence, denser cities can offer a wider range of services and more diversity – since diversification and quantity of services relies on an high number of inhabitants. Small towns of course have a smaller array of services and activities, and if locals need to get access to a given amenity, they'll need to commute to reach the nearest bigger town. This of course is part on the natural system of hierarchies among cities. While sometimes these kinds of hierarchical relationship can work, in the last decades the rates of deprivation of the smallest centers (driven by depopulation and competition with other cities) is severely affecting especially basic services, that are essential for anyone's live-hood, and so guaranteed for each inhabitant. This condition is particularly dangerous, since by undermining the 'right' to access to basic amenities, it erodes quality of life and so haemorrhagic 'exit' dynamics are almost inevitable. On a more theoretical perspective, the lack of basic structures as healthcare and education creates not only severe discomforts in local communities, but somehow their absence creates frustrations and misbeliefs in the public system as a whole. SNAI aims the retrofit the offer of essential services pro-capita in Inner Areas as preliminary action (Lucatelli, 2015) according to communities' emerging needs. By operating on the "countable measures" of citizenship rights (healthcare, education and infrastructural provision per capita) some might question if this concept of citizenship rights is in reality a rebalancing project or a more deep

civic experimentation. For sure this initial attempt constitute a more critical way to read local realities and also take more responsibility, at the State level, of providing basic essential services for citizens. Through the research, several times the issue of finding a meaningful way to describe the dimensioning (both prior and current) of local essential services was quite difficult to quantify. First of all, one should assume that local municipalities through their urban plans (PGTs in Lombardy, PRGs in Basilicata) should include in their documents the explicit standard-quotas and specifically the amount of services' surface for inhabitant. If Lombardy's case had these documents accessible, for Montagna Materana it was extremely tricky and difficult, as the last accessible documents where PITs from the beginning of the 2000 – so outdated – and not enough specific regarding services' distributions per capita. In both chapters 3 and 4 there have been shown other methodological tools to frame services' distribution and their level of access and quotas per inhabitant (by using indexes, GIS computations as isochrones etc.) that are alternative to the formal ways that in Italy we normally standards' needs and requirements. To do not appeal to standards' quotas is probably one of the biggest limits of this research, but at the same time questions whether if standards are useful for Inner Areas' evaluation of citizenship service's quotas or not. However, when confronting these themes with the mayors, they introduced interesting aspects that question the 'efficacy' on holding to the three essential services. Some of them stated that despite the virtuous concepts that SNAI brings to their attention, probably education, healthcare and accessibility can be putted aside while other focuses should regard youth and digital innovation.

The following paragraphs will partially explain that in reality the dimensioning of essential services should rely on a multi-sectorial analysis that range from demographic dynamics to geographical con-

strictions that would calibrate the distribution of services in a different way.

#### 5.3.3.1 *Evaluation of the three dimensions of citizenship in the two case studies*

The following section aims to recall the experience of Alta Valtellina and Montagna Materana regarding their proposals for retrofit and empower the three essential services' of SNAI.

#### 5.3.3.2 *EDUCATION*

##### **Montagna Materana**

The schools in the area are in an edgy position between their closure or fusion with other institutes. The most concerning inertia is given from the demographic composition of local inhabitants that experience a strong shrinkage of student population in all the 8 municipalities. The proposals are mostly initiatives for creating specialized paths of education according to Montagna Materana's agricultural vocation. But the ageing population and the rapidly decreasing number of future students harms these initiatives as the area is way below national and provincial standards for maintaining their local schools active.

##### **Alta Valtellina**

The proposals of Alta Valtellina also convey on creating specialized paths of education, especially at the second levels, mainly driven from touristic purposes. Very little mentions are made regarding the threat of closing the schools, as the student population has fair shares in their demographic composition. ICT innovation, foreign languages are the most important proposals, but also the attempt of creating a "permanence" for incoming students from other municipalities, but also teachers through the creation of a hosting facility is an interesting approach to the 'volatility' of both, students and professors.

#### 5.3.3.3 *HEALTHCARE*

##### **Montagna Materana**

As the 35% of local inhabitants are elders, the need to establish performative sanitary centers in the area is fundamental. Outside SNAI, Montagna Materana explored the opportunity of frugal solution – through INDIA and MIKE ambulances to deal with emergency calls. Road networks' performance is discriminant both in emergencies but especially in the willingness of locals to be treated for chronic diseases – quite relevant for its ageing population. Furthermore, the general index of mobility of patients towards outer regions (Puglia above all) recalls not only to a problem of quantity of local hospitals, but also the quality of healthcare of the region, that pushes patients to directly exit from Basilicata.

##### **Alta Valtellina**

Also for healthcare projects for Alta Valtellina have a very touristic-oriented strategy. The Alpine environment allows to invest much on outdoor activities – skiing, hiking, mountain bikes etc. – that need a special set of structures also in the case of treat athletes and amateur patients with a very specific offer. Though the proposal of a specialization of excellence, Alta Valtellina gives a sanitary characterization of its offer, and tries to re-furbish their existing hospital Morelli, that has suffered of cyclical closures of its pavilions. This strategy is very interesting and combines intelligently two aspects that never combine to each other, healthcare and tourism, but that Valtellina has majesty experienced in the past with its thermal structures, today known as their most relevant attractor for the area.

#### 5.3.3.4 *ACCESSIBILITY*

##### **Montagna Materana**

The orography of the area surely stands as the biggest inertia for the development of a more performative road network, but it's not the only issue

for Montagna Materana landscape. Static instability of its soil cannot allow 'easy works' but rather large infrastructural intervention aimed to secure the fragility of the hills. Furthermore, after decades of struggles for the development of qualitative agricultural spaces (though Leader II, Leader + 2007-2013 funds etc.) the possibilities to intervene and expropriate agricultural land for public works is quite impossible, also due to the little interest of the public and private to actually create access for area.

##### **Alta Valtellina**

The Alpine territory of course constitutes a problem for entering the area. The nearest train stop is in Tirano, but the relationships with Sondrio are fundamental for bridging the area with the southside of the Lombardy towards larger poles. However the importance of east-west connections are also important. In SNAI's proposals little mentions regards the re-composition of TPL services, both for schools and touristic services. The amount of resource, despite large, is surely not enough to pursue any structural work on road connections. However, as witnessed by Bormio mayor, some agreements with Bolzano's province and Lombardy region are pending for the creation of tunnels and more roads to open-up Alta Valtellina access with its neighbours. The access to the FCC guarantees a financial backing for projects as cross-boarder infrastructural works, but negotiations are still pending.

#### 5.3.3.5 *Final comments on essential services*

Montagna Materana is surely a difficult project area. The concurrence of demographic compression, fragility of the soil and its marginalization (both physical and cultural) create several difficulties in believing that their SNAI proposals will effectively take place. But beyond these issues, the area fully embodies all the problems that the DPS

was aimed to tackle. The challenge is to overcome a series of criticalities that could be even more complicated than what the TCAI expected, but still coherent with SNAI's mission. Difficult territories as Montagna Materana are probably the most useful ones to fully understand whether if SNAI has overestimated its efficacy or underestimated Inner Areas' problems.

Alta Valtellina is the most successful of the whole pilot Inner Areas as it is the one that first accomplished the draft of its APQ. The variety of their works' proposals and the clear aim to systemically chain all their proposals (mainly around touristic development) is surely appreciable. However there are some critical points that must be highlighted. Little innovation happened in its governance systems. The proposals are very cumulative, they work on existing assets rather than imagine new alternatives. Here SNAI more than a citizenship project appears as a proxy for implementing, often ostentatiously, excellence services, rather than basic ones. Despite this doesn't necessarily stand as a problem per se, it might question the coherence of Alta Valtellina's presence in SNAI, as its assets standards are incredibly higher compared to the rest of the Inner Areas. But the most critical factor is the permanence of the same operators and actually the consolidation of some of the most criticized ones – as Comunità Montana – for their corporative attitude, have surely helped the area in re-producing some projects that were already taking place in the past. The replication of the same actors created a rigid threshold where no new-comers are being part of the project. Nevertheless, it is thus important to notice the importance of local capacities, skills and know-how of administrators, from CM to Regional and inter-provincial representatives, the Alta Valtellina showed that SNAI is an opportunity that needs to be complemented also with other initiatives, and not exclusively rely on it. This pushed locals to intelligently seek for other sources.

MONTAGNA MATERANA		State of the art of existing services	Reasons	Local proposals	Nature of the proposal
EDUCATION	Elementary	At risk	Shrinking student population	Creation of extra-curricular workshops	Events and programmes for social purposes
	Middle	At risk	Edgy position on Provincial quotas of enrolled students and commuting times	Creation of a Comprehensive institute and specializations	Ex-novo projects
	High	At risk			

ALTA VALTELLINA		State of the art of existing services	Reasons	Local proposals	Nature of the proposal
EDUCATION	Elementary	Stable	Commuting times are meeting local standards	Digitalization of schools Energetic-efficiency projects	Cumulative on former initiatives
	Middle	Stable			
	High	At risk	Need to improve training and quality of the teaching	Creation of hosting facilities for commuting students and teachers	Ex-novo project

MONTAGNA MATERANA		State of the art of existing services	Reasons	Local proposals	Nature of the proposal
HEALTHCARE	Emergencies	Stable	Overwhelming commuting times are detrimental for chronic treatment and emergencies. (Elders' share is at 34%)	Improve MIKE and INDIA services	Cumulative on former initiatives
	Ambulatories	At risk		Specialized ambulatories	
	Hospitals	At risk		Air ambulance	Ex-novo projects

ALTA VALTELLINA		State of the art of existing services	Reasons	Local proposals	Nature of the proposal
HEALTHCARE	Emergencies	Stable	Commuting times are meeting local standards	Creation of a prototype model of Alpine hospitalization, focusing on sport traumas and thermal therapies	Cumulative on former initiatives
	Ambulatories	Stable			
	Hospitals	At risk	Need to refurbish Morelli's hospital		

MONTAGNA MATERANA		State of the art of existing services	Reasons	Local proposals	Nature of the proposal
ACCESSIBILITY	TPL	Unsufficient	Mismatches between bus schedules	Improve organically TPL for schools	Cumulative on former initiatives
	Road networks	At risk	Roads' poor maintenance harms drivers' safety	Deliver 1/3 of SNAI funds to roads' maintenance	Ex-novo projects

ALTA VALTELLINA		State of the art of existing services	Reasons	Local proposals	Nature of the proposal
ACCESSIBILITY	TPL	Unsufficient	Mismatches between bus schedules	Improve organically TPL for schools and touristic amenities	Cumulative on former initiatives
	Road networks	Need improvements	Overwhelming commuting times with larger cities	Tunnels and new roads	Cumulative on former initiatives

## 5.4. Lateral issues. SNAI's open questions

SNAI collected some of the themes from the European Convention on landscape and theoretical contribution from the notion of 'historic territory' (Bonfantini, 2017; Lazzarotti, 2014<sup>84</sup>) that allowed, as stated before, to jump from punctual stories of abandoned small towns to a systemic territorial narrative, that 'forces' to conceive territorial qualities and societal dynamics as integrated. These concepts were very evident in SNAI's initial phases, where the DPS and the Committee were engaged in guiding and framing the policies' aim for the public audit. However, the empirical proofs and site-visits in the two Inner Areas have unveiled a series of weaknesses that SNAI has once it confronts with local realities.

### 5.4.1 Weaknesses: gaps between SNAI's aspirations with local realities

#### 5.4.1.1 Systemic thinking versus episodic projects

Within the analysis of the two documents for Montagna Materana and Alta Valtellina's proposals, the impression of an over-simplified set of project clashes with SNAI's attempts to frame depopulation and welfare performance as a product of "systemic-thinking". This condition largely depends on who drafts the documents and what level of expertise has in identifying the chain-effects of each single project without losing the attention on SNAI's objectives: invert depopulation, improve the performance of welfare assets, boost social and economic development. But here, one should not blame mayors, operators for this over-simplistic approach, but rather point to SNAI's programme itself. Thus, one weak point of the strategy is the vagueness of what form the Inner Areas' project should

be. Urban plans (municipal, provincial, regional)? Or just a series of punctual projects carried as single episodes? Or even merely list of initiatives in a written document? This issue could appear trivial but in reality would be a good help for swiping away uncertainties and vagueness of some proposals. To have specific format for the project could give a clear-cut also to the kind of expertises required for the projects to come to a final form.

#### 5.4.1.2 Inner Areas' interpretation of endogenous values to enhance. Touristic-driven proposals limitations.

Very often the interpretation of Inner Areas' values to enhance assumed patrimonial/speculative character. The overwhelming emphasis on "need to develop touristic amenities" appears too often in too many Inner Areas' reports. No one here questions the uniqueness of certain assets that Inner Areas have – historical old towns, ancient ruins, beautiful landscapes etc. – but tourism enhancement seems to be the panacea of all Alta Valtellina's problems for instance. The ephemeral nature of tourism – that is inevitably depended from seasonality – creates an image for touristic towns (as Bormio for instance) as a brain-drained places (Sonderregger & Bätzing, 2014) once the visitors outflow from the area. While tourism-orientation of Alta Valtellina's strategies can really foster innovative development (as for Morelli's hospital as prototype model of Alpine sanitary centers), in their projects for education the very narrowed offer of specializations for high-schools can be too constrictive to individual's aspirations. One might question if touristic proposals in Alta Valtellina actually matches with SNAI's attempts to create a set of opportunities to serve **local** citizens or rather organize the Inner Areas' fruition for more or less wise consumers and promoters (Bonfantini, 2017; Settis, 2014).

84 Lazzarotti, R. (2014), *Passati prossimi. La valorizzazione dei territori storici in chiave di sviluppo locale*, Inu Edizioni, Roma.



#### 5.4.2 Opportunities for of Inner Areas

##### 5.4.2.1 Capacity-building witnessed from past experiences. Leader programmes, from project to approach

SNAI looks towards current communitarian programmes but also collects, more or less explicitly the legacies from past communitarian or supra-local experiences. While Alta Valtellina is inherently prone to intercept extra-local networks seeking financial aid (Fondo Comuni Confinanti) and learn from its competitive neighbours (Livigno town, Bolzano and Trento's provinces, but also Switzerland and the Alpine Macro Region), in the case of Montagna Materana, these possibilities to learn and rely on external governance networks is way more difficult, for the Region's marginal role. The reliance on communitarian programmes as LEADER ones became soon a fertile testbed to mobilize latent socio-economic forces around themes of supra-local relevance. Environmental protection and its enhancement is quite innovative for a Region as Basilicata, and it surely constituted an interesting counter-act to certain kinds of energy-related projects (as for oil extraction) that often have been criticized for their little interest on environmental quality or social-economic justice. Leader approaches valued the disposal of local wisdom and knowledge (Savoldi, 2004)<sup>85</sup> and created societal awareness and skills in favour of localistic approaches. We can appreciate though the fact that quite important outcomes, as the creating of GIS portals<sup>86</sup> that started to serve local GALs and suddenly became a platform for the whole Regional Geographical Open Data sources. GIS portals are increasing their importance in the monitoring and informing local actors on the territories' situation and foster

85 Savoldi, P. (2004). Esperienze italiane di governance locale. Strumenti e sperimentazioni dell'ultimo decennio. contributo per Aisio-Associazione Italiana Sviluppo Locale. Rif: [http://www.aisio.it/asp/AI\\_Download.asp](http://www.aisio.it/asp/AI_Download.asp).

86 In collaboration with HSH Informatica e Cultura e ITABIA - Italian Biomass Association

solid plan forecasts (Worrall, 1994)<sup>87</sup>. It helps also decision makers and local inhabitants in promoting their areas through the access and self-publication of data – see the contribution of OSM community for governmental decisions (McCall, 2003)<sup>88</sup> humanitarian purposes (Palen, Soden & Anderson, 2015)<sup>89</sup> or local socio-economic development (Jokar Arsanjani & Bakillah, 2015)<sup>90</sup>, as for example, the skills-upgrading in environmental and geographical information systems paved the way for Basilicata's natural areas to access in Rete Natura 2000 and other environmental and cultural related networks. Above all, LEADER programmes (II and +) constituted an important experiment for the Region. It stood as an embryonal drawing of today's Inner Areas in Basilicata, not merely in defining its boundaries (as MM hosts 8 out of 13 municipalities of GAL Le Macine) but also in the way that for the first time, the PITs enacted EU's cohesion policies. The added value of these experiences in a marginalized region as Basilicata lied in the opportunity to connect actors and administrators that are physically and mentally distant from each other.

##### 5.4.2.2 A re-discovered importance local scale

In a period where contemporary societies are still struggling for emerge from 2008's global crisis, where the trade of global capital constructed its profits on valuables' accumulation on large metro-

87 Worrall, L. (1994). Justifying investment in GIS: a local government perspective. *International Journal of Geographical Information Systems*, 8(6), 545-565.

88 Palen, L., Soden, R., Anderson, T. J., & Barrenechea, M. (2015, April). Success & scale in a data-producing organization: The socio-technical evolution of OpenStreetMap in response to humanitarian events. In *Proceedings of the 33rd annual ACM conference on human factors in computing systems* (pp. 4113-4122). ACM.

89 McCall, M. K. (2003). Seeking good governance in participatory-GIS: a review of processes and governance dimensions in applying GIS to participatory spatial planning. *Habitat international*, 27(4), 549-573.

90 Jokar Arsanjani, J., & Bakillah, M. (2015). Understanding the potential relationship between the socio-economic variables and contributions to OpenStreetMap. *International Journal of Digital Earth*, 8(11), 861-876.

politan centers (Harvey, 2012), one might question if the micro-local scale of marginalized areas as Inner Areas' towns are relevant for large economic measures as SNAI is. Sure enough, most important signs of crisis are visible in the way that the acceleration of times produce detrimental policies and short-sighted visions. In austerity periods, where economic accountability seems to be the priority for politicians and cities also, where «Everything else is unaffordable» (Settis, 2014), is claiming for democracy and citizenship rights an act of self-indulgence?

The austerity rhetoric is deeply restructuring urban policies and planning systems especially in the light of how economic and institutional systems shift their ways of accumulating and distributing wealth (Ponzini, 2016). As several metropolitan cities are experiencing social disparities and segregation (Scott, 2008; Sassen, 2011; Harvey, 2012)<sup>91,92</sup> at a frenetic pace, SNAI acts as counter-altar to the state of frenzy in which large metropolitan cities carry the weight and responsibility to heal fast national economies, by enlarging the scope of action and complexify the debate upon national growth and societies' well-being. As a slower pace of time allows more time for being reflective, Inner Areas can serve to heal society's fractures with their territories (Carrosio, 2016). These are themes were also discussed and promoted by several inquiries and initiatives for historic town rehabilitation, slow territories, cultural landscapes that not only reclaim policies for their re-discovery, but also for the re-activation of latent resources, for an alternative lifestyle, for experimentation of new economies, and new forms of 'contemporary living' (Bonfantini, 2017). Also eminent scholars as Saskia Sassen

91 Scott, A. J. (2008). *Social economy of the metropolis: Cognitive-cultural capitalism and the global resurgence of cities*. OUP Oxford.

92 Sassen, S. (2011). *Cities in a world economy*. Sage Publications.

suggested to look at the "systemic margins" of our contemporary urban-global society, where we find seeding new economies, new stories and ways of affiliations of societies and territorial resources(-Sassen, 2014; Carrosio, 2016)<sup>93</sup>.

##### 5.4.2.3 Inner Areas as the overlap space of endogenous and exogenous resources

The extensive narrative of promoting strategies of territorial re-activation as seen in the previous sections, aims (but also requires) a 'disclosure' of marginalized territories, empirically – economically, socially and emotively – and physically speaking – by enabling new forms of accessibility (Secchi, 2013)<sup>94</sup>. We acknowledged that this purpose is extremely hard to achieve, and moreover it is sharpened from local inertias and apathies that are rooted in marginal territories. Once again we recall DPS's definition of Inner Areas' enemies as those which by exploiting Inner Areas' resources «[...] created significant valuables – rather than innovate. [...] But among the "enemies of the Inner Areas" we may consider also the proponents of enclosed local communitarianism» (DPS, 2013). Such local communitarianism assumes the forms of a partisan behaviours, that discourages political activism, cuts out new comers, creates apathy. The contemporary forms of neo-communitarianism founded on the "roots" and "identities" to protect inhibit and sterilize the possibility to find fertile ground for innovation (Bonfantini, 2017).

If the main purpose of the whole SNAI programme is to "invert" depopulation, that's where policies need to enact a change: in the local territorial capital, intended both as material asset and immaterial one (social behaviour, capacity building, political

93 Sassen, S. (2014) *Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy*; Cambridge Mass, Harvard University Press

94 Bernardo, S. (2013). *La città dei ricchi e la città dei poveri*. Laterza, Roma.

engagement etc.). In substance, probably the biggest challenge for SNAI programme is to enable local administrators to finally step out from their enclosure, it needs to instil the idea that an unspoken and valuable contribution of their small local realities are valuable when and how they interface with the “outside”.

The overlap of these two dimensions – the intimate one that seeks coherence and sustainable for growth and exploitation of endogenous resources – and the global call to disclose to attract exogenous resources it is cornerstone for a meaningful progress.

This is particularly interesting also in the evaluation of citizenship values. The tensions towards and outside world to relate with without loose the strings of local coherence, respect and identity, creates different sentiments among local actors, especially mayors and citizens. By acknowledging the fact that local endogenous development vastly depends on exogenous entities (as EU) set also new bundle of rights and duties – that for Inner Areas in concrete refer to the need to meet local demands by remaining coherent with communitarian visions, in order to access to structural funds. As a matter of fact, probably the most interesting aspects that allow this research to evaluate whether if Inner Areas are an innovative project can be found in the way that SNAI is re-setting new stands for policies’ evaluation:

- ▶ By the survey administrators’ capacity in catching strategic exogenous resources,
- ▶ By evaluating how a policy of public interest combines with its economic nature and also values non-patrimonial assets (social vitality, environment fruition, folklore preservation etc.)
- ▶ The capacity to compete with other areas

and Region in the bid to access structural funds – that depends however from each Regional statutes.

Craco alone has constantly looked towards internationalization and innovation. The precious features of our center rises the attention of research institutes for architecture, geography, environmental studies.

We participated to ISPRA’s programmes, we hosted workshops with ERASMUS students from Matera’s university but many students come here autonomously to study our old Craco, and we support them as we can, especially through documents and historical archives.

For a tiny reality as our, where resources are latent, unspoken or spoilt, we need to open-up to the outside world, even further than Basilicata and Italy. I look towards Europe with great respect, as it was the only authority that listened to our claims.

Mayor of Craco



## 5.5. Open questions on contemporary citizenship design in marginal areas

### 5.5.1 Who created the Inner Areas? Questioning State’s responsibilities in demographic decline and territorial marginalization

In regards of both, retrofitting and development measures on the three essential services of accessibility, education and healthcare, the State accomplishes its ‘civic responsibility’ through the dimensioning of local inhabitants’ rights to access to these basic elements that fully constitute the citizenship right in form of physical asset. Some asserted that this subsidiary aid from the government enables a process of self-critique (Calvaresi, 2015; DPS, 2013) for the central state, that revises and acknowledges its responsibility in both, filling the gaps of un-accomplished prior requirements of welfare services, and envision new ways to deliver them in the future. its action in the whole nation. Some would say that through SNAI the Italian State tries to make amend for Inner Areas’ depression (Calvaresi, 2015; Carrosio, 2016). This is an interesting point of view as it presupposes that some sort of injustice took place in those areas. Even if looks like just a merely propagandistic slogan, it can be seen as an important step-forward towards a different path of change in the way public action will take place in marginal areas from now on, starting from the acknowledgement that some negligence happened in the past, that will be illustrated in the following paragraphs. Through the empirical phase of the research, three different sentiments emerged in commenting Inner Areas’ feelings in regards of central states’ action: the perception of **being excluded, exploited** and depredated, but also **disillusioned** for past decisions that left an enormous policy vacuum. This self-reflective exercise

Depopulation is a **cultural phenomena** above all. Surely endogenous factors weight in individuals choice to remain or o away from our area, but a series of causes related to urbanization exacerbated the competition with metropolitan cities, and of course it was detrimental to our attractiveness. Especially from the 80’s, everyone was going away towards larger cities of our region, nobody thought that it was a problem, and today we pay the consequences.

Minister Barca and the European community launched SNAI almost as a provocation, to challenge us administrators to think and programme local services with a wider scope, aiming for long-term vision. However I still believe that depopulation is a process that vastly derives from cultural mind-set, that is something way more difficult to dismantle.

Mayor of Stigliano



should be carried with critical emphasis, carried with qualitative and interiorized search for the reasons why some places lag behind and also seek for possibilities to look forward. In the following paragraphs we'll explore these three sentiments that should be regarded as a common narrative 'rhetoric' that emerged in direct interviews with locals. They should be regarded as mere transposition of locals' experiences, carried with important problematics that resonate in their respective areas but yet, also very limited in their nature and surely affected by mayors' subjective point of view.

5.5.2 *Inner Areas' systematic exclusion. The need to create a counterbalance to metropolitan cities' attraction to slow down demographic development*

This research has extensively talked about possible reasons for speeding-up demographic decline. Through migratory analysis but especially interviews with people, the most recurrent factor is the perception of un-satisfactions that Inner Areas' citizens experience in two different, but often complementary ways and scales:

- ▶ Local un-satisfaction from local conditions. That is related to services' performance and unemployment in their Inner Area.
- ▶ Local un-satisfaction from external comparison with other places, especially large metropolitan poles, which provide a wider set of opportunities as they are inherently more diverse and plural.

At this point we might question whether if and in what measure the State, or more generally the public authorities (Regions, Provinces, Municipalities) have some responsibility in polarizing the two levels of Inner Areas versus Metropolitan Areas. In ancient times the set of modest-sized urban centers around the major cities was established by a con-

dition of necessary relationship between urban activities and agricultural ones. These intense and historical relationships have been severely undermined along the centuries, re-shaping the sense and the format of the whole Italian territory (Settis, 2012)<sup>95</sup>.

In the last decades, larger attentions towards urban poles and metropolitan cities took place in Italy, in which the State has always invested and promoted important initiatives. Naturally, the level of interests around larger cities is obviously higher for all the possible reasons related to the number of citizens to serve, economic interests, political representativeness and so on, but nevertheless, by looking at two recent experiences, we may question if something more could have been done (or should be done) to harmonize the relationship between metropolitan regions and Inner Areas. One concrete example could be Matera 2019 for Basilicata's case.

Matera as European Capital of Culture, confirms its cultural importance already established through its listing in UNESCO's world heritage. The charm of the abandoned town, the bare stones of its buildings, the beauty of its landscape have always attracted visitors and constituted the principal source of income for locals. When visiting Craco (but also Aliano), its similarity with Matera is striking. Craco is only more modest in size and less refurbished, but it recalls a contiguity of styles and character with its Provincial capital city. When interviewing Craco's mayor and by contacting some cultural activists, they declared that «The only ones that will benefit from Matera 2019 are in Puglia.

Also this time no one is doing anything for this international opportunity. We'll keep promoting our events and festivals, but no formal inclusion with

95 Settis, S. (2012). *Paesaggio costituzione cemento*. Giulio Einaudi Editore.

Matera 2019 is happening». Also in this case we assist to another exclusion of an Inner Area that had an enormous coherence with the event's thematic but left out from the touristic benefits from the international event. In the search for responsibility, maybe in these cases we shouldn't point nor the state, nor single individuals, but the whole decisional apparatus – vastly composed by public representatives – that cannot (or won't) envision more fruitful relationships between poles and Inner Areas. These are just few of the many possible examples that unfortunately concur to fuel the polarization between two realities (the urban and the inner) constantly in competition, that see always the peripheral areas perish.

The potential of the event Matera 2019 could have had a greater impact for locals. The fact that Matera's candidacy was stimulated from the bottom, from local citizens was actually one of the most appreciated facts from the EU itself. However this social mobilization stopped very soon, as far as people understood that the actual beneficiary of the Capital of Culture's event will be the large poles, as Bari for instance, that has the international airport and good connections towards north and south. Surely if a tourist will come from Matera till here (in Montagna Materana) will make it by his/her own.



Mayor of Stigliano

5.5.3 *Inner Areas' latent exploitation. The necessity for a super-vision of local practices against depredations: speculation on second homes in Valtellina and land exploitation in Basilicata*

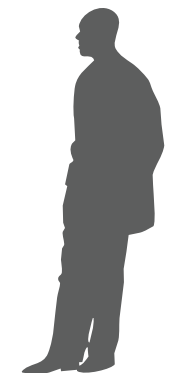
One of the biggest criticism to the national state's past (but also current) actions in marginalized areas is that a-critical focuses of attention on processes, projects and actions that took place in Inner Areas.

Concrete examples for Valtellina's area is the speculation of second homes illustrated in the previous chapter. Sondrio's province is has the highest indexes of vacant houses in Lombardy and third in Italy. Despite Lombardy is the Region with the lowest share of vacant buildings, Sondrio's province performs a quantity close to the 50% of inhabited homes (around 74.500 empty buildings)<sup>96</sup>. The cities in Alta Valtellina constantly promote initiatives to attract second-home seekers or seasonal chances to fill their empty buildings (2015)<sup>97</sup>. The outcomes in the long term, especially in municipal accountability can be unsustainable. Montagna Materana is instead involved in an unresolved conflictual relationship between large oil operators in Basilicata as Eni, and all their relative issues regarding compensations measures and royalties to be re-invested for programmes of socio-economic development (Bubbico & Nardoza, 2013)<sup>98</sup>. April 2016's Referendum on Off-shore Oil drilling was a

moment of fervent participation and social mobilization in Basilicata, that hosts the largest oil deposits in Europe that however doesn't constitute a benefit for Basilicata's GDP (as it is one of the lowest in Italy and in Europe), nor for the environment, nor for local inhabitants, both regarding royalties and employment (Corrado, 2016)<sup>99</sup>. In this case the state's responsibility has been questioned from Basilicata Region itself and activists. Sblocca Italia included a series of financial incentives – as disincentives – in favour of carbon consume and eased contracts for fossil-energy operators to exploit local lands (Corrado, 2016). Montagna Materana is not directly involved in these issues, but surely the whole facts related to lands exploitation resonate in administrators' morale. The feeling of “depredation” is pervasive, and the general faith in government's surveillance is close to zero. Exploitation and depredation appear to be eased by the demographic decline. As less inhabitants are present in a given area, the more territories are prone to be ‘grabbed’ by influent operators (as for Montagna Materana is ENI) that have a powerful bargain power as they create income and employment, but locals perceive that no benefits are delivered, only social and environmental costs. SNAI's programme can serve very well to this purpose, as it aims to create local aids, “fortresses” for territorial stewardship in Inner Areas' citizens, that would “patrol” where the control of the state cannot reach<sup>100</sup>. The DPS explicitly talks about these kinds of perverse actors –

that it labels as “enemies of Inner Areas” – as responsible for low political engagement and morale of Inner Areas citizens «Those actors, private and public that have exploited resources – that created significant valuables – rather than innovate. The realization of some interventions – as dumpsites, quarries, energy impacts or utilized biomasses... - that haven't generated relevant local benefits » (DPS, 2013). Contiguating private (but also public) practices as illegal construction, speculation and soil consumption have often spoilt local precious assets. The perception that societies are focusing more attention to immediate revenues, extremely explicit also in urban realities, can be considered as a social pathology, which education and legislation must correct (Settis, 2014)<sup>101</sup> or at least dominate. The main challenge is to keep high awareness from both on locals and the State, and the way that local claims resonate reaching the public attention and hopefully restore faith in public authorities, in an era where politics' legitimacy is increasingly questioned by populist sentiments.

The felling of depredation is pervasive, but our “enemies” don't come from the outside, but for the inner circles of our administrators. All those projects for energy (oil-extractions and aeolian parks) do not trigger any meaningful innovation, nor merely compensation for environmental damages. Someone benefits from these projects, but surely not us.  
This is not one of the themes.  
This for us is THE theme.



Mayor of Craco

96 Valtellinamobile (2017). Troppe seconde case, Valtellina terza in Italia per case vuote. Published 24 March 2017. Web Source: <http://www.valtellinamobile.it/troppe-seconde-case-valtellina-terza-in-italia-per-case-vuote/>

97 La Provincia di Sondrio.it (2015), Seconda casa, in Valtellina è meglio: Bormio e Madesimo sono le località montane più gettonate in tutta la regione anche per gli affitti. Published on the 5th December 2015 – Web Source: [http://www.laprovinciadisonario.it/stories/Cronaca/seconda-casa-in-valtellina-e-meglio\\_1154311\\_11/](http://www.laprovinciadisonario.it/stories/Cronaca/seconda-casa-in-valtellina-e-meglio_1154311_11/)

98 Bubbico D., Nardoza D. (2013), Le estrazioni petrolifere in Basilicata tra opposizione e interventi di compensazione in "PARTECIPAZIONE E CONFLITTO" 1/2013, pp. 59-82, DOI:10.3280/PACO2013-001004

99 Corrado, A. (2016). La partita del Referendum. Eddyburg. it Published on 31th March 2016. Source: <http://www.eddyburg.it/2016/03/la-partita-del-referendum.html>

100 One possible good example might be the Simeto Valley, that actually grasped from SNAI's programme the chance to fight against local projects for incinerators forecasted by the Regional Waste-Plan (planned in 2004), collect local forces for a “River Pact” and autonomously candidate and win the bid for becoming the first auto-candidate Inner Area of Italy, and first of the Sicilian Inner Areas. See Saija L. (2015) ‘Questa politica parla di noi!’. Breve storia dell'auto-candidatura della comunità della Valle del Simeto. ‘This Policy Speaks of Us’! Brief History of the Simeto Valley Community's Candidacy. In Territorio n° 74 pp: 108-123.

101 Settis, S. (2014). Se Venezia muore. Einaudi.

#### 5.5.4 Inner Areas' *disillusions* from Central State aid. Legacies from disastrous territorial events in Montagna Materana and Alta Valtellina

Both Montagna Materana and Alta Valtellina have in common the experience of critical environmental events – so as for many of other Inner Areas (i.e. Alta Irpinia, Val Simeto, Val Bormida, Re-Sol and most of the IA in the Central Regions). Valtellina's landslide in the 80's destroyed large portion of its landscape, while seismic events in Basilicata created high concerns for historical old towns and citizens' safety. In Alta Valtellina the catastrophic event enabled the achievement of important things as the Valtellina Law, from which several initiatives germinated from the need to study and preserve the complex environmental asset of the Alpine Territory. That is witnessed from the number of articles, reports and geographical studies that were published after the crisis of Val Pola's landslide (Alexander, 1988; Costa, 1991; Curzio et al., 1998, 2004)<sup>102</sup>. From a critical situation Valtellina grasped the opportunity to better 'understand itself' and eventually constituted its own identity and character, but this success has to be shared mainly among supra-national, Regional and Provincial authorities. While for Basilicata's seismic events and, the actions that public bodies pursued by the State and the Region today are seen with high criticism by their own citizens and especially mayors. By the end of the 60's (through the Presidential decree of the 14<sup>th</sup> October 1968, n. 1393) Craco began to evacuate its inhabitants downstream to a newly built center of "Peschiera" for a landslide that was

102 Costa, J. E. (1991). Nature, mechanics, and mitigation of the Val Pola landslide, Valtellina, Italy, 1987-1988. *Zeitschrift fuer Geomorphologie ZGMPAG.*, 35(1).  
Alexander, D. (1988). Valtellina landslide and flood emergency, northern Italy, 1987. *Disasters*, 12(3), 212-222.  
Curzio, A. Q. (et al.). (2004). Valtellina: profili di sviluppo: una provincia tra identità e innovazione: 2000-2010. Angeli; Credito Valtellinese.  
Curzio, A. Q. (Ed.). (1998). Valtellina: profili di sviluppo, 1998: una provincia tra localismo e globalismo (Vol. 1). Francoangeli. P. 14

slowly eroding its hills. Further analysis have revealed that the landslide was provoked by works of infrastructure, sewer and water systems, in service of the town (Iannotta, 2016)<sup>103</sup> that were planned at States' level for soil's consolidation. In 1972 a flood worsened the situation. After the earthquake of 1980 Craco Vecchia was completely abandoned. These issues of re-location of local inhabitants in Basilicata is not new – i.e. the Martella case for Matera by Ludovico Quaroni in the 40-50's – and it also contributed to the construction of a very defined sets of actions, quite innovative at the time, as experimental testbeds for modernist technologies and primordial approaches for the social and spatial relevance of the "neighbour-unit" (Dicillo, 2015)<sup>104</sup>. However a widespread sentiment among today's Craco citizens and its mayor Lacicerchia, is that from the evacuation process in the 60s' and 90's (De Cadilhac, 2014)<sup>105</sup>, the construction of the sites for the relocation where conducted too lightly, regardless nor of the quality of the spaces that public authorities were providing, nor of the "buffer measures" that should have been delivered to guide the radical change that local business and residents where experiencing in those years. Today Craco is actually famous for being a ghost town, but nevertheless it still has inhabitants and they still have all the administrative offices in function. However the general perception is that Craco will stand as it is and no reasonable perspectives of its re-population would ever happen.

103 Iannotta, F. (2016). Ghost towns and housing discomfort: the landscapes of risk in Italy. *UPLanD-Journal of Urban Planning, Landscape & environmental Design*, 1(1), 273.  
104 Dicillo, C. (2015). La Martella a Matera. Da borgo rurale a periferia urbana?. *Territorio*. 72/2015, pp. 67-70  
105 De Cadilhac, R. (2014). Il borgo abbandonato di Craco (MT). Problemi di conservazione e prospettive di valorizzazione. In 1st WORKSHOP on the State of the art and Challenges Of Research Efforts at POLIBA (pp. 521-525). Gangemi Editore spa.

#### 5.5.5 Spatializing politics. Correlation between forms of systemic mistrust and characters of European territorial contexts?

Some political events of these last years have surely impressed the public audit for several reasons, that more or less directly suggest to regard with special attention global 'inner areas'. In commenting the results of political events, as electoral polls, very often 'territorial' aspect emerges. Events as the growing consensus of the National Front in France (explicit in the European elections in 2014), Brexit (2016) but also Trump's victory in the latest American presidential elections raise awareness on territorial correlations between voters' choices and local areas' features. The aftermaths of the results where extensively discussed both by domestic and international presses. For France's case, since the 80's (Schain, 1987)<sup>106</sup> different analysts suggested to look at those territories where GDP and unemployment was stagnating as possible vote-basin for the National Front, that was also confirmed in the latest European elections in 2014.

While for the US, several studies focused more racial and gender-related analysis (Tyson & Maniam, 2016; Scott, 2016)<sup>107</sup> but also other researches that regards more cities' sizes, contraposition between urbanized and rural regions and population densities.

For UK, eminent research institutes as the London Schools of Economics and many others focused on breaking-down by demographic features the vote,

106 Schain, M. A. (1987). The National Front in France and the construction of political legitimacy. *West European Politics*, 10(2), 229-252.

107 Tyson, A., & Maniam, S. (2016). Behind Trump's victory: Divisions by race, gender, education. Retrieved April 03, 2017, from <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/11/09/behind-trumps-victory-divisions-by-race-gender-education/>  
Scott, A. K. (2016). Telegraph UK – US election: How age, race and education are deciding factors in the race for President. Retrieved March 09, 2017, from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/0/us-election-how-age-race-and-education-are-deciding-factors-in-t/>

so questioning whether if the result of Leaving the EU had to be imputed to the high share of elders voting, the low affluence of youth, but even wage differences and education levels.

Apart these differences among analytical methodologies and subject of the researches (employment and GDP, social-status, racial and gender differences in demographic profiles), one distinguishable common denominator appears quite evidently: the geographical distribution of the results, that witness a divorce between densely populated cities and smaller less-populated ones.

That is particularly evident in UK for instance, where apart from Scotland, in England and Wales, the results showed that the vote of large cities as London, Manchester, Liverpool, Cardiff or medium-sized ones as Cambridge, Oxford etc. where for 'remain' while smaller communities opted for 'leave'. In the US «Less-populated areas that cover the center of the country tend to vote Republican, while smaller, densely populated places along the coasts and in large cities lean Democratic» (New York Times, Parlapiano, 2016)<sup>108</sup>. Also in France, some sort of macro-regional clusters that back the National Front are evident in the north-bound and south-east axis (Hubert, 2013)<sup>109</sup>, and also in these cases, the relation with the size of the municipalities seems relevant in vote's clustering. Even though **correlations do not necessarily imply causations**, we can indeed witness a strong link between certain areas' features and the rising of disruptive political sentiment. This statement doesn't try to insist neither judge whether if these sentiments

108 Parlapiano, A. (2016). There Are Many Ways to Map Election Results. We've Tried Most of Them. Retrieved April 08, 2017, from <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/11/01/upshot/many-ways-to-map-election-results.html>

109 Hubert, T. (2013). Where are France's National Front voters? Retrieved April 08, 2017, from <http://www.france24.com/en/20130807-national-front-fn-voters-elections-france-politics-le-pen-far-right-immigration-tax>

are right or wrong, but rather suggests a deeper attention towards a geographical matter should be carried in the future. Examples coming from other countries suggest greater attention towards smaller centers.

Even though socio-economic and demographic profiling of the voters is surely an important exercise for commenting political results, it is thus often fuelled over simplistic and even discriminatory judgements.

While French, British, American but also Austrian citizens experienced an evident division between rural voters, Italy's position is less polarized, as the votes have been more diluted in the latest national electoral events. Barca states that such condition is derived for the high diversity that Inner Areas' have naturally in their territories, which made fears and uncertainties (especially regarding migration) less acute, but however we points that the political ruling class should regard today with more attention than ever Inner Areas (Carrosio & Tantillo, 2017).

Whether if populations are called to question EU's membership, election or referendums, territories are the units in which votes are collected by politicians, that probably are more aware than others that there are several tactics to grasp voters from specific territorially-defined groups (i.e. see the Northern League in Italy, that makes of its territorial determinism its helm). Also spatial planning has its responsibilities in these matters.

Many argue that the true target of spatial planning processes is thus a more or less conscious construction of citizenship rights (Lefebvre, 1968; Harvey, 2012; Mazza, 2007, 2009)<sup>110</sup>, as cities are

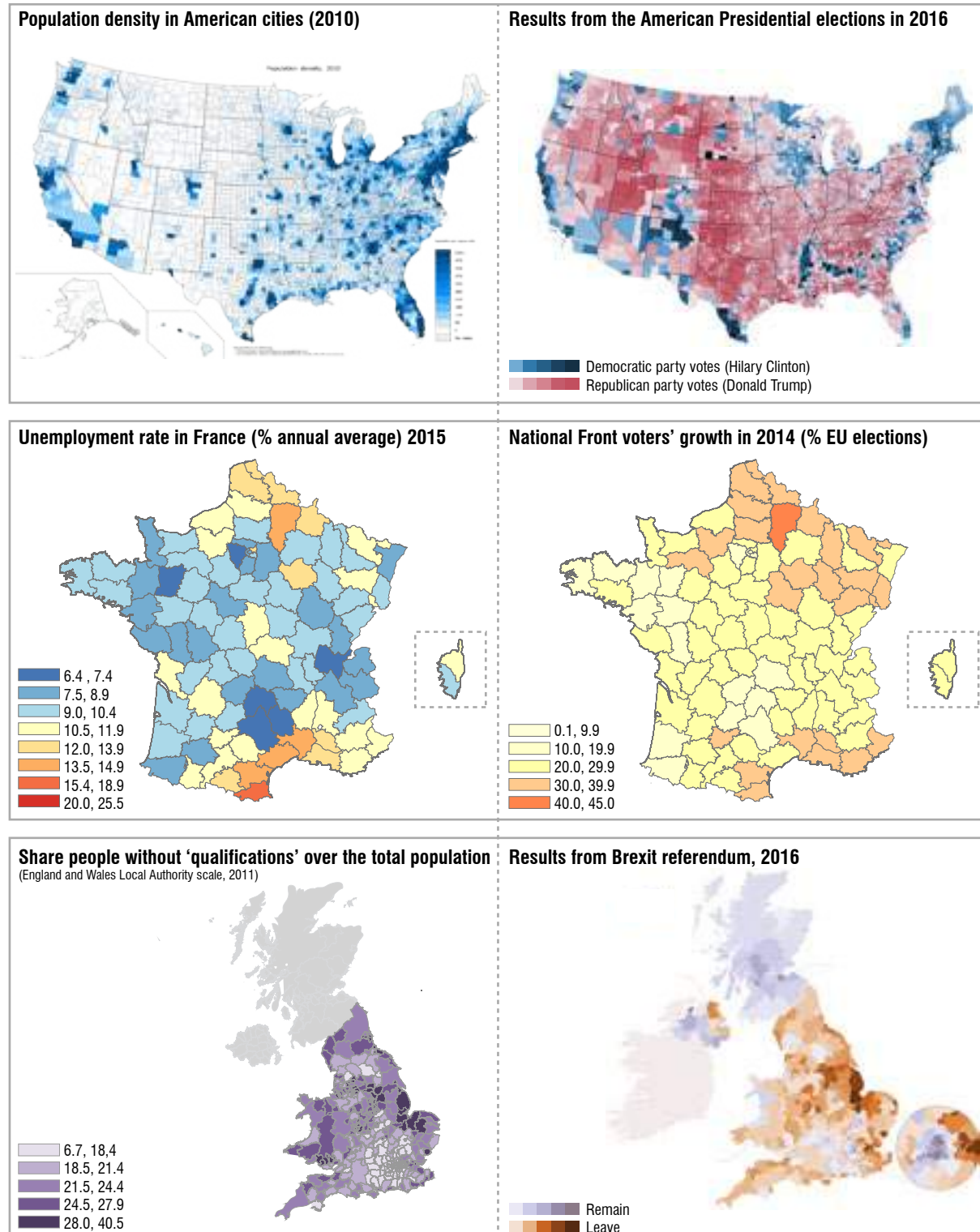
those territories within which and institutional citizenship is recognized, applied and judged, its plural environment shapes, fuels and moderates forces, aspirations and hopes of social groups. If deterioration of trust and progressive disengagement under any economic, social or political system is derived from a shift in supply and demand conditions (Hirshman, 1970)<sup>111</sup>. We may question if politics legitimization can be traced throughout a spatial "footprint"? Is there any possible correlation between forms of systemic mistrust and the characters of specific territorial contexts in Europe? Is it possible to "Give ground" to systemic disaffection towards politics (or politicians) and regulations? Should politics regard with more critique attention marginalized areas (Thomson, 2017)<sup>112</sup>- also for utilitarian purposes?

Mazza, L. (2009). Centenary Paper: Plan and constitution—Aristotle's Hippodamus: towards an 'ostensive' definition of spatial planning. *Town Planning Review*, 80(2), 113-141.

111 Hirschman, A. O. (1970). *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

112 Thompson, J. P. (2017, January). *The Future of Urban Populism: Will Cities Turn the Political Tides?*. In *New Labor Forum* (Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 18-26). Sage CA: Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications.

110 Harvey, D. (2012). *Rebel cities: from the right to the city to the urban revolution*. Verso Books. Lefebvre, H. (1968). *Le droit à la ville*. Paris: Anthropos. Mazza, L. (2007, September). *Redesigning citizenship*. In unpublished paper presented at the ISOCARP Conference, Antwerp (Vol. 20).



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- Source: US population densities: <https://handlemanpost.wordpress.com/2015/06/13/great-plains-wind-not-disruptive-to-residents/>
- Source: US electoral results: <http://politicalmaps.org/what-this-2012-map-can-tell-us-about-the-2016-election/>
- Source: France unemployment rates: [http://urbanlabglobalcities.blogspot.it/2012\\_10\\_01\\_archive.html](http://urbanlabglobalcities.blogspot.it/2012_10_01_archive.html)
- Source: France share of voters for the National front: [https://ichef.bbci.co.uk/news/720/cpsprodpb/3F8C/production/\\_94786261\\_french\\_election\\_gr2\\_unemployment\\_fn\\_vote\\_v2.png](https://ichef.bbci.co.uk/news/720/cpsprodpb/3F8C/production/_94786261_french_election_gr2_unemployment_fn_vote_v2.png)
- Source: UK share of people with no 'qualifications' over the total population: [http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160105160709/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/resources/ukmap2percentageofpopwithnoqualifications\\_tcm77-343083.png](http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160105160709/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/resources/ukmap2percentageofpopwithnoqualifications_tcm77-343083.png)
- Source: UK Brexit results: <http://forum.prisonplanet.com/index.php?topic=313991.120>

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