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"Spaces for the co-governance of the urban commons. Urban public policies and community spaces: Italian Cities and more"

Supervisor: Chiar.mo prof. Michele Sorice
Candidate: Elena De Nictolis

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Introduction

The development of collaborative practices in the field of urban commons might represents an observation point for the study of democratic innovations. This issue shall be considered particularly interesting because it arises from the intersection of different fields of study: in addition to studies on democracy, the theory of the commons (Ostrom 1990) and the urban commons, studies on local co- governance, active citizenship (Morlino & Gelli 2010; Bang 2005;). Research efforts on the open government framework, of which collaboration is one of the constitutive dimensions (Lathrop & Ruma 2010; de Blasio & Sorice 2016) also shows how the creation of public-private-civic/commons partnership (Foster & Iaione 2016) as a component of this variable. Finally, the body of scientific knowledge focused on cities is extensive and rapidly expanding, stressing the role and power that cities will exercise in the 21st century, and the challenges that the urban context pose for democracy (UN Habitat 2016; Sassen 2014). The analysis of policies and projects addressing urban commons, involving different actors that aim at building forms of public-private-civic partnerships and ultimately achieving forms of urban co-governance might shed lights on the emersion of a different analytical framework for studying and practicing urban democracy. This topic is also taken into account because it implies the government's action to be directed to the development of a culture of collaboration with citizens, aimed at enhancing their contribution to the general interest, which is not uniformly spread across and within cities. The study of democratic innovations and the quality of democracy has highlighted the role of equality concerns in the institutional design (Font 2014) and the impact of institutional design itself on the dimensions of the quality of democracy, such as responsiveness and equality (Pogrebinsci 2013).

1.1 Guiding research questions

There is an emerging literature asking whether it is possible to deepen quality of democracy at the urban level by opening the doors for collaboration between citizens, public administration and private institutions into the content of local governance? The local level is an important testing ground for democratic quality (Gelli & Morlino 2008). Thus, is the small level to encourage innovation by allowing the testing of new institutions and the first processing of a new urban democracy (Della Porta 2006) new models of democracy (Cotta, Della Porta & Morlino 2001). Democratic innovations that raise at the local level would help to improve the quality of democracy (Morlino 2011) overcome political apathy, reduce the lack of legitimacy, increase political satisfaction and lead to more effective policies (Geissel 2008). But how can democratic innovations be evaluated? (Geissel & Newton, 2012)?

The object of study are the processes of collaboration between different actors in the City addressing urban commons or urban services of common interest, constituting hybrid

spaces (Cornwall 2004) and generating what can be identified an "urban collaborative governance (Foster & Iaione 2017; 2018). The dimension that we will focus on in this work are the dimension of input (participation) and equality (output) as the empirical dimension that measure the re-distribution of urban resources at the urban level and the improvement of social and economic equality/solidarity in the City, ultimately contributing to the shape of a fair and democratic City.

The institutional genesis of those processes is twofold:

- community design/claimed spaces (Gaventa 2006): civic actors take a proactive role, in an antagonist or subsidiary/collaborative approach. In this category we can find both cases of non-conventional participation (Quaranta 2012) specifically addressing urban commons; exercise of active citizenship or self-organization (Moro 2014); heterogeneous experiences of self-governance, collaborative economy, services co-production realized through urban commons or through governance arrangements inspired by design principles of the commons.

- by institutional design: urban public policies aimed at regulating the urban commons or institutionalize / promote collaborative governance arrangements.

The questions that this work is aimed at answering are the following:

➢ What are the qualities of urban co-governance of the commons? *What* is governed and *how* it is governed when we are talking about co-governance of the urban commons?

➢ Do the hybrid spaces of urban co-governance of the commons contribute to re-shape the dimensions of participation and equality at the urban level?

Building on the research questions, we can identify a set of sub-questions:

- Can the study of hybrid spaces of urban co-governance applied to the urban commons can shed light on what is governed and how it is governed in those part of the cities and of urban societies that seems ungovernable (Les Galès & Vitale 2015)?

- How is the re-shaping of democratic qualities at the urban level realized? Does urban co-governance of the commons entails simplification of procedures? Does it entail inclusive economic development? Does it involve the different actors at the urban level? Does it entail redefinition of the use of urban public assets and urban welfare?

1.2 Methodology

Given the lack in empirical research on governance of city commons of generalized observations and comparable data available on this issue and taking into account feasibility constraints, this work will combine methodological approaches adopted in the study of the commons with those adopted in the study of local democracy and urban policies. The research design is inspired by a mixed method approach (Creswell 2014) and it combine methodologies of institutional analysis for the study of the commons (Mc Ginnis & Walker 2010; Ostrom 1986; Poteete et al. 2010) with methods adopted in the study of democracy and urban research (Robinson 2011; Morlino 2011; Morlino & Gelli 2008). Cases' selection is based on a Most Similar/Different Outcome (MSDO) (Przeworski & Teune 1971) logic. This is the most appropriate logic for a research design focused on the study of urban policies as tools for the formation of collective institutions for the governance of urban commons since it focuses the attention on the object of studies and not on the systemic variables and is aimed at observing features and outcomes resulting from the same context. Data analysis will rely upon institutional analysis, meta-analysis (Glas 2017) and analysis of data resulting from urban design experiment and urban living lab methodologies (Bakker & Denters 2012; Stoker & John 2012). Cities' case studies analysis relies upon the case study approach (George & Bennet, 2004; Della Porta & Keating, 2008, 112; Ostrom, Poteete & Janssen 2010).

The policy and projects mapping was carried out in Italian metropolitan cities (Venezia, Torino, Roma, Reggio Calabria, Palermo, Napoli, Milano, Messina, Firenze, Catania, Cagliari, Bologna, Bari). The mapping and the resulting database of 500 case studies (available in Chapter II, at p. XX) is then filtered and a sub-set of cities is selected for the analysis. The sub-set of cities (Turin; Milan; Bologna; Rome; Naples) is selected according to the fact that they present examples of hybrid spaces of urban co-governance involving at least two categories of actors (i.e. the City and urban communities; urban communities and knowledge actors) and it was initiated by urban actors.

The data collection was carried out relying upon the following sources:

a) secondary data and indicators of the socio-economic and institutional profile of the city: UN Habitat (2016) *World Cities Report*, statistical annex; the Metropolitan database included in OECD (2012) *Redefining Urban: a new way to measure metropolitan areas* (At the time this work was realized, data on Eurostat was updated at 2014); ISTAT, "Allegato statistico Commissione parlamentare di inchiesta sulle condizioni di sicurezza e sullo stato di degrade delle città e delle loro Periferie" (2017 For data on the population of New York City and the Greater Area the World Cities Report Statistical Annex od 2016 and the official data released by the City of New York were used.

b) participant observation of urban design field experiments. Applies to the case of Bologna, two projects: "Cities as commons" (2013-2014) and "Co-Bologna" (2015-2016) and Rome, one project: Co-Rome (2015/ongoing).

c) policy documents

d) qualitative semi-structured interviews and group interviews conducted in person, by Skype, or phone interviews. Applies to all cities.

e) site visits. Applies to Milan; Turin; Naples.

f) digital ethnography

In depth analysis presented in each City case study will try to account for the total amount of the cases mapped in the city, although in order to achieve a high degree of clarity and methodological standardization across the whole work, the analysis will stress the attention on the most advanced and intense cases in each city, covering the spectrum Community Space / Public Policy. The conclusions for each City case study is focused on connecting the analysis of the City case study with the analytical framework and will not attempt a comparison between the cases. Although this work might have the ambition to produce a comparative analysis as a next step, in this first phase the Cities (that are unique and not influenced by a standardization due to the absence of a common policy or a commons legal framework) are analyzed in their internal dimension. Therefore, the conclusions will stress the results of the analysis of the dimension of urban co-governance of the commons, outlining the approach that each City embodies.

The selection of the cases' subset is aimed at ensuring feasibility. In further development of this work, it would be useful to include also crucial case studies that entails both success and failure of co-governance attempts although involving only one actor. One instance would be the case of Messina, where the former City Government promoted an interesting process to modify the governance of the Agency for local public services and turn it into a participatory one. Or the case of Bari, where a very interesting process of participatory urban regeneration was promoted (it was excluded since it was promoted mainly by the Region and not by urban actors). A category of case studies which could be particularly interesting to include in future development is also those of administrative barter. The administrative barter is a legal provision introduced by the Italian Code of Public Procurement (law 50, 2016) that at the current moment is not implemented yet by metropolitan cities but only small size or medium size city. It foresees the possibility for city administration to regulate a sort of exchange between city inhabitants and the city administration. When the city inhabitants realize activities of general interest, including taking care of their city also with simple actions such as cleaning the street or going to work with the bike or sharing their car the City can recognize it and provide them with

incentives such as tax exemptions. The observation of the empirical functioning of this mechanism would be highly relevant for the purpose of this work because it would also allow us to understand whether cities use this legal in a restrictive or expansive way, how it is interpreted on the civic side and whether it influences the policies and projects already existing on the urban commons.

1.3 The research design

The research design is divided in five phases:

a) interdisciplinary review of the literature
b) development of an analytical codebook
c) case study mapping and data collection
d) coding
e) drafting of Cities' case study analysis

The first phase of the work is focused on a) interdisciplinary literature review across studies of the commons, studies of urban democracy and urban policy studies and b) development of an analytical codebook based on of a set relevant indicators. an analytical codebook based on of a set relevant indicators.

The literature review constitutes the baseline to develop an analytical tool that includes contextual urban dimensions and empirical dimensions of co-governance of urban commons.

The work then proceeds with c) a case study mapping in the cities selected and the data are collected d) the analytical tool is then applied for coding case studies selected in the cities object of analysis and provide a quali-quantitative account of the main features of policies and projects of active citizenship, civic collaboration and governance of urban commons.

The coding relies mainly on qualitative methods of data collection, in particular in-depth interviews. As already stated, the analysis will also rely upon meta – analysis (Glas 1976; Poteete et al. 2010) which means that information on the policies will be researched and extracted from previous research on the same case studies. This method is a useful tool when dealing with complex object of studies characterized by a lack of data and a high costly data collection. The results of the coding through the lens of the analytical tool provides a quali-quantitative account of the features of the policies and their outcomes in terms of urban co-governance. The coding is both manual and software assisted, using Atlas.ti.

e) Finally, replying upon the case study approach (George & Bennet, 2004; Della Porta

& Keating, 2008, 112; Ostrom, Poteete & Janssen 2010) the case studies are described and analyzed in depth in order to realize appropriate cities' profile.

1.4 The structure of the work

In Chapter I the research question and the main concept and theories regarding collaborative governance, the quality of democracy at the urban level and the urban commons will be introduced, in order to justify the methodological and analytical approach adopted. In the second chapter, the main concepts and theories for analyzing the city as an object of study will be introduced. We realized that, in order to measure urban co-governance of the commons and the democratic innovation capacity of the different urban approaches developed in Italy, we must draw from two basins: on the one hand, the urban theories and urban paradigm/model developed by different literatures and on the other hand, the literature on democratic participation and equality in urban contexts. The review of the urban theories and urban paradigm/models, which will be presented in the second chapter, will help us identify the key definitions and theories that stays behind the conceptualization of the city as a complex spaces where the democratic outcome of policy and community efforts towards the commons results from the interaction between different categories of actors and actions.

Chapter II will focus on different "urban model" emerging from a transdisciplinary literature review, in order to position the approach and object of study adopted in this work with similar although distinct research efforts, such as the study of the smart city. This part of Chapter II deserves particular attention because it will also identify the points of intersections between literature addressing the commons and literature addressing the city. We will see, for instance, how the literature on urban roots of social movements active in the seventies as described by Lefebvre when proposing the idea of right to the city will translate into a right-based normative model of the city.

Chapter III introduces and justify with literature the empirical dimensions of urban co-governance and their operationalization, ultimately presenting the Codebook produced to analyze the data collected. Chapter III concludes with an overview on the whole database of case studies.

Chapter IV and V focus on the case studies analysis. The chapters provide both a descriptive qualitative analysis of the genesis of the policies/projects and their main features and then present the result of the analysis according to the empirical dimensions of urban co-governance.

In Chapter VI, the conclusions, we will summarize the result of the analysis and the controversial reflections' they raise. On the basis of the analysis, we will draw future research questions.

Chapter I

Urban co-governance of the commons: theories, concepts, research challenges.

1.1 What is governed? The commons.

The theoretical debate on the commons is the result of a complex, stratified, trans-disciplinary scientific discussion.

Elinor Ostrom's (1990) groundbreaking research efforts to analyze cooperative governance of common pool resources (hereinafter: CPRs) and collective choice have empirically tested the hypothesis of an alternative solution to the dichotomy between the public (the Leviathan solution) and the private (the market solution) solution to the phenomenon of "tragedy of the commons" (Hardin 1968).

Ostrom's work is rooted in the institutional analysis of local government in US metropolitan areas in the sixties and seventies. In particular, she observed the regulation of local public services and water irrigation systems (Ostrom & Ostrom, 2004; Vitale 2010). Ostrom and Bish (1973) and then Ostrom, Tiebout and Warren (1961) highlighted that the metropolitan level was actually governed through a polycentric mode of governance. The authors argue that a metropolitan polycentric system connotes many centers of decision-making that are formally independent of each other. To develop the concept of a polycentric metropolitan governance, the authors start from the Dewey's concept of "public". The public, for Dewey, consists of all those who are affected by the indirect consequences of transactions to such an extent that is deemed necessary to have those consequences systematically provided for. Elinor Ostrom adapted the intuition of the polycentric governance to shared natural resources to cope with global problems such as climate change (Ostrom 2009; Cole 2011).

From the methodological standpoint, Ostrom developed the Institutional Analysis Framework (hereinafter: IAD) to analyze cooperative governance schemes. The IAD framework allows the measurement of the institutions according to four systems of variables (Vitale 2010). The IAD framework is a multi-layered analytical framework, whose main characteristic is to identify 7 micro variables, grouped in four dimensions, that influence an action situation: the rules they give themselves to cooperate. (1) the set of participants confronting a collective-action problem, (2) the sets of positions or roles participants fill in the context of this situation, (3) the set of allowable actions for participants in each role or position, (4) the level of control that an individual or group has over an action, (5) the potential outcomes associated with each possible combination of actions, (6) the amount of information available to actors, and (7) the costs and benefits associated with each possible action and outcome. The IAD framework is used to explain

collective action in field settings of diverse structures—particularly the complex public economies of U.S. metropolitan areas. While the scholars who worked on the IAD framework were deeply rooted in game theory, it was recognized that the strictures of formal game theory were too rigid to explain behavior and outcomes in complex institutional settings (Ostrom, Poteete & Janssen 2010). Ostrom (1990) performs a study on the economy of collective choices. Starting from an analysis of the conventional theory of collective goods, the author elaborates a theory that revolutionizes the traditional point of view on the management of collective resources. In fact, the Author uses an institutional approach to the study of self - organization and self - government in situations characterized by collective resources. Through an analysis of numerous self - government case studies of common pool resources that have ensured the regulation of the use of the resource and have ensured its conservation. Ostrom proposes to abandon the dichotomous characterization of the assumed management forms for collective resources (state - market) with the cooperation of public and private actors (Vetritto & Velo 2009).

Ostrom's empirical findings ultimately identified eight design principles, representing conditions of success or failure of self and cooperative governing mechanisms: 1) clear boundaries & membership; 2) congruent riles 3) collective-choice arenas 4) monitoring 5) graduated sanctions 6) conflict-resolution mechanisms 7) recognized rights to organize 8) nested unites. The presence or absence of those principles in the cooperative governance scheme of the CPR result in an outcome in terms of robustness vs fragility of the institutional performance. The robust cooperative institutions are those capable of securing the governance of a long-enduring CPR, and also guarantee the survival of the community of users, which is heavily dependent on the CPRs' units of production (i.e., in a fishery, the fishes) to survive.

Ostrom's starting point is a critique to political analysts considering a single solution for collective resource management problems.

> One set of advocates presumes that a central authority must assume continuing responsibility to make unitary decisions for a particular resource. The other presumes that central authority should parcel out the property rights to the resource and then allow individuals to pursue their own self-interests within a set of well-defined property right. Both centralization advocates and privatization advocates accept as a central tenet that institutional change must come from outside and be imposed on the individuals affected. (Ostrom 1990, 14).

Ostrom 's studies are part of the search for appropriate management forms for common goods, which allow one to escape the state - market dichotomy and to enhance the principle of civic self - organization. The Author proposes the elaboration of a "third way" in the management of common resources. The third way of Ostrom wants to propose an alternative to private management, which according to Hardin leads to the "tragedy of the

commons", or rather the tragedy of freedom in a commons as it has been identified by Garrett Hardin with his well-known article The Tragedy of the Commons (Hardin 1968, 1243-1248). The idea behind his theory is that he will be able to be over-exploited. The use of animals by the author is an open access to pasture in which every herder seeks to maximize their utility. This utility has a positive component-the revenue for the animals and a negative component-the additional overgrazing created by one more animal. But since the negative component is shared, this is negative utility is lower. Hardin specifies that the word tragedy should be used in this context in the sense in which the philosopher Whitehead intended it: «*the essence of dramatic tragedy is not unhappiness. It resides in the solemnity of the remoreless working of things*». (Whitehead quoted by Hardin 1968). Hardin argues that "each man is locked into a system that compels him to increase his herd without limit—in a world that is limited. Ruin is the destination toward which all men rush, each pursuing his own best interest in a society that believes in the freedom of the commons," therefore "freedom in a commons brings ruin to all" Hardin concludes that since, "individuals locked into the logic of the commons are free only to bring on universal ruin; once they see the necessity of mutual coercion, they become free to pursue other goals" and that the only solution possible is relinquishing the freedom to breed (Hardin 1968, 1248).

But Ostrom also wanted to verify empirically the hypothesis that an alternative solution to public management existed and thus proposes a solution based on self-government of collective resources. Neither the State nor the market would, in fact, be able to guarantee an efficient use and the trans-generational conservation of common goods. After analyzing the prisoner's dilemma, the logic of Marcus Olson's collective action and Hardin's theory, Ostrom advances the argument that self-government of collective resources is better suited than the schemes advanced by those theories (Ostrom 1990). She thus analyzes cases of collective self-government in very small communities, concerning natural resources. In the cases used to prove the theory, there is a strong link between the survival of the resource system and the survival of the communities. The existence of the communities themselves is linked to the survival of the survival of the resources because they are heavily reliant upon the units of production of the resources Ostrom (1990) observes the creation of robust collective institutions, identifying with precision their boundaries and features. The collective institutions ensured the long-lasting existence and conservation of the resource system. As already mentioned, Ostrom 's studies have paved the way for the study of alternative management forms to the state - market dichotomy regarding common goods. The results of Ostrom's analysis offer a very authoritative starting point for the elaboration of a form of management of common goods that sees collaboration between administrative institutions and citizens. In this paper we will take into account a different perspective from that of Ostrom.

The downside of Ostrom's studies is that cooperation can prevent tragedy in congestible commons.

But what about the unit of analysis of Ostrom's research? What do we talk about, when we talk about Ostrom's commons? Ostrom explains that her study is focused on small-scale common pool resources, with a limited number of individuals affected from the resources. She also highlights the limits of the types of common pool resources analyzed in the research: "(1) renewable rather than nonrenewable resources, (2) situations where substantial scarcity exists, rather than abundance, and (3) situations in which the users can substantially harm one another, but not situations in which participants can produce major external harm for others." (Ostrom 1990, 26). But the studies on different kind of commons advanced and demonstrated the hypothesis that cooperation / collaboration can favor agglomeration around other types of commons as Carol Rose (1986, 711-781) already argued, by contrasting the phenomena of the tragedy of the commons with that of the comedy of the commons, which may occur with open, growth-oriented, productive commons (Benkler, 2013) or knowledge commons (Frischmann et al., 2014) in which the increased participation in use instead of determining a congestion phenomenon, triggers an incremental value generation, or those commons that are a means to guarantee democracy and freedom (Ostrom and Hess, 2007). Moving the analysis from natural commons and Common Pool Resources to the knowledge commons, Ostrom and Hess have in fact underscored that knowledge is a highly complex resource, with a dual functionality as a human need and an economic good. (Ostrom & Hess 2007, 4). Madison, Strandburg and Frischmann (2014) define knowledge commons as "an institutional approach (commons) to governing the production, use, management, and/or preservation of a particular type of resource (knowledge)." For them, the term commons do not denote the resource or the community; rather the commons is the institutional arrangement of these elements and their coordination. Finally, the structure of the conceptualization of the commons that is adopted in this work relies upon the theoretical analysis provided by the historian of the commons Tine De Moor (2009; 2012) who suggest adopting a triple dimensional approach to the commons. The three essential dimensions of the commons in the framework proposed by De Moor are: 1) the presence of a shared resources system, 2) the dimension related to the users (common property regime) 3) a Common Pool Institution, that makes cooperation possible.

1.1 The urban commons

Elinor Ostrom herself and the scholars of the Bloomington School of Political Economy analyzed how urban commons are shaped by urban transitions (Ostrom & Nagendra 2014; Unnikrishnan et al. 2016). The methodology is based on the application of the institutional analysis framework to CPRs situation in urban context. The commons object of analysis in these research efforts are typical CPRs in urbanized context such as urban lakes. The main concern of the authors is to measure the effect of large scale urbanization on CPRs in urban or peri-urban areas. The outcome of the cooperative governance strategies is measured, in the case of the Ostrom-Nagendra study (2014) in the capacity

of the cooperation scheme to keep the lake unpolluted. The research describes the first application of the SES framework developed by Ostrom (2007, 2009) in an urban context, enabling the authors to assess the impact of the combination of nine different variables in determining the extent of collective action and positive environmental outcomes, and adapt some of the variables to the peculiar characteristics of the urban context. The conclusion of their work, although focused only on the resource's outcome, is very relevant for the development of a theory on the urban commons. The authors, in fact, realize that the consideration of social and ecological system variables produced an approach that can reduce transaction costs for city governments by actively engaging local communities in processes that include coordination of collective activities.

> A model of public-community partnerships could provide a more inclusive, equitable, and sustainable institutional alternative. This is an aspect that needs significant further attention; the attention of a majority of urban planners and scholars has remained almost exclusively on privatization, and there is limited research investigating the potential of alternate approaches that build on cooperative action in the urban context (Mukhija 2005) (..) Particularly important is the presence of effective networking between local communities and city government. (..) Diverse approaches can be envisaged to support increased downward accountability, including the provisioning of increased incentives for local officials who engage with communities such as through the incorporation of community feedback in performance reviews. (Ostrom & Nagendra 2014, 10-11).

The roots of urban commons theories can also be retraced into a different literature, those that takes into account a political perspective of the relationship between city inhabitants and the City, considered as both the urban space they live in and the City as a local public institution (City government). The philosopher Henry Lefebvre first advanced the idea of the right to the City in the late sixties. Lefebvre defined the right to the City as a right that entails a very pragmatic approach:

> Should make the rights of citizens as a city inhabitants and user of multiple services more concrete (…). The right to the city cannot be conceived as a return to the traditional cities. It can only be formulated as a transformed and renovated right to the urban life (Lefebvre quote by Amin & Thrift, 2005, pp. 197/198).

On the footsteps of Lefebvre's theories, a field of studies on urban democracy that stresses the attention on the relationship between the individual and the urban context was created. This approach focuses the attention on «urban movements» as movements of opposition to the political dynamics impacting the metropolitan context and, on the factors, determining the downgrade of the quality of life in cities (Harvey 2013). Harvey himself stressed the attention on the fact that Lefebvre's book was published before the disruption of the *French May* and on the fact that the urban roots of the social movements active in late sixties and seventies are still largely under investigated. Harvey tries to retrace those

origins by reviewing the history of urban planning transformation in big cities (a well-known case is the transformation of the City of Paris operated by Haussman and heavily contested) (Harvey, 2012). Amin e Thrift envisioned an idea of an urban citizenship. Cities offer citizens the opportunity to develop their skills, their capacity to socialize, to exercise their civic duties (Amin & Thrift, at 199-210). An urban policy that wants to stimulate a conception of the city as an active democracy should therefore focus on urban spaces, in particular on the "democracy of public spaces" that sees urban places as "environments for the practice of democracy through a trusting citizenship". (Amin & Thrift, at 199-210). Urban planning policies should then favor the design of public spaces as places, where citizens can exercise sociality and escape from the urban dimension of everyday life. (Amin & Thrift, at 210-215). The development of an urban democracy, for the authors, also passes through the recognition and promotion of active citizenship, through the granting of visibility to the vast network of associations present in urban contexts, which constantly offer opportunities to pursue urban sociability through participation civic life in the city (Amin & Thrift, at 211). In reflecting on the concrete mechanisms of translating the concept of the right to the city, Auby starts from the observation that cities are the elective places for social segregation. The Parisian *banlieue*, the Indian slums, the Brazilian favelas: whether it is developing countries or industrialized countries, millions of citizens are denied access to essential services (Auby, 2013 at 271-272). Local institutions can therefore assure the right to the city by favoring devices that limit urban segregation, favoring social cohesion and integration. For Auby, this is embodied in urban policies for the right to housing, mobility, security against natural, industrial or crime-related risks, and finally access to essential services, water and energy (Auby, 2013 at 275).

It is therefore within urban contexts, especially in large cities, that the aggregating or disintegrating pressures that characterize the modern democratic dimension are developed. Also, in urban contexts situations with higher social complexity and political conflict occur, especially when they are linked to the claim of resources and assets considered as common goods Saskia Sassen, prominent urban sociologist, has studied the dynamics of globalization of large metropolitan cities by developing an interpretative model, the global city, which explains how a very large socio - economic gap is developing in these contexts. Sassen has studied in particular the impact of globalization processes on the relationship between state and territory, claiming that in the big modern cities the identification of the State - nation with a politically and geographically determined territory no longer occurs, but rather the creation of «Unpublished territoriality» that are struggling to be controlled by political forces (Sassen, 2013). For the purposes of the present discussion, the concept of urban common goods and the links they have with the quality of life in the city will be taken into consideration, to dwell on the possibility that a policy of governance of urban commons that relies on all the energies present in the society it can constitute, as previously said, the bases for the management of urban commons that see citizens and administration work side by side and not in

opposition. The experiences of re-appropriation of urban public spaces that have occurred in recent times, flowered from below, are an example of reaction to the perception of a right denied to the collective enjoyment of urban spaces. These experiences, together with all those cases of active citizens who are active for the protection of urban common goods, are presented as the manifestation of a common need for participation that needs to be heard. European cities have a very peculiar morphology and history. Le Galés, speaking of the European cities, underlined how they can be defined as "incomplete local societies, places for structuring governance modalities" (Les Galés, 2011, 69; 291). The author, to study European cities, uses an analytical approach that is based on the collective representation of the city, which takes into consideration the city not as a unitary subject, taking into account the plurality of actors, groups, institutions that compose it. In other words, to look at the city as an "urban mosaic" (Les Galés, 2011, 291).

The study of the urban commons is indeed trans-disciplinary and approached the issue from different standpoint. Several authors investigated the dynamics of production of urban commons as a social practice (Dellenbaugh et al. 2015; Borch & Kornberger 2015). Relevant research efforts are recently emerging in different economics and geography studies to identify and understand the mechanisms of functioning and sustainability of collaborative strategies to govern shared urban resources or public spaces or co-producing services (Davies 2017; Mont 2017).

The commons in cities are often framed as a reaction against conjunctural phenomena (financial and economic crisis) to increase access to resources at risk of privatization and achieve the goal of equality. For della Porta, the commons are re-discovered by social movements as spaces in which the common goods are to be managed through the participation of all those affected by them, relying upon the knowledge hold by citizens (Della Porta 2015, 139-140; Fattori 2013). The investigation of the related emergence of policy innovations that foster active citizenship, collaborative democracy and governance of city commons and the way this process shapes relevant dimensions of urban democracy is still an open challenge. The activation of forms of collective action and political protest for reclaiming urban commons as a reaction against the impact of financialization and the post-2008 economic crisis is a common object of study (Harvey 2012; Lamarca 2015; Kioupkiolis 2018). Social movements and civil society organizations advocating for the urban commons and the right to the city have a global extent and so are single cities or cities' networks policy initiatives such as the Mexico City Charter for the Right to the City (2008) as well as NGO – based network such as the Global Platform for the Right to the city. These analysis stress on one side relational process of collaboration – not focusing only on the commons as shared resources, but also as a process of social cooperation – and on the other side on the way they reconfigure the relationship between urban social movements and public institutions.

The great investments in the construction of a general theory of commons were enriched

through the research aimed at declining the Ostrom's conceptual and methodological achievement in the urban context (Foster 2007, 2011; Iaione 2015; Iaione & Foster 2016; De Moor 2012). These research efforts developed in the twofold direction of generating a definition of urban commons and at adapting Ostrom's design principles to the urban context to measure their governance mechanisms. This resulted in the identification of urban commons as tangible and intangible assets, services, infrastructures. Urban spaces and services of common interest are functional to the well-being of the local community and quality of life of city inhabitants and might represent a means toward the realization of democratic values and are thus conceptualized as urban commons characterized by widespread and differentiated interests and interests. In the urban commons, we can observe the crossing of specific dynamics that cannot be found solely in congestible commons nor in constructed commons. Urban commons can also be conceptualized as punctual or linear infrastructures that represent social and physical infrastructure for urban communities and whose degradation determines for them a direct or indirect socio-economic degradation. Urban services of common interest can be conceptualized as those services of general interest whose production / management compels users and actors of the co-governance system.

1.2 How it is governed? From governance to collaborative governance

The term governance derives etymologically from the Greek verb *kubernao,* used to explain the act of conducting a ship or a cart. The concept of governance therefore refers to the ability to drive, to direct the economy and society towards shared objectives (Peters, 2011). In Plato the term will be used to indicate the government of men. The two areas in which the term governance is stated in the second half of the last century, in the United States of America, are on the one hand the reform of the management of public services, therefore the start of the reform process of local administrations, on the other the organization of economic and financial companies (Arienzo, 2013). The term governance, is often used as opposed to the term government. To define the concept of governance, various solutions have been used in the social sciences and in international relations studies.

Governance is a process of administration radically opposite to that based on government, on the static nature of the institution and on the organization of work. The administrative bureaucratic model is opposed by a model of administration that is more able to manage the dislocation on several levels of the distribution of power, mainly due to the processes of internationalization and decentralization. To the generic meaning of the term governance as defined above, different meanings can be added. As regards the opposition between the concept of governance and that of government, according to Arienzo it identifies two really different ways of understanding political processes: in the first case, vertical and hierarchical, in the second case widespread, horizontal and tendentially non-hierarchical (...) it constitutes a network that lives by processes of co-decision and

negotiation widespread among institutions, institutions, associations, interest groups. (Arienzo 2013, p.20-22).

The debate on governance generates from the awareness of the speed of change in the contemporary social context, from the plurality of actors involved in institutional choices and from the difficulty for the structures of the state to give answers and efficient and decisive to the emergence of new needs in a context social situation characterized by high complexity and / or conflict. The philosophy behind a governance policy is the "escape" from the centripetal logics that centralize the resolution of problems on central power, in favor of solutions based on centrifugal dynamics. From the debate that began in the sixties and seventies in the United States on the reform of the metropolitan government (Arienzo 2013)

The line of studies on the reform of local institutions in the management of public services highlighted the inefficiency of public management and a highly bureaucratic government model distant from citizens and their needs. The scientific debate questioned what the different definitions of governance could be, given the variety of use, elaborating concepts such as that of network governance and meta - governance (Peters 2011) as developments in the generic lemma governance. The basic assumption of the concept of network governance, according to Peters (2011), is that the self-organization of networks of social actors seems to be more suited to cope with the complexity generated by the challenges posed by contemporary societies with respect to mechanisms based on hierarchical system. The term meta-governance instead refers to the need for the central government for a more decentralized form of political action. In all cases, it highlights the need for states to equip themselves with methods of government that are no longer based solely on the exercise of authoritative power and that contemplate the presence and the participation of different actors. The rigid separation between the State and the market, with a view to governance or meta-governance, no longer has any reason for being because it is no longer able to grasp the dynamism and fluidity of the needs of citizens in contemporary society. The challenge facing the supporters of governance is therefore that of developing solutions that allow the structuring of a role of the state as a facilitator of the dialogue between the actors involved in the processes and as a governor of networks without being accompanied by a retraction. The criticism of the opening of the State with respect to society from the point of view of governance and participatory management of public affairs stems from the fear that the spread of space granted to citizens and private individuals implies the incurring of risks of "capture" by of strong interest deriving from excessive enlargements of the discretionary spaces in the decisional and implementation phase of public choices. The provision of adequate tools and procedures in the definition of governance policies should instead respond to the need to redesign the role of the state as a governor of networks that does not imply retraction but an adaptation of its presence and its intervention, to allow it to face, with new tools, the changed needs of the social context.

Vetritto and Velo (2009) reveal how the studies of E. Ostrom open the way towards a rethinking of the paradigm of the action of public powers. The term policy refers to the question of the changes that are characterizing the forms of politics, introducing the dimension of governance as a multi - actor government. The implementation modalities of public policies concerning local government are changing. The multiplicity of actors and the complexity of interdependent relationships that link them together leads to a necessary rethinking of the role of the public subject as a regulator. The regulatory function is characterized by the impossibility of being carried out without adopting innovative tools, which can no longer be only those of law, but those of conflict mediation, facilitation of participation and the construction of a fiduciary capital that allows these relationships to subsist and maintain without the need to resort to the authoritative tool.

The change in paradigm that is taking place in the structure of public power, which from pyramidal becomes reticulate, leads to the redefinition of the role of the state. When the transition from the pyramid to the network is recognized as a definition of the state dimension, it is necessary for the State to equip itself with the instruments necessary for the governance of the network. The transition phase that Western democracies are experiencing entails a new way of assuming public power, usually summarized under the governance paradigm. The factors that determine the change are the most varied. As regards the relationship between public power and citizens, they point out the new centrality of the citizen, considered as a participant and not merely a recipient of public policies and the exponential growth of the third sector.

From the empirical standpoint, this change in the way of being of the public powers translates into a logic that sees public institutions as the central node of a network of public, private and social actors.

A further development of the governance is collaborative governance. Collaborative governance processes, and all the other kind of democratic innovations can provide more opportunities of participation, an impact on the equality and improve responsiveness. An important concept is that of civic responsiveness, that can be defined as "acceptance of new innovations, suggestions, ideas, influences or opinions from members of a state or a nation. The quality of being responsive and responding to emotional needs of people receiving public services." (Milakovich 2012). The open government framework, of which collaboration is one of the constitutive dimensions (Lathrop and Ruma 2010; De Blasio & Sorice 2016) also provide the creation of public-private-civic partnership (Foster & Iaione 2016; 2017) as a component of this variable. The analysis of practices of collaborative governance applied to the urban commons, involving different actors that aim at building long-term forms of public-private-civic partnerships might shed lights on the broad understanding of implementation of the open government at the local level. It might also bring innovative lights on the study of active citizenship and collective actions, applied to crucial urban resources, both material and intangible.

This issue is also taken into account because it implies the government's action to be directed to the development of a culture of collaboration with citizens, aimed at enhancing their contribution to the general interest, which is not uniformly spread across and within cities. The study of democratic innovations and the quality of democracy has highlighted the mechanism behind their emergence and their consequences stressing also the role of equality concerns in their institutional design (Font 2014) and the impact of institutional design itself on democratic qualities such as responsiveness, accountability and equality (Pogrebinschi 2013). The focus of this work is to operationalize co-governance of the commons from a different perspective to that of the participation in the definition of the urban development of the city. Selecting case studies of co-governance of the urban commons requires broadening the object of analysis and include public policies and community led initiatives specifically aimed at providing the infrastructure for a shared/collaborative/polycentric governance of the urban commons.

The activation of forms of collective action and political protest for reclaiming urban commons as a reaction against the impact of financialization and the post-2008 economic crisis is a common object of study (Harvey 2012; Lamarca 2015; Kioupkiolis 2018). Social movements and civil society organizations advocating for the urban commons and the right to the city have a global extent and so are single cities or cities' networks policy initiatives such as the Mexico City Charter for the Right to the City (2008) as well as NGO – based network such as the Global Platform for the Right to the city. These analysis stress on one side relational process of collaboration – not focusing only on the commons as shared resources, but also as a process of social cooperation – and on the other side on the way they reconfigure the relationship between urban social movements and public institutions.

1.3.1 Urban commons as democratic innovations

In order to understand how urban commons can be the cornerstone of a theory of urban co-governance, we must first see how we can conceptualize urban commons in the framework of democratic innovations. Democratic innovations are usually defined as *institutional designs aiming at increasing citizen participation* (Smith 2009). Local democratic innovations (Baiocchi, Heller & Silva 2014) are the innovations that raise at the urban level, promoted by local institutions. Institutional-led innovations are the municipal initiatives aiming at fostering innovations, such as "innovative programs at the municipal level in which some form of civil society participation was institutionalised", like Baiocchi, Heller and Silva (2011) stated. Citizen participation has to be inclusive and effective (Geissel & Joas 2013). According to some observers (Geissel 2008, Geissel & Joas 2013), democratic, especially participative innovations would help to improve the quality of democracy, and would help to cure democratic malaises. Democratic innovations, given some conditions, are indicators of an effective and inclusive

participation at the local level. The concept of democratic innovation is a complex concept. The term innovation is a very common term, often used associated with different field; social innovation, technological innovation, economic innovation. The term innovation is very hard to define, because of its large use. A challenging factor is related to the fact that the concept of innovation is variable, strongly related to the context; something innovative in one country can be an old habit in one other. This is true also, we would say in particular, for innovation related to politics. Democratic innovations are therefore new procedures consciously and purposefully introduced with the aim of mending current democratic malaises and improving the quality of democracy (Geissel & Joas 2013, 10). A local democratic innovation can be a new public policy, a municipal regulation, a procedure, a technological tool, a digital instrument, an organisational innovation introduced with the aim of mending democratic malaises and improving the quality of democracy or promoted with the aim of enabling citizens to improve their *ability to collaborate* (Bigoni M., Bortolotti S., Casariz M., Gambettax D., Pancotto, 2014)*,* working together and with the public administration. The dimension of state-civic collaboration appears as a crucial lens for the analysis of democratic innovations.

1.3.2 Co-governance of the urban commons as a platform for analyzing the democratic innovation capacity of cities.

In cases such as in Italy and Spain we can observe both civil society and social movements uprising for the commons (Bailey & Mattei 2013) and innovative policy approaches carried out by cities to regulate the commons, fostering active citizenship (Arena 1997; Arena & Iaione 2012; 2015) and forms of co-governance (Kooiman 2003, 96-112; Ansell & Gah 2008; Bingham 2009). Social movements and urban communities active on the commons blossomed after 2011 also under the push of the movement against the privatization of urban services. The debate flourished after the institutions of the Rodotà Commission for the reform of the Italian Civil Law Code and then developed with a season of occupations of urban cultural spaces such as the Teatro Valle, or the Colorificio di Pisa, or the Asilo Filangieri Occupations in Naples, with different outcomes also in terms of urban policies. In Naples, for instance, the city decided to enable the activity of the city inhabitants taking into account the social value produced by the occupation experiences and adopted a series of urban regulations that recognized the illegal occupations as urban commons (Mattei & Quarta, 2015). The City of Bologna instead implemented a complex policy path toward regulation of the urban commons that be interpreted as an incremental model of policy making (Lindblom 1958; Morlino et al. 2017) that implemented processes designed as policy democratic experiments (Ansell 2012; Howlett 2014) through which the Bologna policy makers have experimented with several means to innovate participatory policies, making them converge toward the urban commons and collaborative economy. The first step of this path, the Regulation for the urban commons, issued in 2014 was aimed at structuring opportunities for collaboration between the state and civic actors (single citizens, informal groups and NGOs, businesses,

cultural and private foundations) in the governance of the urban commons. Foster and Iaione (2016) highlighted the capacity of such policy process to experiment forms of collaborative democracy. For Mattei and Quarta (2015) it represents a paternalistic strategy of the public institutions to prevent and control the affirmative action of social movements that struggle against privatization of urban public goods. Pierre Sauvetre (2015) analyzed the case of Bologna and Naples using a comparative approach from a sociological perspective. A recent contribution by administrative law scholar Fidone (2017) analyzed the Bologna experience investigating the issues of property law that it raises, trying to understand what kind of property can be envisaged for the commons. The administrative legal scholar Gregorio Arena (Arena & Iaione 2012) advanced the theory of shared administration, that provides the design of a model of shared administration of the commons based on the principle of horizontal subsidiarity (Italian Constitution, art. 118, par. 4) that could be replicated in different cities. The Regulation had in fact a great success in the Italian urban policy making arena and is been adopted by more that 112 cities, therefore constituting an interesting case of within – country policy mobility, possibly triggering a process of policy learning (Dunlop, 2017) of two types: social learning, involving different types of actors from inside and outside governments and existing policy subsystem, in this case the different actors involved in an urban co-governance system) and government learning, that involves reviews of program behavior by government actors and is aimed at improving the means by which certain policies are administered (Wu & al. 2018, 132-135).

We saw in this chapter how urban commons is used in different literatures to describe both social movements uprising against privatization of urban public spaces and resources or the action of NGOs carrying out advocacy campaigns (Bailey & Mattei 2013) and innovative policy approaches carried out by cities to regulate the commons.

Urban commons are of fundamental importance if we consider the city as a place for structuring governance methods, because the affirmation of a right to the city, or of a right to a fair and democratic city, can only be realized through the care and improvement of the urban commons as services and spaces that "are functional to the well-being of the local community and to the quality of urban life" (Iaione 2012).We will use this approach towards the commons to see, with the support of empirical evidences from Italian cities, how it is possible to measure the phenomenon and ultimately observe the creation of an urban co-governance gradient. Urban co-governance might have numerous manifestations (*i.e.* shared, collaborative, cooperative, polycentric governance) and mechanisms (Iaione, 2016). The gradient would then go from citizens' participation (Arnstein 1969) entailing the idea of city inhabitants as "active citizens" (Arena, 1997; Arena & Iaione, 2015) to collaboration an idea of entailing the idea of co-production and thus the idea of city inhabitants as "everyday makers" (Bang, 2011) and ultimately the dimension of co-governance (Kooiman 2003, 96-112; Ansell & Gah 2008; Bingham 2009) operationalized at the urban level. This research project will focus on the latter,

where there is a lack of theoretical and empirical knowledge. The issue of the connection between this innovative local governance tools and dimensions of democratic qualities, particularly equality/solidarity is in fact an under-developed object of studies (Gelli & Morlino 2011). The city as a commons/co-city framework advanced by Sheila Foster and Christian Iaione (2016) also on the basis of the ground-breaking experience of the Bologna regulation proposes a theory on the governance of the urban commons and the city as a commons and how this would envisage a form of collaborative democracy and contribute to more fair and democratic cities.

Urban Commons as an international phenomenon. Insights from the case of Barcelona.

A way to approach the study of the global *nexus* of collaborative governance of the urban commons could be that of comparing cities with a most different approach, covering a broad spectrum of urban political systems analyzing practices and policies mapped in the city under the perspective of an urban co-governance model and embodies different approach. We advance here the proposal of comparing the case of New York City (where the author spent a period as a visiting phd student at the Fordham Urban Consortium and collected data through participant observation and interviews) and a EU city such as Barcelona. In this work, only a rough draft of the case of Barcelona is provided. The city of Barcelona is promoting a radical approach to the urban commons (Iaione 2017) that is explained mainly by the political variable. The current government of the City of Barcelona, elected in 2015 and expressed by the civic platform *Barcelona en Comù*, chaired by the radical Mayor Ada Colau is leading the city toward disruptive innovations in the governance of the commons. Barcelona has been an expression of the wide grassroots movement in Southern Europe that upraised against austerity policies after the explosion of the Economic Crisis of 2008. Barcelona has a population of 1.608.746 (persons) (Barcelona Statistical Data 2016) with a metropolitan area population of 3.213.775 (persons) (AMB Statistics 2015). The population of the metro area increased progressively in the last fifteen years, as the following graph shows:
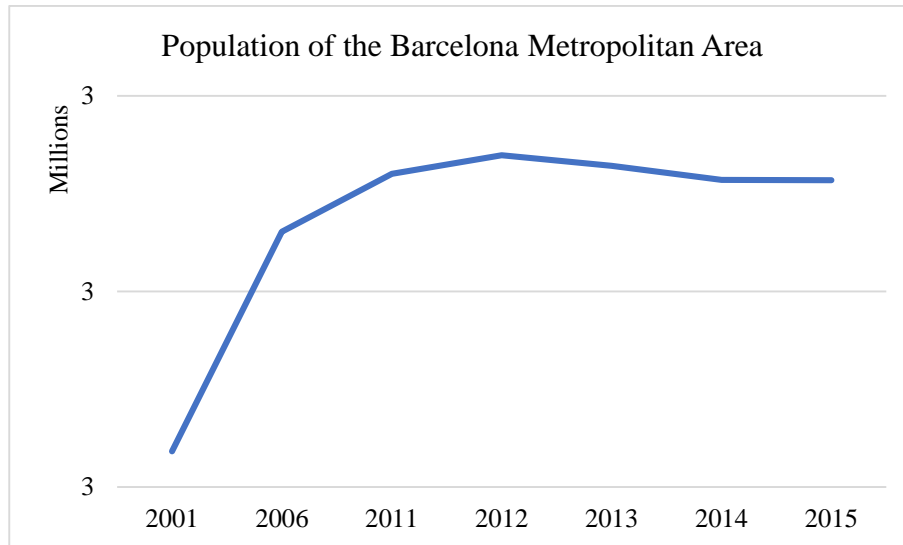
1. *Figure 1 1Population of the Metro Area of Barcelona from 2001 to 2015. Data extracted on 07 Jun 2017 04:14 UTC (GMT) from datasets of the Barcelona Metropolitan Area (AMB Stat).*

From the economic standpoint, Barcelona has a dynamic economy and is a relevant city for the country. The Gross Domestic Product of the city represents the 9.3% of the national GDP[1]. After the hit of the financial crisis, the economy of the city is doing better under the standpoint of the increase of the internal demand and the growth rate of export and tourism activities (City of Barcelona 2016). Internationalization and big events are the two pillars on which the city of Barcelona built his economic development model, and in this sense the city also provides efficient infrastructures (port, airport, the logistic and industrial area Zona Franca) and a good urban mobility system (Garcia & al. 2015). The Local Government of the City of Madrid is composed by the Municipal Council and the City Government. The Municipal Council is chaired by the Mayor and has a total of 41 councilors. The executive is instead composed by the Mayor and the City Government Commission, chaired by the Mayor itself and composed of Deputy Mayors and City Councilors appointed by the Mayor. The City Council must give the approval to the to the municipal budgets, byelaws and the Municipal Action Plan provided by the Government (Ayuntament Barcelona 2017). The current city government is a minority government (11 councilors on 41) leaded by *Barcelona En Comu*, a civic platform that blossomed after the 15M and succeeded at the municipal elections of 2015 supported by social movements and the innovative Spanish political party *Podemos* (We Can!). The Mayor Ada Colau is a former activist of the PAH social movement (*plataforma de afectados por la hipoteca* platform for those affected by eviction), a key component of *Barcelona en Comù*. The country of Spain was hit by a wage of political disruption through the action of the innovative political platform Podemos and the proactive role of civic lists that succeeded in the local elections, composed by al alliances between Podemos and urban or national – level social movements (De Blasio & Sorice 2014). The

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[1] GDP of the metropolitan area as a share of national value (%). Data updated at 2013. Data extracted on 07 Jun 2017 (UN Habitat 2016).

success of the *Barcelona and Comù* platform is been a disruptive event for Barcelona political system. The platform is a child of the Spanish mobilization of 15M, the movement that exploded after the country is been hit by the economic crisis after 2008 and promoted a season of austerity policies. During the night of the 15th of May of 2011, a big civic demonstration (the "15M" or "*Los Indignados*" – the outraged[2]) exploded and a group of Madrid inhabitants (the social movement scholar Mayo Fuster Morell (2012) highlights the significant presence of hackers among them) occupied a central square in Madrid, Plaza del Sol, and the demonstration spread in several Spanish cities, following a call launched online (Diaz & al., 2016). The social composition of the 15M was very wide in general and in the case of Barcelona and comprehended urban residents together with organized groups, such as social movements already existing, active at the international level such as the anti-globalization movement and territorial-based movements focused on social rights issues, such as the Free Culture Movement and the Platform for Mortgage Affected People (hereinafter PAH). The Free Culture Movement (FCM) contributed to the agenda of the 15M bringing the issue of the digital commons and of an information and knowledge policy able to promote public domain and open access (Morell M., 2012; Morell M., & Subirats. J., 2012). The movement played big role in the 15M and is still important. One of the Deputy Mayor, Gala Pin Ferrando Councillor for Participation and Districts and District Councillor for Ciutat Vella is from this movement . Ambrosi & Thede 2017). The PAH is a country-wide movement created in 2009 as a reaction against the consequences of the economic crisis by people that has difficulties to pay their mortgages payments. The PAH implement direct resistance actions to stop evictions and protests for the right to an accessible and adequate housing for all the citizens. PAH members have recuperated over 30 buildings across Spain and rehoused over 1.105 people (Lamarca, M. & Kaika, M., 2015; Dellenbaugh & al., 2015). When the real estate crisis exploded, the level of people that was unable to pay their mortgage was very high: it is estimated that at least 250:000 mortgaged families were evicted between 2008 and 2014 and between 2008 and 2014, 570:000 homes were foreclosed (Lamarca M., 2015). The PAH target mostly bank-owned buildings. Once the buildings are occupied, the PAH enters into negotiations with the bank to find an agreement for a social rent. Three years after the explosion of the 15M, on March-February of 2014, a group of actors linked to the 15M thus civil society organizations, social movements (including the PAH) urban residents, academics organized a series of meeting with the aim of realizing a coalition (*Barcelona en Comù* 2014) for the Barcelona Municipal elections in May 2015. The coalition was constituted also by Podemos, ICV (Catalonia Greens), EUiA (United and Alternative left), *Procés Constituent i Equo* (Constituent process). The name they have chosen is *Guanyem Barcelona*, that later became *Barcelona en Comu* and the leader of the coalition was Ada Colau. The platform received a strong support also from the Barcelona administration, since many civil

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[2] The Spanish demonstration inspired also the movement blossomed later the US of Occupy Wall Street. (Tharoor 2011).

servants of the City of Barcelona expressed support or joined the movement (Colau, 2014). Similar coalitions were created and succeeded in other Spanish city, such as Madrid with *Ahora Madrid* (Madrid Now) movement. The range of policies promoted by the current city government of Barcelona that might represent a good example for a radical commons oriented approach to the city governance is very wide target housing, urban mobility, energetic sovereignty, social and solidarity economy, digital democracy. With the "*Pla d'Actuació Municipal 2016-2019*" (PAM) (*Ayuntamento de Barcelona*, 2016) the new government claimed that the goals of their administration would be social justice, sustainable economic and social development, and to reverse dynamics of polarization and inequality. Nevertheless, this document has not been approved by the *Plenari del Consell de Ciutat* (the City Council). With these guidelines, they have launched the first plans focusing on housing, energetic and digital sovereign, mobility and citizen participation although the greatest concentration of energy is focused on the Barcelona's Housing Right Plan (2016 - 2025), more than to the urban commons as a specific subject.

1.5 Conclusions

This chapter introduced the reader to the building stones of the object of study. To define urban co-governance of the commons is in fact necessary to first introduce three conceptual pillars: the commons, the urban commons and the governance of the commons.

The following chapter II, "The City as an object of study", will help us identify the key definitions and theories that stays behind the conceptualization of the city as a complex spaces where the democratic outcome of policy and community efforts towards the commons results from the interaction between different categories of actors and actions.

Chapter II

The city as an object of study.

2.1 Why study the city? The return of cities and its relevance for political science.

The attention on cities is exponentially growing in political science. This is mainly due to the awareness that, although we tend to think the relationship between citizens and public institutions in terms of Nation-states, actually the majority of activities that concerns us happens, is generated, is regulated in cities: economic development; work relationships; health care; school; social movements and political activism; culture and creativity; environmental issues; social and civic innovation; digital innovation. Robert Dahl (1967) has long ago raised the question whether the city would be an appropriate unit for a democratic political system.

The current century is often described as the urban century, or metropolitan century and the economic power of cities on one hand and the impact of global economic phenomena on cities on the other hand are the greater concerns of urban analysis. Urbanization is one of the emerging trend about cities and is both a potentiality and a factor of crisis. Urbanization has helped populations escape poverty through increased productivity, employment opportunities, large-scale investment in infrastructure and services (UN Habitat 2016). Is estimated that 54% of global population lives in cities (World Bank 2018). Cities' role is increasing from both an economic and social standpoint. Cities are the engines of the global consumption. By 2030 people living in large cities will account for as much as 81 percent of global consumption. Global urban consumption is expected to grow by $23 trillion between 2015 and 2030—a 3.6 percent compound annual growth rate (Mc Kinsey 2015). 80 % of Global GDP is currently accounted by cities and their contribution to national income is sometimes greater than their share of national population (UN Habitat 2016), which might result in the fact that cities are rivalling Nation States in power and influence (Muggah & Barber, 2016).

Cities' role will not increase of importance just for economic reasons but also for democratic responsiveness. Political scientist and lawyers observed also a political renaissance of cities (Barber 2013) and the growing importance of cities as political actors in comparison to the power of nation states (Porras 2015). Cities are actors capable of «democratize globalisation» (Barber 2013) by promoting social and economic inclusions. The determinants of the growth of City power can be identified in external factors, such as the degree of freedom left to them by the central/federal government (Frug & Barron 2008). Or it could be the result of political and bureaucratic courage with legal/economic skills to brilliantly apply the decisions. Connectedness and new networks between cities as a key factor of growth and change. The geographer Parag Khanna (2016) stresses the

attention on the fact that connectivity between growing urban centers (megacities) is creating new world geographies, a «connectography» (Khanna 2016). In this framework, also the issue of the creation of new city-to-city network and the development of urban international relations functions. The emerging field of city diplomacy (Marchetti 2017) will also be faced during this week. Is the resolution of global problem shifting from state-to-state dialogue to city-to-city dialogue?

All these data shows how cities can be avenues for social, economic, democratic innovations but at the same time avenues for new social, economic, democratic challenges. As Richard Florida recently stated, "the basic engine of the new economy is no longer the corporation, but the city" (Florida, 2018).

Recently, Katz and Nowak (2017) proposed a framework of "new localism" based on empirical research on urban trends in US cities. According to the data collected a series of different stakeholders are taking action in cities to solve problems that urban policies cannot solve regarding a large range of issues: social mobility, climate change, transportation, education. This process started in the Eighties and Nineties, in particular in downtowns with interventions on urban public space, fight against drug trafficking and school reforms. The answers to urban challenges the authors measure in their work happens in different ways, but is mostly initiated and led by a group of universities, businesses, or philanthropies. These actors, and this is the most relevant data for the purpose of this work, often assemble around a concrete problem and work in a collaborative and cross-sectorial way. This networked approach is often opposed to the approach embodied by public administration, which tends to be bureaucratic, verticalized, specialized. This is a very controversial aspect of Katz's work: the new localism approach results in showing "a bunch of red counties and red cities that have learned a new patterns of governance that now the blue cities are going to have to catch up with (…) One product of the 20th Century and the centralization of governments is how it infantilized local leadership. They were told "you don't own the problem of housing". I think what's happened with the new localism is for a series of stakeholder at the local level to realize they have to step up, there is no one else". (Florida 2018). The risk presented by an understanding of proactive networks in cities solving urban issues through a pragmatic approach is that it would imply a retraction of the State from its role, leaving the field to actors that ultimately do not hold democratic accountability and are not responsive to citizens. Instead, the way of acting of the urban institutions should tackle the challenge and find innovative ways to govern these network by being a part of it, precisely because they are facing complex urban problems that are relevant for institutional goals of urban democracy, in particular those connected with achieving greater equality and implementing good urban governance.

Cities are on the edge of the academic and policy debate, with a trans-disciplinary and cross-sectorial perspective. The city can be studied from a wide range of standpoint. The

academic debate on city is blossoming, in several disciplines: sociology, political science, policy studies, information science, complexity science, communication studies. In Chapter I, we provided a review of concept and theories in literatures on the study of the commons, in particular the urban commons, conceptualized as democratic innovations and the literature on urban governance and the quality of democracy at the local level focusing on the concepts and theories that are relevant to the research question that is specifically on urban co-governance and the urban commons. The urban question is the major and collateral frame to which this research might contribute to, so this chapter will focus on the introduction of the main approaches to the analysis of the city, identifying the min in gap and lack of understandings in those visions and understanding of the city on the problem of the commons and democracy, and how their relationship can shape the city. This chapter also serve as a justification of the choice to adopt an ecosystemic approach to analyze the case studies of urban policies and practices presented in this work, that aggregates the cases according to the city that they belong to and drawn the conclusions on the approach that different cities under analysis in this work have towards the co-governing and regulation of the urban commons by both institutional and community design.

2.1.1 What interpretative framework for the City? Main urban theories

Robert Dahl analysis of who governs in the city is one of the first and most prominent research efforts adopting an institutional perspective for analyzing power in democratic cities (Dahl, 1961). Current rediscovery and analysis of city is concentrating the attention on the increasingly powerful role that cities play from a political, economic, social perspective.

One of the most prominent tradition of the study of the city in social sciences is the sociological tradition. The Chicago School of urban sociology was the first school of taught that stressed the role of urban context in shaping individual's behavior and social processes in the first half of 18th Century (1915-1940). The writings of the most prominent authors of the Chicago School of Urban Sociology, Robert Park and of the other authors of the School offered a wide and detailed description of the urban life. The Chicago urban sociologist have inaugurated a data collection approach based on long term observation of urban context with a neutral and detached role of the researcher. She/he is engaged in a deep immersion on field, during which he observes the behavior of humans in urban context, the interactions between urban community and the urban infrastructures and dynamics of internal mobility through which they aims at understand the patterns of growth of a city. The Chicago School of Urban Sociology thus brought an influent contribution from the methodological standpoint in sociological approaches and is also the first example of an ecological approach to the study of human urban communities (Giddens 1984, 360-365). It represented an anomaly compared to the traditional sociological approaches that did not consider the effects and more broadly the interaction between social and physical aspects of environment. The Chicago School elaborated a

methodological approach for urban sociology (Park & Burgess, 1925, 63) that focused on the study of the different forces and factors (geographical conditions, emotions, community consciousness, social forces) that shaped community formation and development in the urban context. The literature on urban sociology evolved over the 20th century into an approach that shift the object of analysis from urban sociology to the sociology of the city (Wu 2016). This approach draws into the discipline of urban ecology and urban political economy that re-interpret the city as ecological spaces, stressing the attention on the interconnection of social, physical, economic and political variables into the urban context. The city is therefore to be considered and analyzed as the ecosystem that result from the interaction between those variables.

In a recent review on the current debates in urban theory, Storper and Scott (2016) argue the need for building a comprehensive and stable theory of the city that would be able to account for their genesis, to understand them as a social phenomenon and allow empirical observation of cities through their wide diversity also across time and space. The authors identify a recurrent pattern of cities' development, the urban land nexus (Porter and Scott 2016, 1116), that characterizes any trans – historical and trans-geographical urban process and is referred to cities' main feature is agglomeration followed by the emergence of division of labor organized around network of specialized and inter-connected human activities. The urban land nexus is influenced by five variables: 1) level and mode of economic development, 2) resource allocation rules 3) forms of social stratification 4) cultural norms and cultural traditions 5) relations of political authority and political power (Storper and Scott 2016, 1116). The idea of the urban land nexus fits with the admonishments from prominent urban scholars, such as Brenner and Schmidt (2014), whom questioned the idea of the urban age and suggested to rethink the meaning of the concept of urban itself. The idea of the urban as a fixed assemblage, a settlement. should be reconsidered. The authors suggest to overcoming this dominant narrow view of the urban, understanding that the term "urban" refers not to a form, but rather to a process that implies a polycentric, dynamic, variable socio-spatial transformation (Brenner and Schmidt 2014, 731—755; Brenner 2002, 2013). Storper and Scott (2016) has identified three main version of urban analysis that are dominant in the current debate on cities: postcolonial urbanism, assemblage theory and planetary urbanism. Those analytical approaches overlap with some key features of the urban visions that we will address later in this chapter. Postcolonial urbanism approach admonishes against the risk of a Euro-American perspective that struggles to apply theories constructed observing European and American cities to cities in the Global South. Those cities are furthermore painted as underdeveloped cities, and the focus of the analysis is often on their slums, whose represent the most evident concrete manifestation of the social segregation and high rate of inequality and urban poverty. Among the more early and prominent analysis of urban poverty that focuses on slums was provided by Mike Davis, whose analysis argues how the neoliberal model of urban development on the Global South has produced a system of cities were poor people are forced to live in large and uncontrolled peripheries without

any form of protection of their human rights, and the situation could just get worse. (Davis 2006). Assemblage theory is certainly associated with postcolonial urbanism and his genesis is deeply rooted in the work of post structuralist philosophers such as Deleuze and Guattari. The assemblage theory is concerned with the understanding of the city as a complex space. The city is therefore conceived as an assemblage of network and relationships. Finally, the planetary perspective, of which the processual understanding of the city provided by Brenner and Schmidt (2014) and earlier exposed is part of stresses the fact that the city can't be reduced to the political boundaries of the urban settlements, because the power relations that govern the city are trans-geographic and trans-sectorial. Cities are inserted in a system of global capitalism and constitute an integrated world-wide system of interconnected socio economic relations (Storper & Scott 2016, 1128-1131). All three approaches to urban analysis present criticism and complications. Critiques to postcolonial urbanism are mainly three: it exaggerates the complaints regarding Euro-American theoretical bias in urban analysis, the selective critique of modernist – developmentalist, that actually imposes misunderstanding not only on Global South cities but also on Global North cities and the strong methodological commitment to theoretically – unstructured comparativism, that when exaggerated could bring to compare cities without taking into consideration the deep differences that characterize them, in order to demonstrate that the analysis is neutral and not biased by prejudices. The problem with assemblage theory indeed is that it might describe cities in a too vague and undetermined way, without paying the necessary attention to causal relationships that might shape urban processes. (Storper & Scott 2016 1126-1128). This might be the same dead end in which the understanding of cities as complex system might find itself (Allen 2013). Finally, the critique moved by the authors to the planetary urbanism approach, that mainly represent a response to the neo Marxist approach to the analysis of the city provided by Brenner and Schmidt (2014) is that the power relations and socio economic processes that characterize the urban dimensions have certainly impacts that goed beyond cities' geographic and political boundaries, but they are actually producing their effects inside them. Those relations are capable of inducing change within urban contexts, and the major contribution of this scholarship is that these changes can multiply and evolve, and have impacts also other cities and different spaces and social system outside them. This is actually always been a major features of big cities, since the commercial era when the socio economic relations of the nascent capitalism, that blossomed in the merchant cities affected the colonies and the country around them.

2.2 Major understandings of the "urban vision/ paradigm". The Knowledge-Based City: The City as an economic space.

The following paragraphs will argue that there are four main emerging visions of the city, leveraging different design elements and drawing upon different literatures[3]. The first urban paradigm leverages on agglomeration, of knowledge or culture, bearing entities or human beings as a means to advance urban prosperity. The second vision pays more attention to the environmental sustainability of human settlements such as cities. The third instead is putting more and more emphasis on the technological and digital advancements that cities will need tomorrow, if not already, in order to face the challenges of this new urban age. The fourth is a rights-based vision of the city, sustained by international and European policy communities advocating for a right to the city. This paragraph takes inspiration from a Co-authored article (Iaione & de Nictolis 2017) where the three normative visions of the city were presented, arguing that a fourth normative vision is emerging from the literature on the right to the city and from normative approaches such as the rebel city and the collaborative city. In this paragraph, the four visions are deeply analyzed and criticized as normative approaches.

For both theories of urban agglomeration (Bairoch 1988; Jacobs 1969; Brinkman 2016; Duranton & Puga 2013; Glaeser et al. 2011) and the creative class, (Andersson 1985; Florida 2003, 2005;) the race to attract human capital is an attempt to improve the urban environment as part of a broader virtuous dynamic. The presence of knowledge institutions (i.e. schools, universities, cultural foundations) attracts students and nurtures the presence of skilled people. This creates a larger customer base that in turn attracts new businesses and creates new markets. (McKinsey 2016). As a McKinsey report emphasized, "cities are instant markets for many types of business. As businesses cluster in cities, jobs are created and incomes rise." (McKinsey 2016). Growing cities benefit from agglomeration effects that enable industries and service sectors to have higher productivity than in rural settings. (McKinsey 2016). The growth of cities, as already pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, brings both opportunities and challenges. The case of megacities clearly shows the advantages of decreasing the economic/physical social scale of urban areas. Many megacities have, in fact, started to exhaust their economies of scale and are experiencing slower growth both in their population and per capita GDP. (McKinsey 2016). The challenge to manage the expansion of cities and the increasing complexity that this process brings, in terms of pollution and congestion, risks of diseconomies, deterioration in quality of life, loss of economic dynamism, (McKinsey 2016) falls on the shoulders of city government and city managers, who are not always

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[3] This paragraph takes inspiration from a co-authored earlier article, Iaione C., & De Nictolis, E., (2017) Urban Pooling, Fordham Urban Law Journal. In the article, De Nictolis briefly outlined three normative visions of the city, arguing that a fourth normative visioni is emerging from the literature on the right to the city and from normative approachs such as the rebel city and the collaborative city. In this paragraph, the four visions are deeeply analyzed and presented as normative approaches.

prepared to cope with this challenge, (McKinsey 2016) and have scarce resources (Glaeser 2011).

2.3. The Sustainable City: the City as an Environment and the city as an ecosystem. Overview on the ecological understanding of the City.

There is a large body of academic literature that reflects the vision of cities in the future from a nature-based perspective or an environmental standpoint (Rapoport, 2014). This literature follows different approaches that conceptualize sustainability differently. We identify here as the most prominent operationalization of the concept the normative model of the eco-city and of the city as an ecosystem. The eco-city approach considers how cities can achieve a better environment by reducing air, water, and soil pollution, or developing efficient ways to deal with waste generation. (Marchettini et al, 2014) In contrast, the ecosystem approach is concerned with how biophysical and socio-economic processes are interconnected in the urban environment, and therefore it aims at investigating how cities can achieve sustainable development (Keivani 2009). The idea of the eco-city focuses on the city as a sustainable and resilient environment (Arnold 2014). The eco-city and sustainable city literature sees cities as an ecological environment, a system of natural resources. The eco-urbanism approach highlights the potential of the city to become a sustainable, eco-friendly space. The idea of the eco-city originally emerged out of grassroots environmental movements in the 1960s and 1970s as an approach to urban development respectful of ecological limits (Rapoport 2014). The idea of the eco-city is to change the urban development trajectory by incorporating criteria designed to instill ecological balance in city growth. This notion has been used to describe a wide range of approaches aimed at turning cities into ecologically sustainable places, from small scale to large scale projects, such as the construction of entirely new cities. (Rapoport 2014). One example is Eco Town in the United Kingdom. Eco Town is a policy program launched by the Labor government in 2007 with the aim of building government-sponsored ecological buildings, with the ultimate goal of creating low carbon environments. (BBC 2005). In 2015, the coalition government proposed to cancel the program (Dept. for Communities and Local Government 2015) "The Government has set a target to build 240,000 new homes per annum by 2016 and to reduce CO2 emissions by 80 per cent below 1990 levels by 2050. It is the Government's view that eco-towns should be exemplar projects that encourage and enable residents to live within managed environmental limits and in communities that are resilient to climate change. (Dept. for Communities and Local Government 2009). The idea of the sustainable city also led to the development of an eco-city utopia, which has been applied to cities such as Taijin,[4]

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4. Taijin is a collaborative project between the Chinese and Singaporean government that will house 350,000 people in a low-carbon, green environment around half the size of Manhattan by 2020. (Vince 2012).

the Dongtan City or Masdar City.[5] The ecological approach to urban development is based on the balance between human and nature, and on the idea that the human beings should control their actions in order for them to have a less negative impact on the environment. The eco city is therefore a city where people have an environmentally sustainable urban lifestyle. The ecological city approach to urban development views the urban community as the product of a balanced set of interactions. As Junior and Edward highlights, the aim of this approach is to develop communities that do not exceed the limits of nature to sustain them, as in the right carrying capacity of particular places (Jepson & Edward). The distinction between the concept of sustainability and the concept of resilience is explained by Arnold. (Vale & Campanella, 2005) The concept of resilience takes into account the interconnection between different elements, the social, economic and the ecological. The idea of a resilient city stresses the capacity of a city to react to a disaster or ecosystem changes. Arnolds observes that the concept of resiliency is more grounded in scientific studies than the concept of sustainability, which is a normative goal, as opposed to one that is empirically observable. For Craig and Benson sustainability assumes that "Nature will be as it always has been, so we can simply adjust human action to achieve the ecological benefits that we want" (Craig & Benson 2013). This is a simplistic and conservative standpoint challenged by the critique that the ecological system is much more complex than that and, following Ostrom's suggestion that there is not "one size fits all" with regard to climate change, the need for formulating new principles for ecological governance goal emerge. Resiliency is referred to as the capacity of a system to adapt without changing its basic function and structure. If sustainability is static and rooted in preservation, the idea of resiliency is instead conceived as adaptation based. The concept of resiliency has been traditionally applied to design governance principles for natural resources, although recently is used to apply to urban governance. The challenge to become a resilient city[6] is the challenge to develop a high level of adaptive capacity on several fronts. As Arnolds outlines, some literature focuses on the capacity to be prepared for natural disasters, while others focus on land/infrastructure development, resilience of urban ecosystems neighborhoods and local urban communities (Garmestanj et al., 2014).

The idea of the city as an ecological space is deeply rooted in interdisciplinary studies, although it received a distinct status with the blossoming of the discipline of urban ecology. This approach thus builds on ecology urban ecology literature and understands the city as an ecosystem, in which social, biological, and physical processes interact and shape the urban environment (Foster, 2011). One can imagine the city as an ecosystem involving the interaction between social, economic, and physical aspects of the city. This

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5. The Masdar City Project, to build the "first eco city in the world", is part of the Masdar initiative for clean energy. (Masdar Initiative 2017).

[6]The Rockefeller Foundation launched the 100 Resilient Challenge in order to stimulate cities' efforts to develop a resilient answer to environmental, social and economic challenges that urbanization and other phenomena are posing to them. (100Resilient cities 2016).

school of thought considers the city as an ecological place, thus following the inheritance of the Chicago School of Urban Sociology. The idea of the city as an ecological space draws on the discipline of urban ecology, and urban political ecology already mentioned in the first part of this chapter is a disciplinary approach that, as the geography scholar James Evans (2011) outlines, is based on the awareness that cities are increasingly interconnected from an economic and environmental standpoint and their impacts have grown from local or regional phenomena to global in scale (Mc. Donnell 2015). The discipline of Urban Ecology made his appearance in the seventies and then accelerated after 2009, where sustainable urban development became a priority and "redesigning the urban metabolism in view of sustainability goals became a relevant research question for urban ecology" (Evans 2011). Recent urban ecology literature has begun to recognize the complexity of interactions in the city between ecological, social, and physical processes overcoming the study of the ecology in cities in favor of the study of ecology of cities and it is an approach adopted also by legal analysis of cities focused on the study of the commons from a legal perspective (Foster 2011). The discipline of urban ecology is based on the awareness that "cities are more economically and environmentally interconnected and their impacts have grown from local and regional phenomena to global in scale" (Mc. Donnell 2015). A great interest in the cultural component of the city was posed by the work of Monti et al (2014), in an attempt to understand how the physical construction of cities is a product of cultural beliefs, ideas, and practices and also how the culture of those who live, work, and play in various places is shaped, structured, and controlled by the built environment, analyzing cities worldwide in order to measure the impact of contextual independent variables and thus neutralize the systemic variables. As already anticipated, the conception of the City an ecological space is strictly connected with the study of the urban commons from a legal perspective, as outlined by the legal scholar Sheila Foster (2011). Her contribution on the city as an ecological space stresses the attention on the relationship between urban land use law and policies and social capital. Understanding the impact of the policy choices about physical space on the social and economic networks of the community (the community's social capital) requires a rethinking of management and regulation of the urban commons. (Foster 2011). Land use governance might revitalize regions, cities, and neighborhoods, by taking into account existing social networks of individuals and entities that have a common stake in the resources. (Foster 2011, 578-80). Land use governance boundaries might not correspond to the geographic neighborhood. This is a common feature in cities where social networks might be geographically dispersed or mobile, but still rely upon a resource in the Neighborhood itself. Foster explains that this is the case of the community gardens, were a significant percentage of garden's members live outside the community where the garden is located (Foster 2011, 542). Recently, also the private law scholar Ugo Mattei, together with the physicist Frijtof Capra (2015) proposes an approach deeply rooted in the ecological understanding of reality to drawn a model of international law principles based on the balance between the "laws of nature" and the "laws of humans", therefore arguing that the law might endorse and favor a balanced and respectful cohabitation

between human beings and surrounding nature. The concept of governance is a key research issue for the understanding of sustainable cities. In their research on governing sustainable cities Evans et al. (2005) highlighted that the basic assumption from which they moved on is that good governance is a key leverage for the implementation of sustainable urban development, analyzing the factors that influences the capacity, both institutional capacity and civil society capacity, for policy formulation and policy implementation of urban sustainable development. The case studies analyzed are located by the authors in four categories of 'governing': Dynamic Governing; Passive Government; Active Government; Voluntary Governing. The research found that the group of 'reference' case studies fell under the passive government category, while the majority of 'good practice cases' fell into the dynamic governing category. This suggests according to the authors a clear association between sustainable development policy achievement at local level, and the development of capacity-building measures for sustainable development by local governments.

2.4 The Tech-Based City: the smart city.

There is a burgeoning academic literature on smart cities in different disciplines (urban studies, environmental studies, urban planning studies, sociology) although an extensive empirical analysis of the smart city from a political science perspective is still lacking and the debate is so wide and disconnected that it indeed results in a confusing set of theories and concepts and the lack of a comprehensive operationalization of his dimension. The idea of a smart city emerged as a strategy to mitigate problems generated by urban growth and uncontrolled urbanization processes. (Goldsmith & Crawford 2014). Among the projects developed by the city of Chicago, a particularly successful one is the Park District's beach water quality inspection process, a pilot project of an analytical model. The goal of this tool is to predict which beaches may need to close based on the likeliness of e. coli contamination (Thornton 2016). Another example could be the open grid, launched by the Chicago's Department of Innovation and Technology, a map-based application that provides residents with a way to visually understand complex municipal data. (Thornton 2016) The perspective of the smart city emerged as a strategy to mitigate problems generated by urban growth and uncontrolled urbanization processes. Technology is supposed to be able to help cities respond to the urban challenges. In a smart city, city leaders use data in order to provide citizens with a responsive governance: the use of data analytics and technological solutions might, in fact, help city governments to involve citizens and create economically and socially resilient communities. (Goldsmith & Crawford 2014). The smart city shares with the creative and knowledge city models, a focus on economic growth and industrial – technological development, (Hollands 2008) but has its own peculiar feature is that stress the role of ICT technologies and urban big data. Although both the creative city and the smart city discourse support a strong link between technology development and urban development, as Hollands (2008, 309) observes, the idea of the creative city places more of a "humanist" emphasis

in its vision of the city. The vision of a smart city is that of the city as a technological platform. At the governance level, this would mean a heavy investment in the diffusion of public-private partnerships for the development of digital infrastructures in the city and thus externalization of local public services that can be managed also online. In Italy, as De Blasio and Selva (2016, 238) showed, program on smart cities rely on public–private partnerships and there are no references to concepts such as collaborative governance or subsidiarity. As Deakin (2014) explains in reviewing the theories on the governance challenges of the smart city, the concept of Smart City is conceived as the answer to the complex challenges of socio-economic development and quality of life, in cities. And the first things that cities should do in order to respond to those challenges is to develop digital infrastructure (broadband infrastructure that is able to offer citizens high connectivity) and to disseminate smart devices, sensors and other kind of tools throughout the city which can enable real time data management and processing (Deakin 2014). Deakin and Leyersdoff proposed a "triple helix" model of smart city, which includes cultural attributes and environmental capacity. The author reflects on what "being smart" means for a city. The definition of smartness should envision, they argue, an application of ICT Related development of the knowledge production system (Deakin 2014, 9). According to the author, the model of smart city that is focused on the role of ICT undercut the value of social networks, the intelligence they embed, cultural attributes and environmental capacity that they support, and the interconnection between those factors is responsible for growth of knowledge economy, and contributes to the smartness of a city. (Deakin 2014, 13-14). The smart city arguably presents a chance to respond to some of the greatest social and political challenges of cities, such as urban poverty and citizen engagement. The mixture of urbanization with the increasing use of data and technology is in fact turning the city into a civic laboratory (Deakin 2014, 10) and the smart city perspective is providing civic leaders and government with a unique opportunity to reinvent the city in a more open and democratic form, (Townsend et al., 2010) for instance, the chance to improve data – led strategies by integrating design and grassroots solutions. At the same time, the idea of the city as strongly rooted in smart technologies might face the risk of fueling the conflict in socially and economically stratified cities increasing inequalities by stressing the gap between *haves* and *haves not*, and deepen social divisions (Townsend et al., 2010, 11-12).

2.4.1 The smart city and the sharing economy

Among the most interesting examples of smart cities are Seoul, Amsterdam (Amsterdam Smart City 2017) and Barcelona (Barcelona Smart City. The latter two cities, also analyzed in the first chapter of this work, are examples of cities investing both in technological development and on being "sharing cities" (Bergren Miller, 2015). The concepts of a smart city and a sharing city often overlap. A model of smart city merely focused on smart use of technology and an efficient government is a narrow perspective. The technology on which the smart city is based should be harnessed in the sharing

paradigm, a multi-dimensional element that includes sharing things (car), activities or experiences (political activities), and services (sites for sleeping) (Mc Laren & Ageyman 2015). Sharing can be material or virtual, can involve consumption or production (community gardening is the sharing of a productive activity) and of course it can be rivalrous, like car sharing or non-rival, like open source software (Mc Laren & Ageyman 2015, 7). The sharing city is therefore based upon the idea of recovering the original foundation of the city, that is always been about sharing, not only because is the place where people were used to share public and living spaces. (Bergren Miller 2015). The sharing city model envisage a proactive city government that provide citizens with a regulatory framework that embrace the sharing paradigm as a response to the environmental and social challenges in cities. The technology is still a crucial infrastructure of the sharing city, but it's not conceptualized as merely profit oriented, indeed it can be used in order to build resilient and strong communities. The economist Arun Sundararajan (2016, 125) proposes an interpretation of the emergence of the sharing economy as a form of crowd-based capitalism. The vision of a "crowd-based capitalistic city" that relies heavily on the use of sharing technologies and platforms to exploit the human and material idle capacity that is available in the city (Sundararajan 2016, 223-238). The crowd-based capitalism, for Sundararajan, is an economic system based on five characteristics: 1) largerly market-based. The sharing economy creates markets enable the raise of new services and the exchange of goods, and results in higher level of economic activity. 2) High impact capital. The sharing economy foster the possibility to use resources (assets, time, money, skills) at their full potentiality. 3) Crowd-based networks; Capital and labor comes from decentralized networks, not from corporate or state aggregates and exchange will be intermediated by crowd based market place, instead of centralized third parties; 4) Lines are blurred between the personal and the professional life. The sharing economy commercializes and scales activities that are usually considered as referred to the private life, such as sharing cars or lending money. 5) Lines are blurred between full employment and casual labor. In the sharing economy, traditional full time job are substituted with a system of contract works that features a continuum of granularity, entrepreneurship, economic dependence, time commitment (Sundarajan 2016, 26-30). The sharing economy spans the gift/profit spectrum: on the gift economy side of the spectrum, there are platforms such as Couchsourfing, while a platform such as Airbnb stays in the middle: it is market-oriented, but there is still a gift element, there is a kind of intimacy related to the hosting practices. Hosting someone is not merely a money transaction, hosts also provide gift and company and there is more respectfully behaviors in Airbnb than in a hotel. This is not an uncommon feature in the sharing economy according to Sundararajan, sometimes platforms like Couchsurfing are closer to a social network than to an accommodation platform. The blurred lines between commercial and gift in sharing economy will lead to a greater level of human connectedness into the everyday economic activities and create new social context (Sundarajan 2016, 44-46). On the market side of the spectrum there is One Fine Stay, a platform that allows host to rent their luxury goods (yachts, villas and others). Among the

factors that enable the rise of the sharing economy, Sundararajan includes city environment as a non-digital factor. Indeed, in his own words, "cities are the sharing economy" (Sundarajan 2016, 65). On one side, people living in cities have a stronger attitude for sharing behaviors. When you live in a city, you share parks, living rooms, transportation. Moreover, high density in the city implies that people are more oriented toward renting than owning, there is less space available to store goods and owning is more expensive. The issue of the sharing economy raised by the smart city discourse would deserve a separate analysis. The phenomena of the sharing economy, whose applications are of a crucial relevance for an urban analysis since they are deeply connected with key urban governance problems such as access to digital infrastructure, congestion (car sharing) urban poverty (food sharing, platform for redistribution of food waste). The most prominent manifestation of the sharing economy conceived as crowd-based capitalism are the big corporations such as Airbnb and Uber, that are not distant from the traditional capitalist economy. A different approach is represented by platform of collaborative and pooling economy, both online and offline. The EU devoted efforts to the understanding of the sharing economy as an economic phenomenon and lays the foundation for his regulation in a set of policies. The European Commission addressed the issue of the disrupting impact of the phenomena of the sharing and collaborative economy at the policy level, realizing two survey to EU citizens and issuing two key regulatory documents: the European Commission Communication (COM/2014/0398 final/2), "collaborative consumption models based on lending, swapping, bartering and renting products, and Product Service Systems to get more value out of underutilized assets or resources". Collaborative models thus offer a disruptive change in the producer/consumer relationship and behavior, switching from the concept of goods ownership to the concept of goods access. The EU Communication also highlights that a "collaborative approach can contribute to the EU's sustainability agenda and to the transition to the circular economy". In particular, the collaborative approach paradigm "less products, more users" allows to overcome wastes and inefficiencies of linear economy and to support the transition to circular economy in a perspective of resources use/value optimization (both environmental and economic). Two year later, the European Commission issued an Agenda for the Collaborative Economy (European Commission 2016) that defines collaborative economy as those

> business models where activities are facilitated by collaborative platforms that create an open marketplace for the temporary usage of goods or services often provided by private individuals. The collaborative economy involves three categories of actors: (i) service providers who share assets, resources, time and/or skills — these can be private individuals offering services on an occasional basis ('peers') or service providers acting in their professional capacity ("professional services providers"); (ii) users of these; and (iii) intermediaries that connect — via an online platform — providers with users and that facilitate transactions between them

('collaborative platforms'). Collaborative economy transactions generally do not involve a change of ownership and can be carried out for profit or not-for-profit" (European Commission 2016).

The Agenda also highlights that, given the highly dynamic and evolutionary nature of the sharing and collaborative economy, the Commission "intends to establish a monitoring framework covering both the evolving regulatory environment and economic and business developments" (European Commission 2016, 15). The Agenda addresses the two key issues of worker's protection and taxation. About the latter, Member States are invited to assess their tax rules to create a "level playing field for businesses providing the same services. Member States should also continue their simplification efforts, increasing transparency and issuing online guidance on the application of tax rules to collaborative business models". (European Commission 2016, 15). The workers' protection is instead address in terms of both competition and security: In order to help people make full use of their potential, increase participation in the labor market and boost competitiveness, while ensuring fair working conditions and adequate and sustainable social protection, foreseeing that Member States assess the adequacy of their national employment rules considering the different needs of workers and self-employed people in the digital world as well as the innovative nature of collaborative business models, and provide guidance on the applicability of their national employment rules in light of labor patterns in the collaborative economy (European Commission 2016, 13). The monitoring activities, that express the willingness of the European Commission to advise the Member States toward an experimental policy making approach, will include: periodic surveys of consumers and businesses on the use of the collaborative economy; Ongoing mapping of regulatory developments in Member States; Stakeholder dialogue in the framework of the Single Market Forum, with twice yearly forums to assess sector development on the ground and to identify good practices. The monitoring implemented so far consisted in two Public Consultation: the first, "Public consultation on the regulatory environment for platforms, online intermediaries, data cloud computing and the collaborative economy" was published on September 24th, 2015 and the second, the "Public Consultation on The Collaborative Economy In The Tourism Accommodation Sector", was published on the 28th of June, 2017.

The transformative impact of the technological sharing economy platform on cities has been addressed by administrative law scholar Nestor Davidson and John Infranca (2016) from a legal perspective. They observe that the urban character of the sharing economy is attributable to the physical and social conditions of the urban environment that facilitate the diffusion of sharing economy platforms. (Davidson & Infranca 2016, 223) These platforms allow city residents to share the idle capacity of some of their assets (e.g., clothing, tools, or a spare bedroom) with other residents living in close proximity to them, or with tourists looking for accommodation (Finck & Ranchordas 2016) Davidson and Infranca (2016, 238) further suggest that the rise of the sharing economy can also be understood as a reaction to the current landscape of urban governance. The authors

observe how the sharing economy affects the dynamics of local politics and suggest that local governments must consider the potential of the sharing economy as a tool for redistribution, embracing an adaptive approach that would provide a differentiated regulatory strategy for the sharing economy in city neighborhoods (Davidson & Infranca 2016, 276).

One of the most advanced policy program urban policy program on the sharing economy at the Global Level is the Seoul Sharing City Program. The city of Seoul and the proactive role of the Seoul metropolitan government in enhancing the sharing economy in the city through the Sharing City project is an interesting example of sharing cities. Initiated in 2012, the Sharing City project promotes and supports various sharing economy initiatives such as sharing economy apps, enterprises, and start-ups. In the first two phases of the project (2012-2013) the government provided startups, companies, and city residents with support to develop sharing services (Foster & Iaione 2016 343,345). The city enacted an ordinance, the "Seoul Metropolitan Government Ordinance on the Promotion of Sharing (Bernardi & Diamantini 2015) designating sharing organizations and enterprises, providing a Sharing Promotion Fund, and organizing sharing schools and communication activities. The Seoul Metropolitan Government pushed a lot in terms of dissemination and information of the policy among citizens, through meetings, seminars, conferences, and campaigns aimed at sharing practices. The events are organized by Sharehub, managed by Creative Commons Korea, a very important structure in the development of the project (Bernardi 2016). In a later phase (2014-2015), with the aim of fostering the sharing city in communities, the municipality encouraged citizens to develop their own applications using public data (Guerrini 2014). In order to encourage entrepreneurialism and education of young residents to share, the government organized sharing schools and startup schools (Johnson 2014). One of the first steps was the creation of the Sharing City Team and the establishment of an international advisory group under the Social Innovation Bureau by the Seoul Metropolitan Government (Jung, 2015). The government supported the creation of new sharing businesses and starts up, including the sharing of cars and car parking,[7] children's school clothes, meals—with the purpose of establishing a social dining practice—and spare rooms. The application, Kiple, is being developed for this purpose and is based on the exchange of kids' clothes (Kiple 2017). Different kinds of food and kitchen sharing are proliferating in Seoul, from experiences of food sharing as "everyone's refrigerator" to apps for social dining such as Dooridobap, that connects and helps students make meal plans, or Neighborhood Village Kitchen, supported by the local government, where Neighborhood residents might share meals (Seoul Share Hub, 2016). Sharing of spare rooms is promoted for both tourism and for social reasons, for instance providing students with cheap accommodation with the students helping their landlords in everyday life activists (Guerrini 2014). The widespread of sharing economy in cities also raises crucial issues in terms of urban democratic quality and this reflection

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7. Companies such as Socar and Greencar foster the sharing of 564 car locations with over 1000 cars (Johnson, 2014).

could lead to a comprehensive operationalization of the smart city. A comprehensive and critical framework for the sharing/collaborative/pooling economy that highlight his most controversial democratic aspects and includes the phenomena in the operationalization of the smart city is required and still lacking.

2.5 The Rebel City and the Human Rights City

The above complications was faced by the emergence of a fourth vision of the twenty-first century city centered on rights of urban residents and based on the right to the city/human right protection in cities. In this chapter we argue that this paradigm partially respond to the complications revealed by the previously described normative definition of the city and takes into account their controversial aspects from the democratic standpoint, addressing issues of rights, equality and social justice that is lacking in the other normative approaches. This Part then outlines two approaches emerging in the implementation of the right to the city normative definitions: the "rebel city" and the "co-city." The urban visions described above represent a broad description of the arguments discussed in the disciplines that address urban issues, and thus are under-inclusive of the many diverse visions articulated. However, none of them provide a right-based argument, while the literature on the right to the city is a rich and varied one.

There are two main pillars to start building from to adopt a rights-based approach as an urban model that is aimed at providing a reply to the challenges and complications of urban development, mainly related to social, economic, political equality in cities. They are partially intertwined. First, a rights-based vision of the city is built upon the idea of the right to the city. The right to the city, as already anticipated in the first chapter, was introduced in the scholarly debate by the philosopher Henry Lefebvre in 1968 in his examination of the urban roots of social movements (Lefebvre 1968, 147). It was later addressed into contemporary urban studies by the geographer David Harvey (2012, 939-41).

The Lefebvrian idea of the right to the city can be translated into a normative model of city that advances the right of city inhabitants to be part of the creation and development of the city. This means that all the people settled in a city should have the right to be part of the decision-making processes shaping their future and the spaces they live in. It also requires the recognition of the power of inhabitants to shape decisions about and have equal access to the urban resources and services in which they all have a stake (Purcell 2002, 102). This vision of the city is therefore a critique of the current dominant urban development paradigms. Such patterns are shaping urbanization in a way that is hampering full access by every city inhabitant to essential urban resources and services Harvey (2012, 940-41). Second, a rights-based vision is also aligned with the idea of city-based human rights and the growing interest in using urban policies to protect human rights recognized by international law (Oomen & Van Den Berg 2014). This is

particularly true with issues related to climate change (Foster & Galizzi 2016), climate injustice or more generally the issue of sustainability. Human rights recognition has become an important challenge, and responsibility, for cities too. While the role of Nation States, and the supporting activity of civil society organizations and businesses in the realization of human rights has always been recognized, the direct role of cities in protecting human rights received attention from scholarship only recently (Oomen, Davis & Grigolo 2016) that outlined the development of "human rights cities", conceptualized as cities that express a strong commitment toward the realization of human rights. (Grigolo 2010; Xifaras 2016). Recently, the city of Madrid issued a Strategic Human Rights Plan. The plan grant every person who lives in Madrid with the right to have access to basic urban services: health, education, security, social services, energy, tele-communications. The city is committed to realize these rights progressively, on the base of the principles of progressivity, maximum use of the resources, and no discrimination. The city is also committed to adopt a fiscal policy that allows the realization of those rights (*Ayuntamento de Madrid* 2016). One of the applications of the human rights approach to the city is the policy area of housing. An interesting case is represented by the city of Burlington, Vermont, where city officials and housing activists created a community land trust with a $ 200,000 city grant, in order to guarantee long term affordability of housing realized using public subsidies, as provided by the city law. (Scott 2013). Among the crucial challenges for human rights in the city one must also include the issue of public services. Increasing privatization of urban services such as water and energy is in fact a crucial point for cities that must account for the balance between the realization of rights and the protection of foreign investments (Tanzi 2013). Cities can play a particular role by recognizing and securing to every city inhabitant the right to have access to essential resources and services (Coggin, Marius & Pieterse 2015).

2.5.1 Global and EU policies for the right to the City and the safeguard of human rights in cities.

The injection of the right to the city and of a human rights-based approach into city governance and policymaking as a way to guarantee a better urban future has been recently addressed by the United Nations. The vision encapsulated in the New Urban Agenda through the U.N. Habitat III Conference in 2016 is that of a sustainable urban development, that aims at ending poverty and achieving a sustainable, inclusive urban prosperity (U.N. Conference on Housing & Sustainable Urban Development, 2016). The New U.N. Urban Agenda envisions cities where the full realization of the right to adequate living, universal access to safe and affordable drinking water and sanitation, and "equal access for all to public goods and quality services in areas such as food security and nutrition, health, education, infrastructure, mobility and transportation, energy, air quality, and livelihoods" are promoted (U.N. Conference on Housing & Sustainable Urban Development 2016, 13). Cities are participatory, engendering a sense of belonging and ownership among all their inhabitants, and are committed to promoting "equitable

and affordable access to sustainable basic physical and social infrastructure for all, without discrimination, including affordable serviced land, housing, modern and renewable energy, safe drinking water and sanitation, safe, nutritious and adequate food, waste disposal, sustainable mobility, healthcare and family planning, education, culture, and information and communication technologies" (U.N. Conference on Housing & Sustainable Urban Development 2016, 34). The New Urban Agenda brings both opportunities and challenges for urban policy and practice also in light of the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG11) established by the United Nations (UN 2016b) as highlighted by Caprotti et al. (2017), who also highlighted the connection between the model of city designed by the New Urban Agenda and the model of the sustainable city, which help us to build a connection between two of the normative approaches presented in this chapter. What emerges from the New Urban Agenda is a focus on the evidence base, or data-driven, urban policy making as a leverage to implement the smart city. The authors also highlights that the role of urban citizens is largely missing from the UN Urban Agenda.

Various authors underlined the core content and applications of the right to the city (Marcuse 2009; Mitchell 2003). There are tensions and contradictions that emerge from this vision. For instance, the right to the city can at the same time be a right to collective power, related to deliberation and participation, and a right against unjust collective decisions taken by authorities, related to representation and delegation (Attoh 2011).
We can identify two slightly different approaches emerging within the vision of a rights-based normative understanding of the right-based city: the "rebel city" approach, valuing political conflict and the act of reclaiming the commons (Harvey 2012) and the "co-city" approach that we will introduce later which advances a model of urban co-governance to reach the same goal. They partially overlap and potentially complement each other.

Indeed both approaches align to some degree with the idea of the commons to construe a rights-based city. The main difference is the entry point they use for the right to the city and the commons in the city: the rebel city tries the door of urban politics, while the co-city instead uses the door of urban policy. A normative definition of the city based on the idea of "rebel cities" initially depicted global cities in which inhabitants took an active role in the struggle against the process of capital-intensive urbanization that is a "perpetual production of an urban commons (or its shadow-form of public spaces and public goods) and its perpetual appropriation and destruction by private interests" (Harvey 2012, 80). In 2011, rebel cities urban revolutionary movements, such as urban protests and sit-ins in London, Madrid, Barcelona, or the "Occupy Wall Street" movement in New York. The Occupy Wall Street Movement began in New York City on September 17, 2011 and spread to several U.S. cities. The strategy of the movement is to occupy a central public space, such as a park or a square close to a center of power concentration. In the case of New York, it was Liberty Square in the Manhattan Financial District. The occupied public space became a center for public discussion and debate

about what those in power are doing and possible opposition strategies. The aim of the movement is to protest austerity policies and the power of major financial institutions. (Occupy Wall Street 2011; Harvey 2012, 159-64). Those movements took action to reclaim the right to the city (Mattei & Quarta 2015). The case studies highlighted by Harvey are characterized by a high degree of conflict (Harvey 2012, 155-57). Cities are indeed becoming places where wealth is highly concentrated and inequality exponential. Thus the risk that this fracture turns into conflict is very high. Growing inequality in cities is a dynamic strongly linked to the real estate investments. Leading urban sociologist Saskia Sassen (1991) examined urban land acquisitions in the global cities. Urban property is attractive due to its increasing value, but also because it allows the owner to access the space of cities that stand at the heart of the global economy. Investments are not concentrated purely in buildings, but also undeveloped lots (Sassen 2016). Instead of being used, many investment properties are actually empty or under-utilized, (Sassen 2016a, 104-105) serving instead as money storage units for big companies (Sassen 2016a, 113). According to Sassen, investments in urban land are generating something worse than gentrification, they trigger forms of "expulsions" (Sassen 2014,78) from urban areas. The growing inequality in urban land property and the displacement processes will inevitably trigger new "rebellions" as patterns of change in urban land and buildings ownership impact the character of the city, through the privatization and transformation of urban public spaces (Hardt & Negri 2009, 250). Another source of conflict and therefore possible urban rebellion is happening in cities where sharing economy platforms are disrupting local industries (Davidson & Infranca 2016, 47). The potential conflict is clear from the protests and riots triggered by taxi drivers against Uber in France where, after the protest of Taxi drivers–that eventually became violent against the new app launched by Uber, Uber POP—French drivers of app companies like Uber and *Chauffeurs Privées* organized a counter protest in February. (Business Insider UK 2016; Pedersen 2016); Belgium (Fioretti 2015); Latin America, that is also Latin America is also the fastest development region for Uber, with Mexico on the top. (Willis 2016, Euractiv 2015) and Costa Rica (Woody 2016), and recently in Kenya, Nairobi (BBC news 2016). After the protest of Taxi drivers–that eventually became violent against the new app launched by Uber, UberPOP—French drivers of app companies like Uber and Chauffeurs Privées organized a counter protest in February. (Business Insider UK 2016; Pedersen 2016). Sharing economy platforms or smart city initiatives, much like traditional urban land development (Sassen 2014, 113) will be increasingly confronted with these kind of conflicts if they do not face the issue of the inequalities they produce. The role of social movements in the urban context has evolved from an early resistance mode toward an approach focused on constructing a pragmatic alternative to the urban regime established by the impact of austerity policies on cities, adopting a strategy built around the pillar of the urban commons. They started building municipal political platforms to fight these phenomena politically. The Spanish example is paradigmatic (Marti-Costa & Tomàs 2016) in particular the case of Barcelona (already analyzed in chapter 1) and, in the Italian context, the city of Naples that will be analyzed in chapter 5

and Rome, where the political variable and the role of urban authorities is less strong and coordinated with social movements than in the case of Naples or Barcelona, as it will appear from the analysis provided in chapter 4.

2.5.2. The idea of the Co-City

A second vision which incorporates the rights-based approach is the "co-city approach". It still builds on the lessons drawn from the literature on the right to the city and the commons. The idea of the co-city relies upon the research efforts conducted in recent years in order to investigate if urban essential assets and services could be reframed as urban shared resources, as opposed to public or private ones, and whether research on the governance of the commons could improve management of these resources and services. (Foster, 2011) The guiding research question then became whether, in the age of sharing, peer to peer, and collaboration, the lessons learned from the urban commons could make room for a new way of thinking in the design of urban public and economic institutions. In other words, beyond single urban assets and services as shared resources, can the city itself as a pooled resource be transformed into a collaborative ecosystem where collective action for the commons is recognized and enabled? (Foster & Iaione 2016, 170). These approaches on the Co-City and specifically the governance of the urban commons suggests that co-governance of urban essential resources can be adopted as an urban policy strategy to transition away from the current urban governance paradigm, based on public-private partnerships, towards co-governance which is based on shared, collaborative, polycentric governance (Foster & Iaione 2016) and public-commons partnership. Such a shift presupposes an "enabling state," a city government that would liberate and support collective action across the city and allow local communities to guide decisions about how commons are used, who has access to them, and how they are shared among a diverse population. The shift from the urban commons to the city as a commons, exemplified in evolving models of the sharing city and the collaborative city requires a theory of urban co-governance as a methodological and analytical framework. The framework can be adopted to give a contribution to the understanding and analysis of the spread of public-private-civic partnerships (Sorice 2014) around the commons in urban contexts as an empirical indicator of collaborative governance, one of the dimensions of the variable of collaboration in the open government framework (Sorice & De Blasio 2016, 20).

2.6 Conclusions

This chapter argued how the increase of City power from different perspectives (both social, economic, political) will bring opportunities but also challenges for all democratic societies. Cites are dealing with an increasing number of challenges, along with increasing complexity, although their power stays the same.

The chapter showed how new role of cities as political and economic powerful actors will be a platform for opportunities but also for increasing social inequality and conflicts. Saskia Sassen (2010) has highlighted how in the cities she defined as global cities (i.e. London, Tokyo) we can observe a direct relation between the activity of financial centers and the worsening of inequalities (i.e. expulsion of lower and middle class members from neighborhoods, recently fueled by speculative activities of finance on urban land). (Sassen 2010; 2014). In other areas, for instance Central America, strong urbanization processes caused by global economic process (i.e. land grabbing) produce the mobilization of people living in rural areas toward cities that are not able to host them properly, in a form of unplanned migration (Sassen 2018).

An emerging policy debate at the EU level is showing how cities are reclaiming a stronger voice in the European decision making system (Committee of Constitutional Affairs of the European Parliament, 2018; See also OPINION of the Committee on Regional Development for the Committee on Constitutional Affairs on the role of cities in the institutional framework of the Union (2017/2037(INI) 2018). The debate is focused on the lack of a formal role of cities in the policy making process and the institutional framework of the European Union. This is changing with the recognition of cities' role granted by both EU and global policies such as the Pact of Amsterdam, the New Urban Agenda, the UN Sustainable Development Goals. Heinelt (2017) recently highlighted that cities are crucial actors not of EU policy making because they are a key actor when it comes to implementing and applying EU legislation, first of all because it must be translated in to the domestic systems and actors of campaigns and lobbying such as cities are key, and secondly because they are exercise a role of monitoring agencies for the Commission of the implementation of EU legislations by Member states. Also, the effectiveness of EU policies can be improved by the cities' expertise and the legitimacy itself of the policies is strengthened by cities' involvement.

The collaborative approach embodied by the case studies analyzed in this work, inspired by the principle of subsidiarity, civic autonomy and civic collaboration is able to reinforce the position of the city involved to bring examples of concrete solutions to the policy challenges addressed by global and EU policies addressing cities (such as challenges like the quality of public goods and services and the quality of urban life, protection of cultural heritage. The framework of the urban co-governance of the commons challenges many of the assumptions on which the current understanding of the city are based in political science. The chapter builds on this challenge and provide the argument that a clarity is needed in the plural and multi-disciplinary academic debate on cities. It is necessary to choose an interpretative framework for studying the challenges of urban-governance of the commons in democratic cities. From the analysis of the theoretical framework in urban theories and the urban models emerging from them, we can observe that the urban commons ad co-governance are rooted in the model of city as an ecological space (Foster

2007) deriving from the urban ecology approach, along with the the rights-based city appraoch, on which models of sharing cities or co-cities are based on.

Chapter III

The dimensions of urban co-governance of the commons.

3.1 Participation, sharing, collaborative governance and polycentrism.

The study of the urban commons is indeed trans-disciplinary and approached the issue from different standpoint. It also raises the necessity of new criteria to account for the democratic experimentations taking place in cities all over Europe. As showed in Chapter I, research efforts of governance of the commons and the urban commons in particular advance the idea that collaborative strategies to govern the tangible and intangible resources in the City is a possible way, and is already happening in urban contexts.

But in order to measure this emerging phenomenon empirically we first need to adapt the theories of the governance of the commons to the urban democratic context. As already stated, Elinor Ostrom (with Harini Nagendra) already provides empirical findings demonstrating that a cooperation between communities and urban authorities was a factor of success to secure conservation of natural resources in the City of Bangalore through a cooperative management (Ostrom & Nagendra, 2014). But the literature on the governance of the commons, although taking into account the general theories on governance and the shift from government to governance in democratic societies and the theories of democratic participation, does not provide a comprehensive account of the theoretical and empirical contributions coming from the literature on urban participatory democracy; deliberative democracy; collaborative governance; open government. In order to provide an empirical operationalization of characteristics of urban co-governance, this is a necessary step.

This chapter will first position urban co-governance in the relevant literature on participatory, deliberative, associative democracy. The attention will then be stressed on the arguments advanced by those authors in political science describing the phenomena of active citizenship and civic activism towards urban issues and those who underlined the implications of this phenomena on urban democracy. We will then provide a critical review of this literature, arguing that there is a general tendency to consider organized city inhabitants and NGOs, often failing to explain the role of other kind of actors, which are instead often involved in urban regeneration processes such as social private actors, private actors, international public organizations, unorganized city inhabitants. The chapter will then build on this literature to provide an empirical operationalization of the urban co-governance variable explaining its main dimension related to the actors: participation, sharing, collaboration, polycentrism and equality.

The commons are often framed as a reaction against conjunctural phenomena (financial

and economic crisis) to increase access to resources at risk of privatization and achieve the goal of equality. For della Porta (2015, 139-140; Fattori 2013) the commons are re-discovered by social movements as spaces in which the common goods are to be managed through the participation of all those affected by them, relying upon the knowledge hold by citizens. The effect of conjuncutral financial and economic phenomena on cities where analyzed by Sassen in terms of the connection between financial investments in urban spaces in global cities and increase of inequalities (Sassen 1990, 2014). Morlino and Quaranta instead emphasized instead the impact of economic crisis on the dimensions of democratic quality at the national level, encountering in Europe a general deterioration of the rule of law, the increasing of citizens' sensitiveness about what governments deliver and a detachment from the institutional channels of representation along with a choice to protest (Morlino & Quaranta 2016). The activation of forms of collective action and political protest for reclaiming urban commons as a reaction against the impact of financialization and the post-2008 economic crisis is a common object of study (Harvey 2012; Lamarca 2015; Kioupkiolis 2018). Social movements and civil society organizations advocating for the urban commons and the right to the city have a global extent and so are single cities or cities' networks policy initiatives, such as the Mexico City Charter for the Right to the City (2008) as well as NGO – based network such as the Global Platform for the Right to the city. These analysis stress on one side relational process of collaboration – not focusing only on the commons as shared resources, but also as a process of social cooperation – and on the other side on the way they reconfigure the relationship between urban social movements and public institutions.

The case studies analyzed in this work and roughly anticipated in Chapter I raise the questions that there are instances, in Italy, at the EU level but also at the global level, such as in US or Asian cities, where we can observe different civic actors (organized civil society, unorganized urban inhabitants, social movements) uprising for the commons (Bailey & Mattei 2013) and innovative policy approaches carried out by cities to regulate the governance of the urban commons.

The investigation of the related emergence of policy innovations that foster active citizenship, collaborative democracy and governance of city commons and the way this process shapes relevant dimensions of urban democracy is still an open challenge. The phenomenon of active citizenship and associative democracy is not to be considered as a dimension of participation or co-governance, indeed it is actually a transversal feature of such phenomena. The co-governance of the commons can be activated also outside the boundaries of civic associations (as well as outside the boundaries of political activism) but as the empirical findings reveal it is often nurtured and sustained by it. The first conceptual pillars that we must pose to operationalize urban co-governance and analyze it from an empirical perspective is to understand its connection with the dimension of participation. The first step that we will make is to identify the distinctions between the dimensions of urban co-governance of the commons with those of conventional and

unconventional participation. The first dimension of urban co-governance, *sharing*, measure the increased access to the responsibility of taking care of the commons in the city, shared between institutions and city inhabitants.

In order to define sharing we must start from the theorizations on the active citizens and the subsidiarity principle. In their well-known study on political cultures, Almond and Verba codified the "participant political culture" where the members of society are expected to be active and mobilized. They are not just loyal to the law, they also take a proactive part in the formation of decisions (Almond & Verba 1963, 18/21). In the Italian context, the theories on active citizenship and horizontal subsidiarity must be taken in particular consideration. A reform of the Italian constitution in 2001, in fact, introduced the principle of horizontal subsidiarity (art. 118, par. 4). With the inclusion of horizontal subsidiarity in the Constitution, it is stated that the Republic has the duty to favor the autonomous activity of citizens when oriented towards the general interest.

One of the big concerns of most of the authors that addressed civic participation or active citizenship is that of identifying the connection between the associative participation and the political participation. The political sociologist Giovanni Moro (2014) argues that civic activism might be conceived as the "anomaly" that undermines some of the pillars of the traditional democratic citizenship paradigm. Studies on the relationship between electoral participation and civic participation calls into question the assumption that an increase in civic participation corresponds to an increased exercise of the right to vote. Biorcio & Vitale (2016) explained that the participation to a civic association reduces the inequalities of "access" to political participation: the fact of participating in an association increases the probability of being politically active (Biorcio & Vitale 2016 at 184). Associative participation is a platform for improving democratic and civic skills of individuals and by this mean increasing their access to conventional political participation.

The question of the representation of civic organizations, which for Moro (2014) does not adapt to the traditional forms of representative legitimacy and is nevertheless perceived as highly legitimized. The dilemma concerning political scientists is aimed at understanding the relation between democratic malaise, or crisis of representation, and participation. For this purpose, the literature often distinguishes between visible and invisible participation (Quaranta 2012) – being informed about political activities and intervening directly; individual and organized participation –a citizen can participate at the individual level - through vote expression – or at the collective level, through organization such as political parties. Another key distinction is that between conventional or un-conventional participation (the latter being expressed through petitions, boycotts, public manifestations, un-authorized strikes, occupied buildings, while conventional participation is expressed through the vote and party membership, Quaranta 2012). Empirical findings from Italy shows that the eroded relations between

citizens and political parties is compensated in Italy by the growth of unconventional forms of participation. So, according to Quaranta, Italian democracy is not turning into an apathetic country, under the civic and political standpoint: is the way in which citizens are involved in public life that is dramatically changing. Un conventional participation is the venue able to involve citizenship, escaping from perceived corruption of political class (Quaranta 2012). In the last twenty years in Italy, according to the author, a real participative revolution came, as a result on one side of the several occasion of un conventional participation, and on the other side it's a result of the fact that citizen understood that they cannot count on the party intermediation role: citizens has been obliged to become the main actors of political life (Quaranta 2012). Dissatisfaction with democracy is also a key point to explain the relationship between participation and political protest. Dissatisfaction seems to be a motivational mechanism that pushes those who find the political system unsatisfactory to directly challenge it, without using the conventional channels of representation. This may be due to the fact that these citizens do not deem the conventional channels to be effective in addressing their issues (Quaranta 2014). Experiences like Podemos, Syriza or the Scottish national party highlight the raise of new realities in institutional politic, with new organizational forms and methods, also taken by the realm of social movements: this represent a new space for democratic participation, and a new flexible characteristic of political system (Sorice 2014). Some authors stated that public participation is not essential for established democracy, while others assumed that forms of direct participation would benefit the public as well as the State (Font, Wojcieszak & Navarro 2015).

Moro (2014) ultimately raises two crucial issues: the definition to be given to the phenomenon of active citizenship (the "name of the thing", as the author himself ironically defines) and the relationship between the active citizenship phenomena and the quality of democracy. The author adopts an empirical phenomenology approach, trying as much as possible from the use of a normative approach, which he considers harmful to the study of such a complex phenomenon. The use of a normative approach, in fact, might raise the question of how far a phenomenon differs from the "ideal" model. Instead, what is necessary is a reflection on the possibility that the dominant theory is not able to understand the extent of the phenomenon itself. The phenomenon of active citizenship and civic activism in general is indeed characterized by spontaneity, fluidity and has many facets. Moro also addresses the connection between active citizenship and the democratic quality, providing an analytical framework to assess the "civic" quality of democracy. Active citizenship is conceptualized as a participative phenomenon, not included within the party system nor structured within the left – wing asset, that does not reflect the social and political cleavages of society, remains outside electoral competition and has no significant representation. After analyzing active citizenship as an anomaly, the author makes a reflection on active citizenship as a phenomenon, thus highlighting the empirical elements that distinguish it and being able to better understand its impact on reality; in terms of identity and operations, the author recounts the "history" of active citizenship,

the context in which the phenomenon was born and developed and its scope in the current historical moment. With regard to the enucleation of the meanings of active, political, operative and constitutional citizenship, particular attention is given here to the constitutional meaning of active citizenship, which connects the author according to the freedom of association at the border of circular subsidiarity. The author takes up a definition of Giuseppe Cotturri, that of circular subsidiarity to mark the difference with the traditional Catholic, liberal and socialist views of subsidiarity as emerges from the reading of the constitutional text. The heart of Moro's work is in the third part of the book, where the author deals with the analysis of the impact of the phenomenon of active citizenship on the dimensions of democratic quality; What is the relationship between active citizenship and democratic politics, taking into account the peculiarities of the phenomenon? The key used by the author is that which privileges the understanding of active citizenship as part of a process of transformation of democracy.

The most recent and best known formalization of democratic quality, proposed by Leonardo Morlino, identifies three dimensions of democratic quality, a procedural dimension, of content and results, identifying democratic quality standards in the face of which Moro presents a standard hypothesis of civic quality of democracy, organized following the same ratio of classical standards. In this sense, Moro's work represents an advancement of the research process on democratic quality, which allows to combine civic quality standards with the defined standards. The care of commons, for example, is inserted by the author as a standard referred to the substantive dimension. The specification of this standard is better protection and maintenance of commons, the extension of the amount of protected assets and equality in access. The dimensions of democratic quality (Morlino, 2011) from which to start in order to measure an impact of such urban policies for the purpose of this work is equality/solidarity (measured through the creation of public-private-community partnership around urban commons and the trigger of a community-led development and collaborative/cooperative institutions creating job and economic opportunities). Given the scarsity of data and researches in this issue and the lack of a shared understanding of the operationalization of dimensions of democratic quality at the urban level, the study of this issue would require both descriptive and an analytical effort.

Literature on the emerging phenomena of democratic innovations showed how they can provide more opportunity for participation, increase legitimacy in political institutions, and through the involvement citizens can become more informed and interested in local political affairs, also becoming more aware and responsible, delivering valuable outcomes for local communities and for democracy itself (Thompson & Riedy, 2014). The basic assumption behind collaborative innovations, the more advanced tread, is that collaboration between public administration and citizens could be an evolution of the participative approach, because it provides the practical involvement of citizens in general interest activities, working together with public institutions. Participative

deliberative and collaborative innovations must be effective. Scholars have provided index such as e-participation index (Milakovich 2012) and quality of deliberation index (Della Porta & Rucht 2014).

The study of urban participatory policies in the Italian context is been widely addressed and prominent scholars have highlighted the characteristics of those processes, also highlighting the concentration of issues on participatory urban planning (Font, della Porta & Sintomer 2014). A recent research focused on the implementation of the Open Government Partnership (policies and platforms on transparency, participation and collaboration, whose of course often overlap with the cases presented here, since many of the participatory and collaborative policy processes around the commons or co-governance issues such as urban planning are conducted through a digital platform) in selected EU countries showed that the model of collaborative governance is hardly being implemented into national policies, and that the open government agenda is still focused on a concern with transparency measures (De Blasio & Selva, 2016).

The operationalization of urban co-governance is ultimately rooted into the theories of new public governance as a model of public management that overcame the new public management. The "public administration and management approach" (Osborne 2006) identifies three main phases: a first phase (1890 – 1970/1980) where the public administration was shaped by a bureaucratic – statalist paradigm. The state is conceived as the unique holder of power to decide and implement public policies. A second phase (1970/1990) where the New Public Management is dominant and a third phase (2006/ongoing) where a pluralistic paradigm of new public governance is emerging. The core mechanism of the bureaucratic paradigm was authority, standardization and hierarchy; the core mechanism of the new public management is efficiency (Hood 1991; Osborne & Graeber 1992); that of new public governance, based on the failure of New Public Management of imposing unbearable democratic constraints and the conceptualization of the public policy production process as a managerial process (Meier 1997). The central pillars of new public governance of networked governance (Osborne 2010) is the principle of coordination, multi-stakeholder approach and centrality of public policies against politics (which raises risks of de-politicization). New Public Governance implies that public administration implements public policies through cooperation and building partnerships with for profit and not-for-profit actors, relying upon existing networks (Cepiku, Ferrari & Greco 2005). The literature identifies two possible roles for the State in those partnerships: a partnership based on total equality of the actors, where the State does not have a role of coordination and a partnership based on differentiation of roles, where the democratic legitimacy of the State as a representative institutions are recognized and it recovers a different role (Cepiku, Ferrari & Greco 2005; Mayntz 1998; Scharpf 1990).

The debate on new public governance is still open and the adaptation of the model of

public administration is generating interesting developments. The relevance of integrating the dimension of collaboration into the variable describing the forms of State emerges mostly from the studies of the chances offered by technological development to realize an open and participatory government (Noveck 2010) and the studies on collaborative governance as an institutional technology (Bingham 2010, Iaione 2015).

Collaborative governance, as operationalized in a dimension focused on the actors, might be defined as

> A governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets. (Ansell & Gash, 2007)

Foster and Iaione (2017) proposed a definition of urban co-governance based on sharing, collaboration and polycentrism, as one of the design principle for the governance of the city as a commons. This intuition is based on the argument that we can observe different governance devices according to different degrees of a governance matrix according to the actors involved and the type of partnership they are involved in (Iaione 2016). This operationalization of urban co-governance governance entails the application of multi-actorial processes to the decisions on and management of urban commons. Policies and projects addressing the urban commons entails dimensions of active citizenship (Arena 1997; Arena & Iaione, 2012) and forms of co-governance (Kooiman 2003, 96-112; Ansell & Gah 2008; Bingham 2009) with different degrees and intensity.

3.2 Equality

Scholars in the field of democratic innovations has widely studied the dimension of equality, both as an input and output. More broadly, empirical research on the relationship between economic crisis and the quality of democracy has showed how, in European democracies, shrinking of private and public resources associated with economic crisis is related with a general deterioration of the rule of law and a detachment of citizens from the institutional channels of representation along with a choice to protest (Morlino & Quaranta 2016). The economic argument for urban commons collaborative governance provides substantial meaning to the concept of the right to the city, (Harvey 2012) that ultimately requires a rethinking of the economic baseline of democracy. In particular, the notion of urban pooling, which refers to the peer-to-peer collaboration in governance process for the commons in the city, might have a role in the achieving outputs related to equality concerns. The role of urban pooling might be that of achieving a redistributive effect within the city through several means, among the others: 1) enhancing the overall capacity of urban economic growth combining efforts of different urban actors 2)

generating work and economic opportunities for local communities through the commons and related economic innovations 3) contributes to the reduction of inequality in terms of access to opportunities and quality of life among city neighborhoods providing a platform for combining innovative forms of entrepreneurship and financing (crowdfunding for the commons , social project finance, tax deduction, shared value etc.).

Many authors have observed equality in democratic innovations also through the lens of their redistributive effects. Empirical studies on participatory budgeting in Latin America conducted by the urban sociologist Gianpaolo Baiocchi (2006; 2011) shows that cities that adopted participatory budgeting are more likely to spend public resources in low-income neighborhoods. Participatory budgeting would therefore be associated with a better access to urban basic services and reduction of poverty. Matt Leighninger (2016) highlighted the capacity of democratic engagement of boosting economic equality. Democratic engagement might contribute to the robustness of community and the raise of social capital, achieve political equality including a broad range of people in decision making processes, achieve economic equality (greater fairness in public expenditures, distribution of households incomes).

Several scholars, more broadly, are advancing their reflection over the evolved relationship between economy and democracy. Social justice scholar Tom Malleson (2014) developed a deep reflection on the democratization of economy that might arise from the failures of European social democracies and of the North American model. The economic democracy envision by Malleson is based on three core components: 1) democratic workplaces 2) a democratized market system, based on cooperative enterprises regulated by an interventionist states 3) democratic finance and investment. At the central level, a National Investment fund would provide accountable investment, while at the local level an economic institutions ecosystem based on the combination of participatory budgeting and Public Community Banks. Urban pooling ultimately allows the enforcement of peer to peers and private to peers relations, with the state acting as a platform. This would overcome the model of tax-related distribution or the philanthropic model based on giving, were the state is both acting as an intermediator. Innovative financing models involving private actors have already been developed by the shared value or social impact investing theory or community based crowdfunding for the commons are spreading. The dimensions of equality allow us to understand if the process/institutions is aimed at fostering redistribution of both private and public assets in the city and whether it might be ultimately be operationalized as a social justice oriented variable.

The analysis of the dimension of equality and solidarity requires instead to focus on equality as an output of the institutions and processes. Therefore, the analysis if focused on the observation of social equality concerns and goals. Focusing on the analysis of equality concerns in participatory processes in Southern Europe, Alarcòn and Font (2014)

has stressed the limited presence of equality concerns in the input and the output (the use of participatory and deliberative processes as tools to build larger social equality). Gaventa and Barrett have instead analyzed the outcomes of citizen engagement, both positive and negative, and grouped them in four categories: construction of citizenship, practices of citizen participation, responsive and accountable states, inclusive and cohesive societies. (Gaventa and Barrett, 2014). Sorice (2016) has also adapted the framework proposed by Graham Smith (2009) what are the relevant dimensions for an analytical framework of democratic innovations, based on six main dimensions: Inclusiveness: (How is organized the selection of citizens' participation? Are there conditions of substantial equality among citizens? Does the institutional architecture allow the attenuation of social differences? In other words, the democratic innovations have to be designed so that differentiations that affect levels of engagement across social groups are reduced (or, better, neutralized); Popular control (Have the citizens a function of dialogue or do really affect decision-making processes? Is the conflict cancelled or is it managed?) Informed judgement (Are the citizens really informed on the issues under discussion? Is the information a «nudge» towards an opening to the different instances?) Transparency: is there publicity on the decision making processes? Is there transparency in the procedures? Does transparency exist about the definition of the procedures mechanisms?); Efficiency (Is it possible to de ne the correct relationship between costs and results? Does the participatory process ensure the implementation of shared and functional public policies?) Transferability (at what level are democratic innovation experiments exportable? what role has the political background in the adoption of democratic innovations practices?). The analysis of community-led and city-initiated processes of collaborative governance of the urban commons requires a frame on the understanding of the capacity of the institutional architecture to include different actors in the process and the capacity of the governance device to distribute role and responsibility. The aim of this approach is to identify a *co-governance gradient*, that would able to position cities analyzed in relation to the degree of intensity of collaboration (both peer to peer, between communities and citizens and State-society).

The codebook adopted to code the case is the following:

Quality	Dimension	Guiding empirical questions	Code
Institutional design	Year	Starting date of the project / policy date of approval Duration of the project/policy process	
	Genesis	Who initiated the process?	PP (Public Policy); PO (Policy Output). CS (Community Space).
	Object	Type of commons or policy area	Urban public space Urban building Urban infrastructure
	Catchment Area	What is the extention of the project/policy?	C: city B: block S: street N: neighborhood
	Political variable	Political composition of the City government at the moment of the project initiation and throughout the project's duration.	Party / civic list governing the City
Participation	Methodology for city inhabitants participation	What is the methodology adopted by the policy/project?	Consultation Deliberative mini-publics Structured co-design process
Collaboration	Actor	What are the actor/actors having a role in the project/policy?	A: local public institutions B: city inhabitants; social innovators; civic entrepreneurs C: NOGs and organized third sector D: economic actors E: knowledge institutions
	Type of partnership	a) What type of partnership is realized through the relationship between the actors? b) What is the qualification of the partnership?	Bilateral Multi-lateral and mono-stakeholder Multi-lateral and multi-stakeholder Public – private partnership Public – civic partnership Public – private – civic partnership
	Type of intervention	a) What is the intensity of intervention realized on the urban commons? b) Does it configure a small scale/shared governance? c) Does it configure a collaboration between actors to generate an urban regeneration proess?	short term cure long term cure co-management urban regeneration

	Public Resources	What is the kind of resources and amount invested by the City or eventually other public actors?	Financial resources Non-financial resources
	Private resources	What is the kind of resources and amount invested by civic, private, knowledge or NGOs?	Financial resources Non-financial resources
Polycentrism	**Polycentric Governance**	Are the actors involved simultaneously interdependent and autonomous, at all levels. Polycentric governance envisions an ecosystemic approach. Importance is placed on social norms and informal/civic uses. The actors are autonomous centers of decision-making, as the interact and learn from each other, and responsibilities at different levels are tailored for their specific needs and capabilities.	Autonomous decision making Sustainability mechanism Coordination
Equality	**Input**	a) What are the goals that the urban commons interventions and governance schemes are aimed at achieving? quality of urban space; urban regeneration; managerial/entrepreneurial state; protest; advocacy; reclaiming the commons). b) Do the project/policies takes place in urban areas with social/economic vulnerabilities?	Quality of urban space Collaborative services Social innovation Urban culture and creativity Digital innovation Social and economic inclusion
	Output	a) Are the process inclusive? How is organized the selection of city inhabitants' participation? b) Do the policies/projects produces redistributive effects and social-	Participation of vulnerable groups or minorities. Structured, flexible methodologies of selection and co-working. Increased access to the urban commons Creation of work opportunities Creation of solidarity networks or activities Creation of community cooperatives/development funds/sustainability

		economic outputs?	equality	mechanism ensuring permanent affordability of the infrastructure/services produced.

3.3 Co-governance of the urban commons: empirical evidences from Italian cities.

As already anticipated in the first part of this chapter, this work answers the research questions testing the hypothesis through the analysis of a set of Italian cities. This part of the chapter provides a first overview of the panorama of hybrid spaces of urban co-governance in a selected set of Italian cities, and then focused on the analysis of the case of Bologna were an institutional designed strategy of collaborative governance of the urban commons was implemented as a part of a broader policy strategy to enhance democratic participation and collaboration. The aim of this work is to connect the analysis of exogenous variables that characterizes case studies of Community Spaces and Public Policy on the commons through the democratic dimensions of participation/inclusiveness and equality. Participation and equality are two key dimensions of the quality of democracy (Morlino 2011) that can be used for the understanding of processes around commons in the city, given the strict relations between crucial urban assets and the urban democratic qualities. The implementation of collaborative devices for the governance of urban commons have an impact on the quality of democracy at the urban level, because the collaboration between public administration and citizens can improve the relationship between citizens and institutions, building trust and improving legitimacy, on one side. On the other side, urban commons are connected with the quality of life in the cities. Quality of life in a city strongly depends, in fact, on the opportunity to have access to high quality public goods such as public spaces, parks, gardens, but also to have access to the possibility of co-creating intangible commons, i.e. cultural and digital. The analysis of hybrid spaces of urban co-governance in light of the quality of democracy framework might ultimately be able to enrich our knowledge on some of the most controversial aspect of the urban commons and urban democracy. It might guide us toward the verification of the hypothesis that the "urban paradigm" that arise from the observation of practices and policy making on the commons is that of a collaborative city as a right-based city (Iaione & De Nictolis 2017) and ultimately verify whether the observation of the most controversial aspects of urban co-governance processes might represent an infrastructure to measure the qualities of an urban democracy that currently seems unable to govern certain parts of the city, and part of society, that are thus ungoverned, or ungovernable (Les Galés & Vitale 2015).

The mapping conducted on the Italian context considered only a group of cities (metropolitan cities. The variables influencing the development of those processes in small size cities and rural areas, in fact, requires another set of hypothesis.

City	Project	Geopolitical Area	Country	City Size	Year	Genesis
Bologna	Regulation for the urban commons	Southern Europe	Italy	384.202	2016	PP
Messina	Messina Laboratory for the commons	Southern Europe	Italy	241.997	2013	PP
Messina	Messina Services as a commons	Southern Europe	Italy	241.997	2017	PP
Messina	Teatro Pinelli Occupation	Southern Europe	Italy	241.997	2012	CS
Milan	Regulation for the Adoption of Urban Green Spaces.	Southern Europe	Italy	1.324.169	2012	PP
Milan	Regulation of Community Gardens	Southern Europe	Italy	1.324.170	2012	PP
Milan	Lea Garofalo Community Garden	Southern Europe	Italy	1.324.171	2013	PO
Milan	Scaldasole Community Garden	Southern Europe	Italy	1.324.172	2015	PO
Milan	Gardens of Cultures	Southern Europe	Italy	1.324.173	2015	PO
Milan	Conchetta Verde Garden	Southern Europe	Italy	1.324.174	2014	PO
Milan	Renewed Land	Southern Europe	Italy	1.324.175	2015	PO
Milan	Via Boffalora Farm Garden	Southern Europe	Italy	1.324.176	2015	PO
Milan	Oas in Città e Ortimisti	Southern Europe	Italy	1.324.177	2014	PO
Milan	The hidden garden	Southern Europe	Italy	1.324.178	2012	PO
Milan	OrtoX9	Southern Europe	Italy	1.324.179	2015	PO

Table 1 Exemplary section of the Italian cities' dataset

The dataset consists of n. 500 cases. The dataset includes urban policies, policy outputs and community spaces. The following chapters will provide qualitative in depth excursions within each city.

3.4 Conclusions

The different urban co-governance models emerging from the analysis of the case studies ultimately envisions a collaborative relationship between different categories of actors that are able to shape policy choices in a city: local public institutions/urban authorities, private economic actors, knowledge actors, unorganized public and organized civil society/third sector/NGOs and it measures their capacity to co-produce institutions and rules to collaboratively govern a city.

The hypothesis that the urban co-governance approach advances is that the interaction between those actors, whether designed according to design principles developed by empirical research of the urban commons can facilitate the establishment of an institutional collaborative ecosystem, that would be founded on a "quintuple helix approach to the governance of urban innovation. There is a branch of literature in both regional development and governance study from which this model generated. The first authors to advance an explanatory framework of regional innovation based on a model of governance founded on the relations between university, industry and government that is explained by the metaphor of the triple helix were the innovation studies scholar Etzkowitz and the sociologist Leydesdorff (1998). This model was later evolved in a quadruple helix model with the integration of a fourth actor, civil society, and emphasizes the importance of integrating the model considering also the key role of the media-based and culture-based public (Etkowitz & Leydesdorff 2003; Carayannis et al, 2009) while economist Julia Lane (2012) has instead admonished that the quadruple helix model of governance innovation should be re-conceived starting from the acknowledgement of the role of big data for governance innovation, in particular for urban governance. Therefore, she identifies four category of actors: state and city agencies, universities, private data providers, and federal agencies that regulates the use of data in the U.S. system and then into a quintuple helix model, that takes in consideration the development context of the society (Carayannis et al. 2012). The operationalization and institutionalization of the civic actor (active citizens, social innovators, digital artisans, urban farmers, co-workers, etc.) is an innovative element of such a quintuple helix model, incorporated by the Treat of Amsterdam which defines the new Urban Agenda for the EU (2016) affirming that in order to address the complex challenges that urban areas face, it is important that urban authorities cooperate with NGOs, citizens, cognitive institutions, businesses within the framework defined by local public policies for environmental, economic, social, and cultural progress. An urban co-governance strategy would thus be aimed at building a collaborative institutional ecosystem as a framework for setting up policy innovation that enable collaboration in the city districts (Urban Agenda for the EU 2016). The capacity of the cities to create governance partnership between public, civic, eventually private and knowledge actors reinforces the relationship between city inhabitants and the city government and

administration and it also has the potential to strengthen the capacity of cities of being arenas for public debate, transfer of knowledge and actors capable of shaping political space in the EU.

Chapter IV

Empirical analysis on urban co-governance of the commons. The exemplary case of Bologna.

The city of Bologna represents an optimal terrain for studying urban democratic experimentalism. The emergence of innovative urban co-governance of the commons mechanisms introduced in Chapter 1 and operationalized in Chapter III has a clear expression in the case of the City of Bologna.

Approximately since 2011, the City implemented a series of urban policies aimed at achieving the end of building a "collaborative city" (Mayor of Bologna and Deputy Mayor for Economics and Promotion of the City 2014) by promoting city inhabitants' participation in decision making about city governance and favor civic collaboration for the urban commons. This policy ecosystem has its central pillar in the "Regulation for the collaboration between citizens and the administration for the care and regeneration of the urban commons". The empirical analysis of the first phase of implementation of the Regulation (2014/2016) constitutes the focus of this chapter. The analysis of the implementation of the Regulation, in facts, offers a unique opportunity to answer the questions posed by the investigation of urban-governance of the commons.

Bologna is the capital city of Emilia Romagna, the most active region Italy in terms of participatory democracy as pillar of Central Italy's "Red Belt". The city of Bologna was the "star" of the communist party administration (Baiocchi 2003) and this position of power was maintained uninterrupted for three decades. In their prominent research that demonstrated as the presence of civic community is a crucial condition for the development of strong, responsive, effective representative institutions, Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti (1993) highlighted how the case of Emilia Romagna was exceptional in terms of efficiency and transparency and the City of Bologna was already conceived as part of the Region's institutional performance:

> Bologna's central piazza is famous for its nightly debates among constantly shifting groups of citizens and political activists, and those impassioned discussions about issues of the day are echoed in the chambers of the regional council" (1993, pp. 6/7).

The City administration of Bologna long enjoyed the support of a broad range of its citizens through the trade unions loyalists and, as noted by Kertzer and highlighted by Baiocchi (2003) the party controlled the associational life, although starting from the late seventies this control power started to decrease and the institutional mechanisms were no longer able to ensure participatory spaces and lost their dynamism. In order to understand the emergence of the co-governance innovations, it is crucial to consider the role of the

Region in promoting civic participation. The national reforms implemented in Italy in the nineties, aimed at realizing a decentralized system of government have encouraged a proactive role for local leaders (Bossu & Bartels 2013) in addressing economic and development issues, particularly since the de-legitimization of political parties around which much of the city inhabitants' social life was organized left an empty space. Participatory governance thus represented for city leaders an opportunity to increase legitimacy and democratic responsiveness (Bobbio 2002; 2004; 2005; Carson & Lewanski, 2008, Bossu & Bartels 2013).
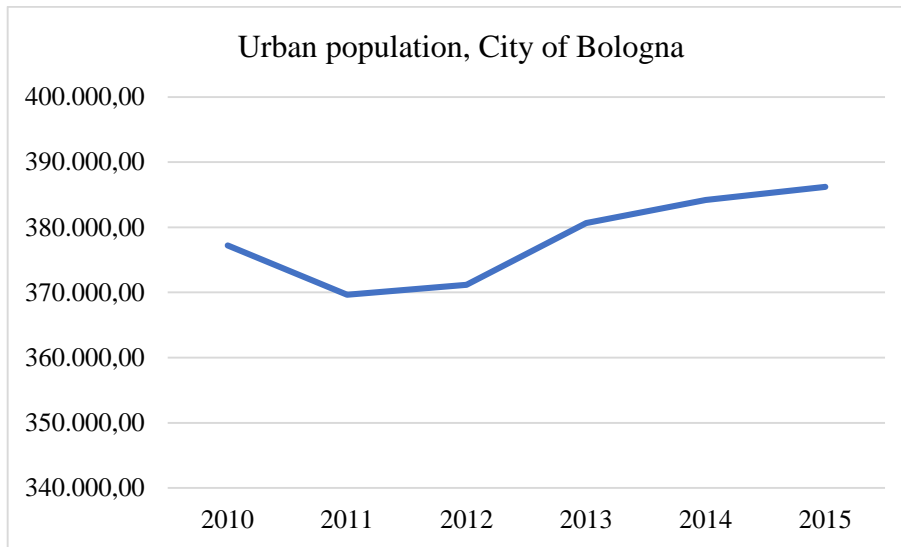
Figure 1 Urban Population, City of Bologna own elaboration from EuroStat, Population on 1 January by age group and sex - cities and greater cities. Last Update 27-11-2017.

Bologna	GDP (millions US$) [US Dollar, 2010]		GDP of the metropolitan area as a share of national value (%)	GDP per capita (US$) [US Dollar, 2010]
Year	2012		2012	2012
	35.961,39 €		1,8	47.670

Table 2 Data on GDP, extracted from the Statistical Annex, UN Habitat World Cities Report (2016).

Employment rate	Unemployment rate	Families with potential economic distress	Index of social and meterial vulnerability
50,3	7,0	0,9	98,5

Figure 2 Social and economic vulnerability indicators_Bologna. Source: ISTAT report on the decay of urban peripheries (2017).

4.1 The genesis of the Regulation for the urban commons issued by the City of Bologna.

It is appropriate to start with the Iperbole_Comunità platform. Through the creation of the Iperbole_Comunità platform, a unique example in the Italian context, the City of Bologna heavily invested in the role of communication and digital media to foster the dimension of transparency within the Open Government framework (De Blasio 2018) and to promote innovative forms of civic participation and engagement (Coleman & Blumer 2009).

In 2011, the City start to promote urban culture and creativity through a call for proposals for urban cultural enterprises, Incredibol.

Building on this background, the City dramatically stresses the issue of the urban commons with the initiation of a policy process on the urban commons. The Regulation for the Urban commons had a disruptive impact on both an external and internal dimension. Externally, this experience became a point of reference for Italian cities (so far, more than 140 cities approved the Regulation for the urban commons on the model of the Bologna one). Internally, the Regulation for urban commons has a great impact. More than 500 pacts of collaboration between citizens and administration have been signed since the Regulation approval.

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The Iperbole_Comunità digital platform is strongly interconnected with the Regulation for the Urban commons. This strong interconnection shows how the City of Bologna values online civic participation as a tool for enhancing offline civic participation. Iperbole_Comunità hosts a digital space for the urban commons, "Iperbole_Comunità". It is a space, both static and interactive, which is aimed at promoting and facilitating the transparency of the process of definition of the pacts of collaboration. The civic pacts' proposals and the final version of the pacts are published on Iperbole_Comunità. It also hosts an interactive space allowing the users to interact on the platform and discuss over the pacts of collaboration and on potential urban commons problems. Bartoletti and Faccioli (2016) studied the communication ecology of civic collaboration in Bologna,

analyzing the connection between the Regulation for the urban commons and the Iperbole_Comunità platform. The Iperbole_Comunità digital platform is therefore a space for both transparency, participation and to facilitate collaboration. The Iperbole_Comunità digital platform is supposed to be a space where the interactions between city inhabitants on the urban commons and on potential projects that could be realized are created and nurtured. As the Head of the Digital Agenda Office of the City of Bologna explained to Bartoletti and Faccioli (2016, 7) state, the City conceived it as a "procreative environment of relations (…) which have the aim of allowing bottom up proposals to emerge". The platform manager instead highlights how the platform reveals that one of the city inhabitants' need is to have coordination environments which are not derived from Google or Facebook (Comunità manager in Bartoletti and Faccioli, 2016, 8).

The platform Iperbole_Comunità allows for an evolution of civic interactions towards the model of "monitoring citizen" (Schudson, 1998) thanks to his role in promoting discussion between city inhabitants on the pacts of collaboration proposals. The scenario emerging from the analysis is indeed contradictory. The support that Iperbole_Comunità provides to the urban co-governance provided by the Regulation for the urban commons reconfirms what Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti (1993) already identified when carrying out research in Emilia Romagna about the advanced level of technology on which the institutions rely upon to implement their policies:

> The contrast with the efficiency of the government of Emilia-Romagna in Bologna is stark. Visiting the glass-walled regional headquarters is like entering a modern, high-tech firm. A brisk, courteous receptionist directs visitors to the appropriate office, where, likely as not, the relevant official will call up a computerized data base on regional problems and policies (Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti 1993, 5)

On the other hand, the public discussion on the urban commons' proposals carried out on the Iperbole_Comunità platform is a precious tool for both monitoring the process of proposals' selection and maximize public consent on the final decisions, but it ultimately result in a model of monitorial citizens with low decision-making power (Bartoletti and Faccioli 2016, 9).

The strategy of the City of Bologna on the urban commons continued and became deeper while the Regulation was in its first phase of implementation. Through a wide range of policy tools, the City promoted deliberation and participatory budgeting addressing the urban commons. The City first implemented a deliberative process in the City neighborhoods (Collaborare è Bologna, 2016). The point of arrival of this path is the process of the Neighborhood Laboratories (2017) and the participatory budget (2017). Those process are led by Bologna Urban Center. The Urban Center launched a multi-sectorial coordination group, creating a new administrative function: the "Office for Civic

Imagination". This complex organizational structure has recently found a synthesis through the creation of the "Urban Innovation Foundation".

Finally, the "Pilastro2016" process, which later evolved into the creation of the Pilastro North East District Development Agency. The process and the agency represent a unique example of an urban inclusive economic development process fostered by the City. The Pilastro policy was promoted within the framework of the "Collaborare è Bologna" policy, supported by the Emilia Romagna Region and the Fondazione del Monte di Bologna e Ravenna and coordinated by the cooperative "Camelot – Officine Cooperative". The main goal of the Pilastro fieldwork is to constitute a public private commons partnership for the community led commons – based Neighborhood development. This result might be achieved also through the constitution of a Neighborhood institution, a community cooperative that includes all the actors of the quintuple helix of innovation, involving social institutional and economic local actors. The community cooperative will be the ground of a public-private-commons partnership for the Neighborhood development. Other local agencies are going to be built to do the same work in almost every Neighborhood or district of the city with the help of the Office for civic imagination.

The objective of Pilastro 2016 is to generate a connection between the high social and cultural capital existing in the area and the economic needs emerging in the North-Eastern part of the city. Within the framework of Pilastro 2016 the group "Mastro Pilastro" was created. The Mastro Pilastro group is an informal group of people living in the area, some of them migrants, offering Neighborhood services to the residents. The components are inhabitants of Pilastro, between 18 and 30 years old and selected between those who are in search for a job. The project aims at bringing together the social, cultural and entrepreneurial capital and at matching it with the economic vocation of the neighborhood.

This complex and stratified policy ecosystem produced n. 374 policy outputs (including pacts of collaboration, participatory budget's approved projects, project of cultural enterprise approved for city funding).

City	Policy	Year
Bologna	Incredibol: Bologna's creative innovation	2010
Bologna	Iperbole Community. An institutional platform for the commons.	2011

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Bologna	City-led Crowdfunding Campaign "Un passo per San Luca"	2013
Bologna	Regulation for collaboration between Citizens and the administration on the Care and Regeneration of the urban commons	2014
Bologna	Collaborare è Bologna (deliberative process)	2015
Bologna	Pilastro 2016 + Pilastro North Est Agency	2016
Bologna	Plan for urban innovation (the Neighborhood Labs)	2017
Bologna	Participatory Budget	2017

Table 3) Policy mapping (City of Bologna).

A final point should be made regarding the regional policy ecosystem. When the Regulation was approved, the Regional normative ecosystem presented two laws that might be relevant for the realization of urban co-governance of the commons: the regional law on citizen participation (law n. 3, 2001), which followed the example of the Tuscany law on citizen participation (Lewanski 2013) and the regional law on social economy (law n. 19, 2014). The City of Bologna did not use the opportunities provided by this laws to regulate the urban commons and promote their co-governance. The regional law on social economy was approved the same year right after City already approved the Regulation. The fact that the regional law on participation is not taken into account is indeed an indicator of the fact that the urban co-governance dimension is a different dimension than civic participation. The regional law on participation Notwithstanding the relevance that the regional law has on the capacity of cities to stimulate citizen's participation on matters of both regional and local issues (Allegretti 2010) the influence on the Regulation for the urban commons was not relevant. The regional law stimulates and regulate participation and deliberation, but it does not reach the pragmatic and concrete dimension that urban co-governance entails.

4.1.1 An urban policy designed through experimentation. The process of co-creation of the Regulation for the Urban Commons.

The Regulation for Urban Commons was drafted on the basis of the knowledge generated by a two-years experimentation in three city neighborhoods. The City of Bologna, supported by two knowledge and civic actors, decided to draft this policy starting from the experimentation of three concrete projects of urban commons governance in three representative city neighborhood. The idea behind this strategy was to generate practical

evidence on the administrative and legal bottlenecks, the obstacles, the features of the processes of collaboration between city inhabitants and the City was able to generate. The process was conceived around the idea that, in order to design an urban policies that is aimed at facilitating collective action on the urban commons, fieldwork and concrete experimentation are the starting point. The knowledge produced by those experimentation composed the baseline for a group of city officials and scholars to draft the Regulation for the urban commons, later approved by the City council.

This process of experimentation and co-creation, called the "City as a Commons" project, was carried out by the City with the support of a local not-for-profit Foundation, the "Fondazione del Monte di Bologna and Ravenna". The process was realized in partnership with the civic organization "Labsus" in a capacity of scientific supervision and coordination and with the collaboration of the NGO "Centro Antartide" in the capacity of coordination of the networking with the local associations (Arena & Iaione, 2012; Iperbole 2014; Fondazione del Monte 2014; Foster & Iaione 2016). As highlighted by Olivotto (2016) a critical turning point in the process that led to the conceptualization of such urban experimentalist approach is a seminar realized in December 11 of 2011 called 'The City as Urban Commons' which took place in the city of Imola. The seminar laid the theoretical foundations of a policy process based on a policy and regulatory framework aimed at shaping the relationship between city inhabitants and the City in a collaborative way, using urban resources and services managed as commons as the main entry point. The seminar was based on a background study (to which the author contributed as a research associate) that produced a comparative analysis of the legal and regulatory tools adopted by Italian cities that issued urban policies (mainly city regulations) in order to regulate issues such as urban street art, collaborative services, concession of urban buildings and identified a set of commons tools and regulatory approach. The seminar was a moment to test reactions of relevant actors to the results of a research study on understanding what collaborative city governance might mean for the city of Bologna and bringing together public, private, civil society and university actors. After this seminar, the Mayor of Bologna, under the advice of Giacomo Capuzzimati (Director general, City of Bologna) participated to the seminar and decided to tackle the issue of citizens' participation through the urban commons (Olivotto 2016).

The Cities as commons project. Field experimentations for urban commons governance.

The fieldwork in the three governance labs consisted in the realization of concrete projects of cure or regeneration of the urban commons in different areas of city that could cover a wide range of type of commons, thus maximizing the effect of the experimentation (green areas; grey areas; cultural commons) and where aimed at identifying, through a pragmatic approach thus through the concrete realization of regeneration projects, the legal/procedural obstacles or administrative/legal "bottlenecks" (Arena & Iaione 2012; 2015). The aim of the urban governance labs was therefore that of identifying the "weak points" in the body of urban norms that hamper civic collaboration and then use them as a starting point for drafting the policy.

The urban areas for the experimentations where selected based on the following set of cleavages:

Inter-generationality: young people	VS	Inter-generationality: elderly people
Active citizens and NGOs already carrying out activities on the commons	VS	Active citizens and NGOs not active on the commons
Areas subject to monitoring	VS	Unmonitored areas
Urban green areas	VS	Buildings and built areas
Ordinary management of an area where the City already interneved	VS	Regeneration of abandoned spaces
Private goods	VS	Public goods
City center	VS	Outskirts
Volunteering city inhabitants	VS	Professionals

The three experimentations selected (Città e beni comuni 2013; Labsus 2013) where the following:

1) Parco della Zucca (Navile neighborhood): green areas

One of the urban governance lab was organized in an outskirt of the City of Bologna, the Navile Neighborhood in particular in the Pumpkin Park, a green area where several NGOS are active although not coordinated with each other. The administration thus had the opportunity to engage in conflict mediation. The group of city inhabitants and NGOs involved in the experimentation carried out a series of actions including for instance the

decoration of a garden bench, monitoring of the park to hinder the practice of smoking in public green areas.

2) Via Santo Stefano, via Fondazza and Piazza Carducci (Santo Stefano neighborhood): cultural commons

This field of experimentation is in the historical center of the City. The area of the Santo Stefano district, including Piazza Carducci, is an example of a particularly delicate fieldwork, considering the value, both tangible and symbolic, The area itself holds great value from a symbolic point of view because historically and culturally relevant for the city of Bologna. The area includes the last residence of professor Giosuè Carducci, the Civic Museum of the Risorgimento, the National Library of Women, the Complex of Santa Cristina, the headquarters of the Department of Visual Arts of the University of Bologna and the Giorgio Morandi's house museum. The urban laboratory has seen the activation of numerous local organizations as well as informal groups of citizens. The three actions that were undertaken following the participatory path are three: first, a redevelopment of the walls, flooring and furnishings. The second is the signature of a Convention for the care and co-management of the Lavinia Fontana garden. Finally, an educational activity in a school in the area.

3) Piazza Spadolini, giardini Bentivogli e Vittime di Marcinelle (San Donato neighborhood): co-management of a city-owned building.

The City of Bologna carried out a public work in the square object of the third urban governance lab, Piazza Spadolini. The area has problems of vandalism and social degradation, which leads to a negative perception of the place by the city inhabitants. The urban governance lab was extended to the Bentivogli garden and the Vittime di Marcinelle garden. In these areas, an important regernation intervention was promoted by the Fondazione del Monte Foundation, the "Bella fuori2" project. Following the path outlined by the project Bella fuori2, it was decided to make the area of Piazza Spadolini a more animated and aggregating place, which is perceived by the citizens as a living place. The citizens and associations involved ultimately set up a committee, the GRAF San Donato committee, that signed the first pact of collaboration under the umbrella of the Regulation for the urban commons.

The lesson learned through the fieldwork, combined with the comparative analysis of urban policies at the national level constituted the background material for the drafting of the Regulation for the urban commons. The City constituted an internal working group composed of administrative law scholars, civil servants from relevant sector of the City administration (i.e. Department for the Green, Department of Urban Planning, City General Attorney, the Office for the coordination of Active Citizenship and the Office for Institutional Affairs) and NGOs. The draft was then submitted to a wide community of

law, economics, political science scholar's arena, for receiving feedbacks and integration. In February 2014, the City of Bologna adopted the final draft of the Regulation for the urban commons.

4.2. The structure of the Regulation for the urban commons.

The regulation consists of nine paragraphs. The general and procedural provisions are contained in the first and second paragraph. Article one frames the positioning of the regulation in the legal system. The legal references refer directly to Articles 118 and 117 of the Italian Constitution, acknowledging how this regulation is directly implementing the Constitution, also taking into account the absence of a national legal framework. Paragraph three specifies that "collaboration between citizens and the administration is expressed in the adoption of administrative acts of a non-authoritative nature". This provision refers to the fact that the administration's action, with regard to the shared care and regeneration of urban commons, does not constitute an exercise in authoritative activity. Article two is dedicated to definitions. Particular attention deserves the definition of urban common assets, particularly innovative because it provides that the qualification of urban common good derives also from the citizens themselves. In fact, the article specifies that urban goods are those goods, tangible or intangible, that

> Citizens and the Administration, also through participative and deliberative procedures, recognize that they are functional to individual and collective well-being, and consequently act towards them in accordance with art. 118 of the Constitution to share with the administration the responsibility for their treatment or regeneration in order to improve their collective enjoyment.

This definition is very wide and leave space to both the City and city inhabitants to define what a commons is according to them. The Regulation does not provide a normative definition, but it stresses the attention on the process of "recognition" by the institutional and civic actors (Arena and Iaione 2012) and it also adopts a very broad definition of the term "general interest" (Angiolini 2016). The article then defines the concepts of care and regeneration. There is a relevant distinction between them, The care entails activities aimed at ensuring the conservation and protection of the resources. The co-management entails activities of maintenance and monitoring, while regeneration activities involve the recovery, transformation and innovation of the resources. Care and co-management refers to a continuous activity that can affect both tangible and intangible commons, while regeneration requires a punctual and incisive intervention.

The key regulatory tool of the policy is a "collaboration pact", co-designed by City and civic/economic/knowledge actors that proposed a project.

Through the collaboration pact, the project on the commons is co-designed by the City and the pacts proponents and institutionalized. The collaboration pact, as stated in the art. 4 point 5, "recognize and value the interests, even private, of which the active citizens are bearers as they contribute to the pursuit of the general interest". The pact defines the scope and contents: objectives and purposes of the collaboration, duration and causes of suspension or early termination, mode of action and definition of the role and of the commitments of the subjects involved, methods of collective use of the assets covered by the agreement, consequences of damages, guarantees to cover damages, forms of support made available by the City, advertising - monitoring - reporting of resources and measurement of the results of the intervention, causes of exclusion of city inhabitants. The articles 7, 8 and 9 foresee that the Municipality favors social innovation for the production of collaborative services, urban creativity and digital innovation. Article 8 is dedicated to the promotion of urban creativity, artistic experimentation as an instrumental activity for urban redevelopment, urban areas or individual assets. Wide space is devoted to the temporary enhancement of spaces and properties owned by the city, awaiting destination of use. By enhancing these spaces, allowing citizens to express their creativity, the phenomenon of degradation due to the existence of urban voids would be avoided and the artistic vocation of certain spaces would be enhanced.

The regulation distinguishes between public spaces (which may be public spaces or spaces subject to public use) and buildings as urban commons susceptible to intervention, which may consist of a care intervention (occasional or constant and continuous), shared management or regeneration. The care and regeneration of public spaces is regulated in Chapter III. The care and regeneration of buildings is regulated in Chapter IV and The Municipality must periodically identify buildings in a state of disuse or deterioration that are susceptible to a treatment or regeneration, to be carried out through a pact of collaboration. City inhabitants can make proposals for an intervention and they are assessed by the administration with transparent and participated procedures. The City is also committed to promote the coordination between various proposals presented by different proponents. Paragraph 4 and 5 are dedicated to the identification of buildings, specify that the property owned by third parties, in partial or total disuse, with the consent of the owners or pursuant to art. 838 of the Civil Code, and the buildings confiscated from organized crime may be the object of a pact of collaboration proposal. The pact of collaboration may provide for the shared management of the property in question, whose collective use, together with the openness to all citizens who want to cooperate with the intervention, must be guaranteed. Pacts proponents in this case, can be constituted in association, cooperative consortium, Neighborhood foundation or district, with the only condition of constraint of destination to the intervention as it is foreseen within the collaboration agreement. The duration of the management may be no more than nine years, exceptionally extendable if the pact envisages a regeneration intervention on the building which is particularly demanding from an economic standpoint.

Chapter VI regulates the various forms of support that the Municipality can offer for the interventions in question. In addition to financial support, such as exemptions and subsidies for local fees and charges and the supply of consumables and devices for individual protection in the performance of the activities envisaged, facilitations are provided in the form of recognition, aimed at giving the maximum visibility possible to the activities carried out by citizens, and intangible / professional resources, such as assistance in planning for interventions that require specific skills or in support of citizens' self-financing activities, effectively favoring access to municipal areas and use of telematic platforms for the collection of widespread donations.

Chapter VII introduces collaborative communication. The City can promote the accessibility of collaboration opportunities and the economic and activity report of the pacts of collaboration realized the measurement and evaluation activities. The Regulation provides that the City should encourage, through the use of all the communication tools at its disposal, the widest possible participation in the care and regeneration of urban commons and can do so by informing citizens about the opportunities available to them to participate to these activities. The City must also provide tools and communication channels to help circulate and make available information and proposals, data and infrastructures or open source digital platforms and finally a tutoring activity to knowledge on the use of collaborative communication tools. The dissemination of user manuals and the definition of standard collaboration forms are also considered communication tools that favor the structuring of collaboration opportunities.

4.3 The implementation of the Regulation for the urban commons. Analysis of the pacts of collaboration (2014/2016).

The City of Bologna has been widely recognized for this regulatory innovations and the successful and quantitatively successful implementation of these pacts to govern urban commons throughout the City. The City of Bologna put his best efforts in the implementation of the Regulation, that in the first two years of his existence (March 2014 - December 2016) produced 280 pacts of collaborations.

The analysis presented in this chapter was carried out within the context of the Co-Bologna program. Co-Bologna is a collaboration between the City of Bologna and the Fondazione del Monte di Bologna e Ravenna. The coordination of the program and the scientific supervision were carried out by the LABoratory for the GOVernance of the city as a commons (LUISS LabGov). The part related to the evaluation of the implementation of the Regulation for the urban commons was carried out by a research team composed by LUISS University of Rome and Catholic University of Milan composed by Christian Iaione, Ivana Pais, Elena De Nictolis and Michela Bolis. Although the evaluation is the

product of a collaborative effort and will be published as a co-authored work in 2018, the contribution included in this chapter is attributed to the author.

The research question that drives the analysis is related to the identification of specificities in the process of implementation of the Regulation for the urban commons in the city of Bologna and the relationship between co-design and collaboration policies for the production of commons and the quality of democracy at the urban level. This phase will focus on the implementation of the analysis of the pacts of collaboration approved under the umbrella of the Regulation from March 2014 to December 2016. The analysis is aimed at understanding whether the collaboration contributed to development of an enabling ecosystem for the construction of an urban co-governance schemes where relevant actors of governance 1) Civic innovators 2) Organized social/third sector 3) Cognitive and cultural institutions (universities, schools, foundations and cultural institutions) 4) Economic actors implement collaborative practices and the urban authority act as an enabling platform. In a model of urban co-governance, the governance process is articulated through layers of governance that involve different actors in a process of co-designing public policies through innovative methodologies and tools. Collaboration and innovation experiences in the field of urban commons combine goals related to improving the state of urban resources, collaborative economy (Pais 2015) digital innovation and collaborative services. Local public institutions can therefore be better conceived as a platform (O' Reilly, 2010) that provides resources, rules and skills to build an enabling institutional ecosystem that allows all other actors to collaborate.

The research design is structured into three main phases:

a) a phase of analysis of the overall corpus of the partnership agreements signed by the Regulation on Collaboration between Citizens and Administration for the Care and Regeneration of Urban Commons (hereinafter: Regulation).

b) a survey aimed at assessing democratic responsiveness of the policy realized through the delivery of a questionnaire to city inhabitants involved in the pacts of collaboration.

c) a phase of in-depth interviews with a sample group of respondents and policy makers.

4.3.1 Data retrieval and description of the corpus.

The analysis was mainly based on the following sources:

a. The text of the collaboration pacts,

b. The text of the collaboration pacts' proposals sent by the citizens to the administration, updates on the progress of the proposal, final reports and other

information about the pacts of collaboration available in the Community section of the Hyperbole platform.

c. In some cases, reported within the dataset, it was not possible to access the final version of the pact and the text of the approved collaboration scheme available on the hyperbole platform were used, as well as those collected on the *Albo Pretorio.* through the city resolutions / acts of the District Councils / Executive Decisions concerning the lines of address or the approval of the cor even the cooperation agreement schemes, consult the online pretorio. The text of the Decisions and Decisions of the Jury or acts of the District Councils were also used to gather information on collaborative patents not contained within the covenant, which are useful for studying the process of covenant genesis, in order to deepen the study procedural aspects;

d. Institutional reports and meetings. In particular: the Operational Manual (Manual 1.0) for the implementation of the Regulation on Urban Commons approved by the General Directorate of Institutional Affairs and Neighborhoods on May 2, 2015 and the Active Citizenship Report 2012-2016, which summarizes the activities of the Office for the Promotion of Active Citizenship of the City of Bologna and contains some of the data on the collaborative projects. Finally, participation in the two public events organized in the first half of December, "Collaboration as a Method. Two Years of Collaboration Pact "of 5 December 2016 and the materials presented during the event" From Ideas to Choices. Towards the Urban Innovation Plan" of December 15, 2016.

The pacts were collected through the following methods;

a) text of the pact available in the section Community/Commons of Iperbole platform.
b) archives of pacts of collaboration make available by the section Active Citizenship of the Bologna City plaform. (Active Citizenship 2016).
c) communications of pacts and collaboration proposals published by institutional channels and the Iperbole platform (Iperbole 2016).

The first phase of analysis was focused on a qualitative coding of the pacts, allowing some considerations and raising questions and controversial aspects to be further explored.

The analysis thus develops into the following two phases: analysis of the answers to the questionnaire and an in-depth study by analyzing the emerging cases as most significant, allowing some considerations and directions to be explored. The response rate to the questionnaire, that was sent to the subjects via email (contacts of the civic actors involved in the pacts are directly available on the pact itself. When the pact did not provided access

to the email or phone contact, the data was collected through desk searching; direct contact with the organization, through phone or social network) through the Qualtrics software was 28%.

4.4. Analysis

The analysis presented here is the first part of the evaluation, the coding of the whole amount of pact of collaboration signed form the approval of the Regulation, between 2014-2016. The total amount of pact coded is n. 280.

Urban institutional level and catchment area. Neighborhoods as key institutions.

A first, descriptive dimension of analysis of the implementation of the policy tools provided by the Bologna Regulation for the Urban Commons is the within-city territorial and administrative distribution. Overall, the distribution of pacts according to the distinction between City (with different institutional levels: sectors, Departments, Institutions) and neighborhoods is unbalanced in favor of the neighborhoods, which are the main signatory institution (66% of the cases). The distribution of Neighborhood data indicates a prevalence over Navile, San Donato-San Vitale, Santo Stefano, Porto Zaragoza, Savena and Borgo Panigale - Reno. It should be specified that there are cases where the pacts are signed by both the Municipality and a Neighborhood, therefore this represents a case of multiple coding and the values reported (code frequency, calculated on VA 280) reflects this heterogeneity.
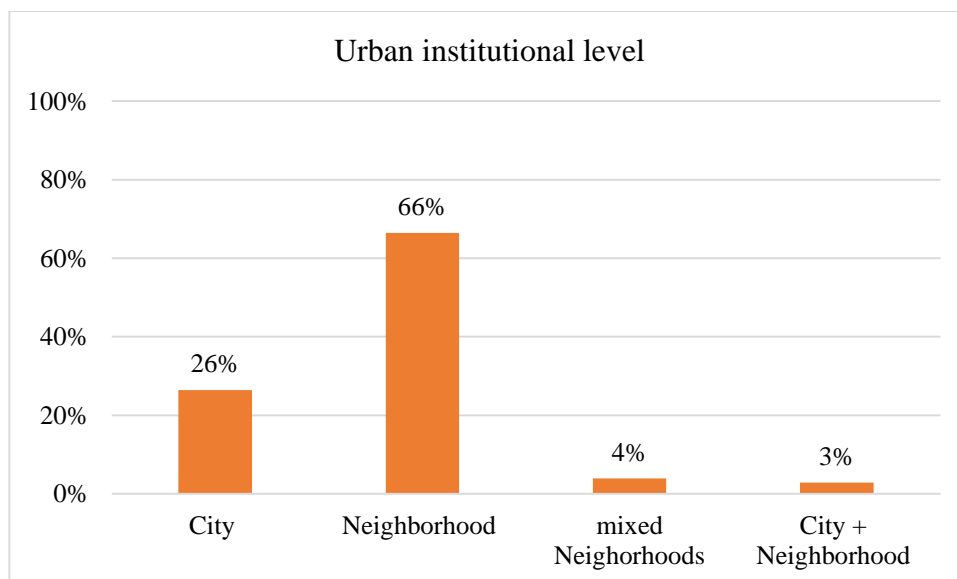
Figure 3 Distribution of the pacts across institutional levels (code frequency calculated on AV 280)

The coding of the Catchment area, that measures the level and location where the activities actually take place, reveals that there is a very good proportion of pacts that

have an ambition to operate at the City level (this includes those pacts that addresses intangible commons such as culture and creativity)
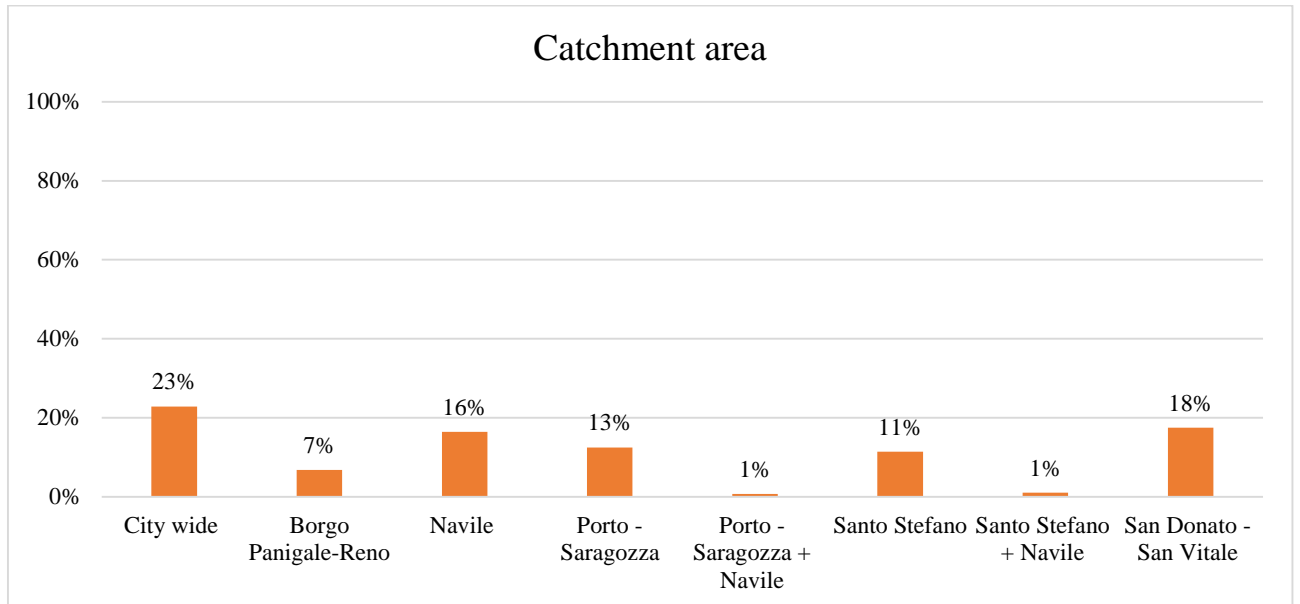
Figure 4 Catchment area_Bologna

The final and consolidated version of the pact of collaboration is the result of a process of both top-down evaluation and co-design involving both the City and the pacts proponents. The process is initiated through the submission of a proposal submitted by a single citizen, an association/committee or an informal group of citizens. If the proposal is approved, the city carry on a co-design process, in order to 1) better define and improve the intervention proposed by citizens 2) promote coordination with other proposals submitted thus enabling the formation of complex partnership for the urban commons and 3) promote coordination with city departments that might be affected by the object of the proposal. There is no structured or facilitated process of co-design, and there are no structures that affirmatively promotes the participation of minorities of vulnerable groups. The participation is regulated as a standard public participatory procedure. The analysis of the co-design procedure, in which different actors interfaced to elaborate a shared proposal in a frame prepared by the City administration seems to reveal that, in the first phase of its implementation, the process was highly transparent thanks to the use of the Comunità_Iperbole platform. But the co-working phase was not structured as a co-design path (as it is structured in the policies of deliberative and participatory democracy implemented later). The data on the co-design phase could not be retraced by the author on the digital platform, which only contains initial version of the pact proposal and the consolidated version of the pact approved. It is ultimately necessary to collect more empirical data to reconstruct and evaluate with accuracy the course of the co-design path

and the relations between civic actors, political representatives and City administration throughout the definition of the pacts' content. The data will be collected in the future, requesting to the City to the have access to the meetings' reports.

One of the goal of the Regulation was that of promoting collaborative governance of the urban commons. The co-design phase, guided by the city administration, was aimed at implanting partnership of several actors. Therefore, the analysis focused on the civic actors that signed the pact, using three main categories: a) bilateral pact (the partnership is composed by the city and one single civic actors: an NGO, a civic committee, a single citizen) b) multi-lateral mono stakeholder (the partnership is composed by the city and different actors belonging to the same category: a group of citizens, a group of NGOs) c) multi-lateral and multi-stakeholder (the partnership is composed by the city and different actors, belonging to different categories, i.e. schools associations and businesses).

Public social partnership

The analysis of the pact according to the partnership reveals that the pacts are composed mainly by bilateral partnerships (N.194) while the partnerships composed by different civic actors represents the 28% (N. 79) and public-private-civic partnerships composed by actors of different categories (public institutions, economic agents, NGOs and civic associations, knowledge institutions is a minority (N.6). Bilateral partnerships are mainly composed by NGOs and civic associations, in some cases neighborhood committees. This result might be due to the poor capacity of the city to foster civic collaboration, and the preference toward the implementation of a higher number of bilateral collaborative devices, where the state-society relation is more balanced in favor of the city. The following chart shows the relationship between the institutional level that signed the pact of collaboration and the type of partnership.
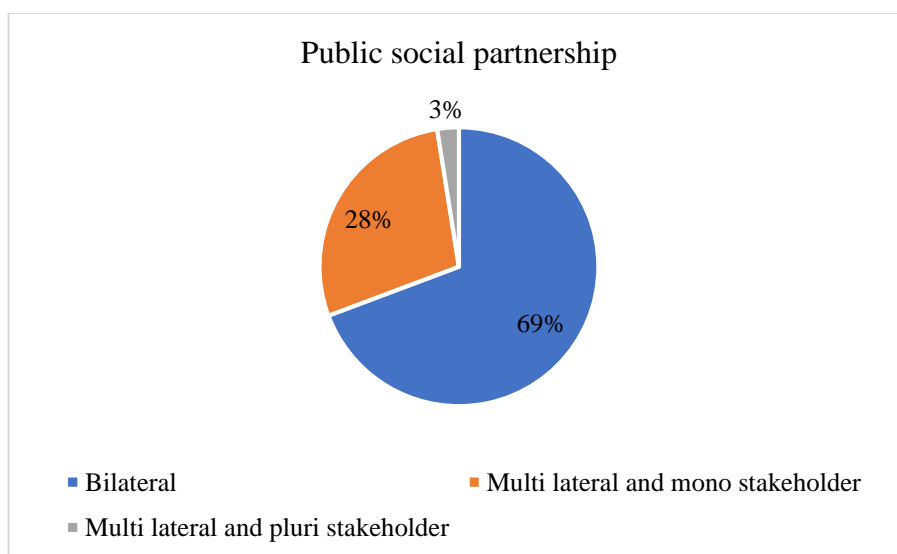
Figure 5 Public Social Partnership (percentage on AV 280)
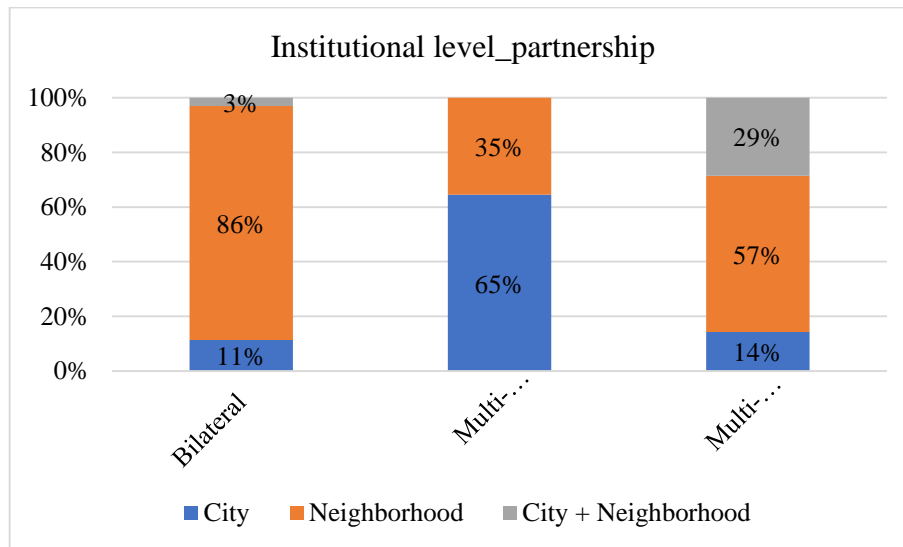
Figure 6 Institutional level across partnership (percentage on AV 280)

Object of the collaborative projects

If we look at the typology of intervention on the commons implemented through the pact, we observe that the large majority of them (56%) is composed by pact of basic cure of the commons (short term intervention such as cooperative placemaking in a public street or park or public events to raise attention of citizenship on environmental or civic issues). The 22% of the pact provide the co-management of the urban commons (long term -1-3 years average- pacts for the management of a public building or an urban space by a civic association or a group of associations, to realize mainly cultural and social activities). Finally, complex intervention of public space and/or building regeneration represent the 22% of the whole amount of pact. In those pact, the citizen committed themselves to realize complex intervention of regeneration, renovation, and improvement of public spaces or public building. Public space is the major subject of intervention, while the percentage of pact regarding regeneration of building is the 7%.
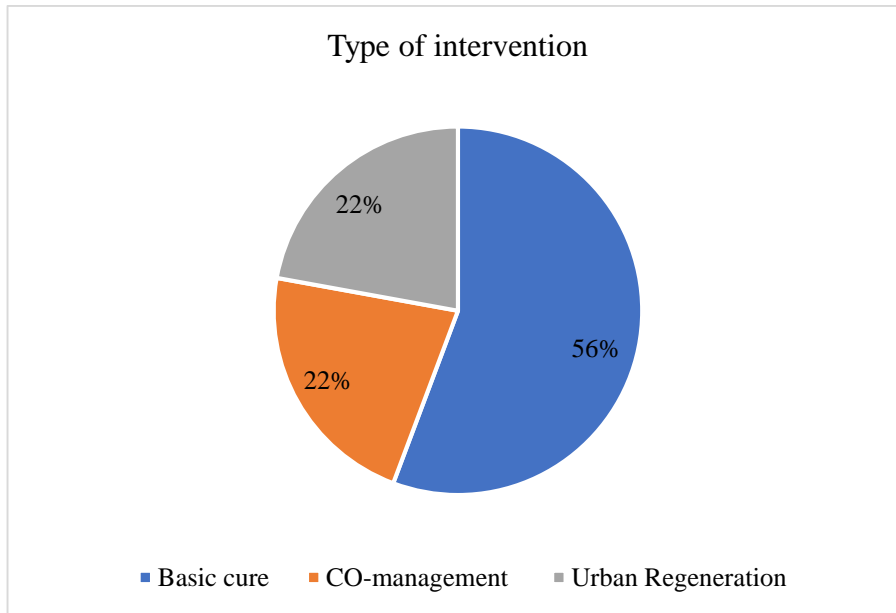
Figure 7 Type of intervention (percentage AV 280)
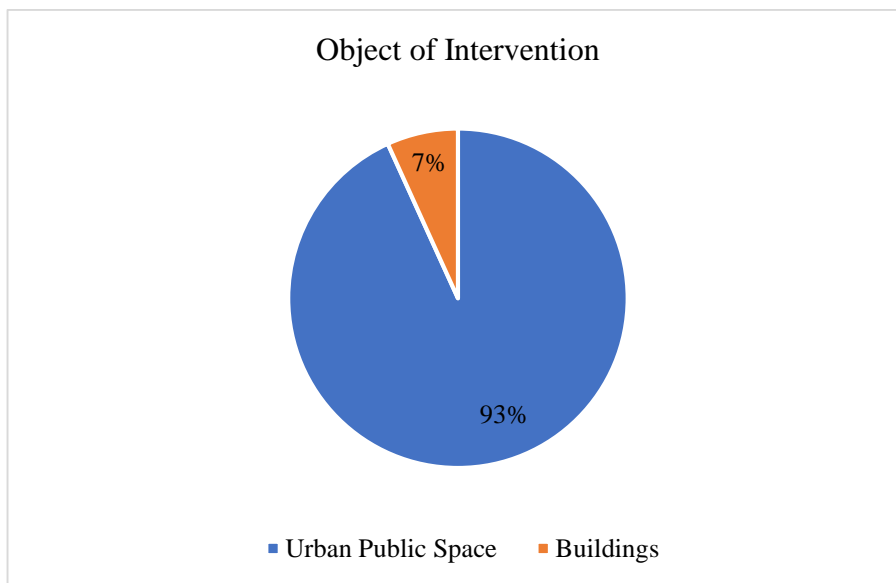
Figure 8 Object of Intervention (percentage on AV 280)

The following chart allow us to observe the types of pacts by disaggregating interventions on urban public space and interventions on buildings (both city owned and privately owned) for each category. Naturally, the gap between the interventions on urban public space were types of intervention are distributed and buildings, which has mainly occurred with regeneration interventions, emerges with a strong evidence.
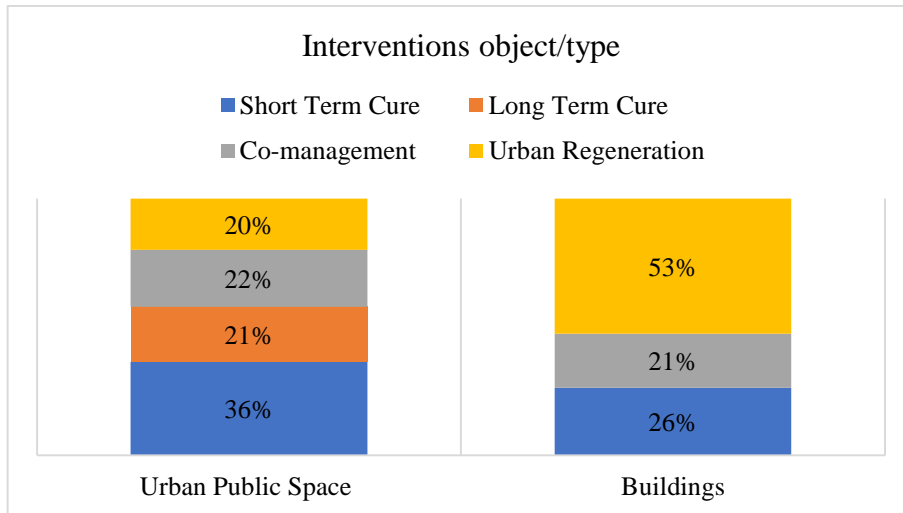
Figure 9 Interventions' object across type of intervention (percentage calculated on AV 272, AV 19)

The following chart is instead focused on the analysis of the distribution of the types of pact (bilateral, multi-lateral and mono-stakeholder, multi-lateral and multi-stakeholder) highlights the presence of a large percentage of complex partnerships (plurilateral and multistakolder) in urban regeneration pacts compared to other types of intervention where these partnerships are a minority.
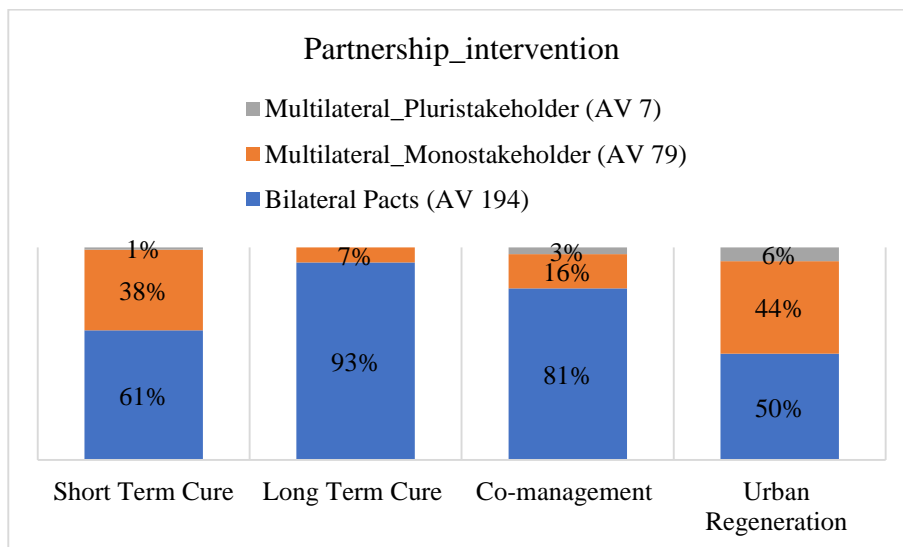
Figure 10 Partnership across type of intervention (AV 194, AV 79, AV 7)

Equality Issues

The equality dimension is mainly explained through the coding of equality goals in the pacts and the analysis of the re-distribution of economic resources through the pacts. The pacts have been coded according to the four main goals that the Regulation itself provides: 1) improvement of the quality and liveability of the urban space 2) Urban creativity (innovative forms of collective artistic expression such as street art) 3) Social innovations and collaborative services (with the more general aim of promoting collaborative economy and services that satisfies emergent social needs and activates new forms of civic collaboration) 4) digital innovation (development of innovative applications to improve the e-government and e-democracy platform of the city).

The following section analyzes the pacts from the standpoint of the issues and goals they aim to realize. The introduction and explanation of the coding of the pacts, supported by the use of charts, will be complemented by the qualitative description of specific pacts as examples of what the different empirical dimensions coded represent. The pacts might present different issues, therefore there are multiple codes and the graph shows the code frequency. A general overview allows us to observe a high concentration among the intervention of the issue of urban quality. Those interventions are aimed at improving the quality of urban space or more generally the quality of urban life through the improvement of urban public spaces, infrastructures and goods. This goal is implemented through interventions of cleaning, ordinary maintenance of city squares, streets, sidewalks, green spaces or buildings' facades.
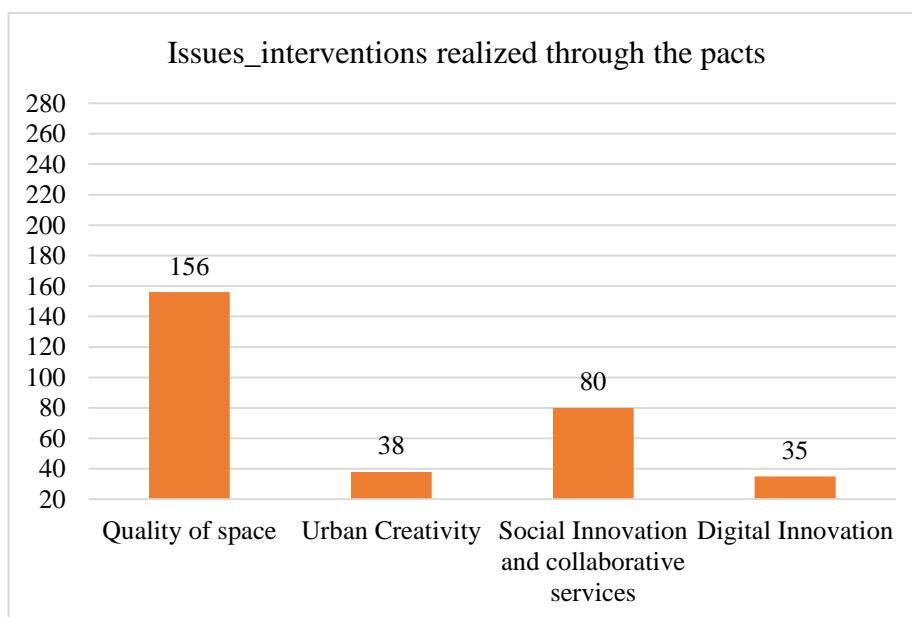
Figure 11 Issues analysis_ interventions realized through the pacts (code frequency, multiple codes)

Means to implement the goals of the pacts and output produced

Among the myriad of pacts for the short term or long term cure of urban commons, we can pick the category composed by the intervention of cure and maintenance of urban green spaces, such as for instance the pact for the *Care and Maintenance Integration of the Green Area located at Broccaindosso n.50*, which provides for the care and supplementary maintenance and the realization of moments of social aggregation in a public green area, granted free of charge by the City, or the pact *Paint Your Pumpkin*, signed by the Centro Sociale Montanari, that commit itself to realize a supplementary cleaning of the Zucca Public Garden in collaboration with Legambiente (national level environmental association, with local sections in every City and often in very city block) and separate collection of waste. The pact also includes the realization of a children's laboratory and a social dinner offered by volunteers. The pact *The Garden of Flavors* signed by Legambiente will perform care, ordinary maintenance and hygienic protection of a blighted green area along the ancient walls of Via Boldrini, in the historical city centre. With the help of the De Amicis primary school's classes, small herbaceous flowerbeds will be planted in the green space in order to create a small flower garden. Many of the pacts of regeneration of urban public space or public buildings foresee restoration or improvement interventions with the aim of improving their viability and usability. This is the case, for instance, or the pacts of urban regeneration involving private economic actors, NGOs foundation or individual city inhabitants such as the pact signed by the Golinelli Foundation for the *Construction of a pedestrian pathway inside the car park in Via Nanni Costa* (close to the main headquartier of the Foundation) or the pact signed by Società Servizi Srl for the *"Construction of a ramp for the abatement of architectural barriers in via Massarenti 175"* which have planned to carry out interventions that allow in the first case the crossing and in the latter the demolition of the architectural barriers existing in public spaces. Another example in this category could be the pact for the *Expansion of the sidewalk at the intersection between Via Livio Zambeccari and Via Pasquale Muratori* signed by Mr. Christian Fabbri, as a single active citizen.

If we look more deeply into the second category in terms of code frequency, that is also the most relevant for the code of equality goals in the pacts of collaboration for the urban commons, the category of *social innovation and collaborative services* we observe that the majority (n. 74, code frequency on the total category) is composed by pact of social innovation, a more widespread purpose and therefore presents greater heterogeneity, while a smaller code frequency (n. 6, code frequency) comprises pacts that are aimed at developing collaborative services.
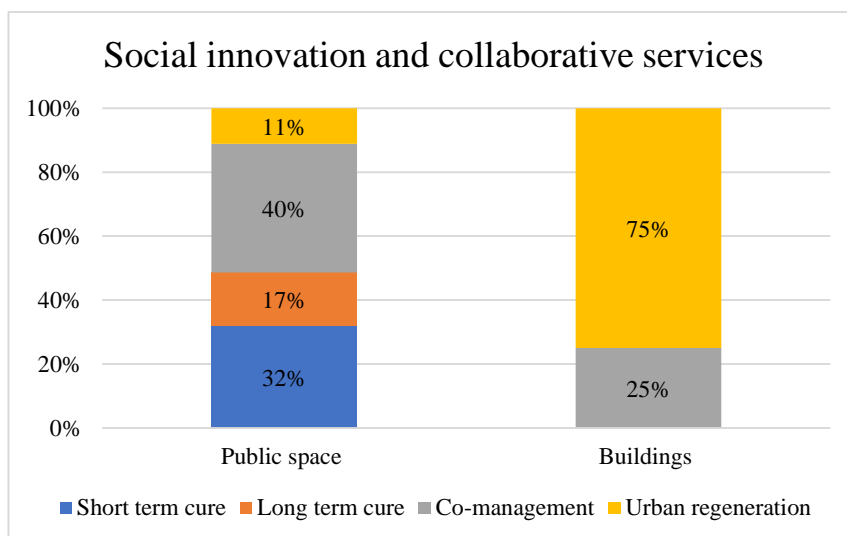
Figure 12 Social innovation and collaborative services interventions_type of pacts/object of intervention

Under the code of pacts with the goal of promoting social innovation through the creation of civic network. A notable example is the case of the pacts signed with the Social streets, for instance the pact for the *Valorization of the advertising panel in Via Eleonora Duse,* signed with a social street, which pursue the promotion of social innovation through support for experiences that create and maintain a network at the street or even block level through a simple device such as an advertising panel used as a roadside bulletin board. In other cases, more complex social innovation projects are being carried out, such as in the case of the *Shared management of the Ex Serre Giardino Margherita* signed by Kilowatt, which has built a shared vegetable garden in the park, where socialization and training activities are carried out. Another example is the pact *Cycle-eco-sport corridor* that provides free concession of uncultivated pieces of land, between via delle Biscie and via Battirame, part of which will be transformed into functional green spaces and community gardens open to City inhabitants while the rest will be used for spreading specific species of insects and plants. These lands will thus be equipped with infrastructures and tools for cultivating the land with social purposes (irrigation implants, gardening toolkits, bathrooms, covered commons spaces) and to experiment innovative forms of social inclusion. Other pacts are designed to foster alternative forms of training, learning and socialization such as the *Nidi Di Note* pact, for the implementation of a musical education project in nurseries and kindergartens in the Savena and Borgo Panigale districts and in the Pavese Primary School, realized by the ARCI Bologna association or the *Oltrescuola* pact, aimed at involving children and young people from primary and secondary schools in the Santo Stefano district, which provides for voluntary activities for training and accompanying them with their school works and providing them with extra recreational activities and activities on Saturday morning at the Marconi Primary School.

Under the code of *collaborative services* we can find pacts that are aimed at providing opportunities for strengthening social cohesion by fostering innovative collaboration between citizen and promoting solidarity and social inclusion of vulnerable social groups also through the integration of the provision of public services (i.e. information points on disabilities or social marginality situations, assistance to medical patients with rare syndromes). The pacts aimed precisely at providing innovative solution to social needs at the Neighborhood or city level, that therefore provide the creation of innovative economic opportunities for citizens and the creation of Neighborhood services, is recurrent in 6 cases out of 80 (8% of the total category). These pacts are aimed at the realization of forms of collaborative economy both through education and training (organization of workshops and training laboratories, also tailored for youth and migrants) and through direct experimentation (i.e. the creation of community markets, social enterprises, sharing spots that allows Neighborhood resident to share basic services or goods. An example is the pact for the *Promotion of the use of the bike,* through which a community cycle shop was created; or the promotion of community markets, as in the case of the *Bio Products Markets* pact; the creation of circuits of the circular economy, as in the case of the *Piantala!* project, which pursue the aim of reducing food waste in the city through a recovery plan of unsold vegetable plants in the large distribution designed tore-distribute the waste to city inhabitants who want to revitalize a green area of the city; the creation of Neighborhood or platform sharing platforms, as in the case of the pact *The Library of the Objects* which foresees the creation of a platform for object-lending activities to members of the community, sharing or donating an object.

Two elements emerge from the coding of the pact's goal, the poor implementation of digital innovation and urban creativity.

Urban creativity pacts (n. 38, of which n. 30 interventions on public spaces and n. 8 on buildings – code frequency) are mainly consistent of occasional care and urban regeneration interventions covering nexus that goes from punctual interventions, for instance a street art day organized in a public space such through the *Street Art Pact* at the Zaccarelli center or the improvement of a public building through the realization of a mural painting as in the cases already mentioned of the *Regeneration of the underpass Guado,* or the *Maintenance and Care of the Cycle Belt of Via Vaccaro,* the pact *Regeneration of the building located in Via del Lazzaretto 11,* or still the *Regeneration of the Libyan bridge and of the areas identified in Cirenaica*, a pact signed with a network of associations and social streets that provides that the creative interventions on the space must be co-decided with the city inhabitants in order to reach a wide consensus over the project. There is also a set of creativity interventions on nurseries or public schools, designed to stimulate youth creativity and promote civic education in school-age generations. They were initiated thanks to the initiative of school leaders or local associations such as the pact *Solar System at School* realized by the Cultural Recreation Center "Santa Viola" and the *Project for the Realization of a Murales*, for the construction

of a murals on the steps of the amphitheater in the courtyard of the Federzoni Schools. Some of these pacts are indeed initiated by parents themselves, organized in informal groups who have proposed and then realized decorative works, for example in the pacts *Murales in the Alpi kindergarten*, *Murales and small maintenance at San Donato lido*, the pact *We color our school - Gramsci Childhood School*, and the *Pact of collaboration for the realization of a murals project at the Rocca childhood school.*

In other cases, the intervention was intended to contribute to the care of the public space or building through the simple removal of graphic vandalism or the realization of training activities and diffusion of urban art education such as in the *Frontier Pact*, which provided for the realization of an open research and laboratory center focused on the issue of urban art.

The focus on pact coded as *digital innovation* pacts allows us to highlight the issue that seems to represent an open challenge for the implementation of the Bologna Regulations for the Urban Commons (indeed, this is a controversial aspect also for other urban policies and community spaces analyzed in this work, also in Milan and Naples with few notable exceptions. It is indeed through that there are leading examples of open government platforms (De Blasio & Selva 2016) used as a tool for coordinating the network of urban commons practicioners, such as Iperbole in the case of Bologna or policies that are specifically designed to implement the open government partnership at the urban level, such as the case of the Open Government plan of the City of Milan. But these policies are designed in order to improve the digital capacity of the public administration and to build platform for implementing transparency and participation and the digitalization of government. But there are few policies at the urban level that have the purpose to promote greater technological substantial equality, operationalized as greater access to tech and digital infrastructure for urban actors in a way that provide them with a concrete possibility of developing digital and tech innovation solutions to respond to specific Neighborhood needs or city wide priorities: pooling of resources to reduce traffic congestion, sharing of resources at the Neighborhood level and coordination of network of mutual support in low income areas) given that interventions in this area are clearly minor compared to other goals. The promotion of digital innovation is closely linked with the promotion of social innovation and can facilitate the realization of co-design and co-production processes at the Neighborhood or city level. By analyzing in depth digital innovation, we note that it is possible to distinguish three categories of pacts: a set of pacts aimed at reducing the digital divide through a single project, *Reduce digital divide*, implemented through multiple pacts, which started from a single Neighborhood but later spread to others and was realized through the collaboration of several civic associations. A group of 24 pacts, *Friends of the bike,* which have been signed by 24 single citizens but actually represent a single project, concerned with the collection of data in order to develop a network for the urban cyclists whom, through a digital platform, will be able to immediately visualize the map of the bicycle toll booths and the *Pact for the realization*

of the OUTakes archive, which involves the collection and digitization of material linked to the collective historical memory of the LGBTQ movement. Finally, the pact for the *Realization of geo-referencing of touristic paths,* already mentioned in the report, is the only digital innovation intervention in which a digital application has been implemented as a tool to map the path of the Aposa stream. The pact foresees that, as soon as it will be ready, the mobile application be donated by the civic actors that will realize them to the City Council for tourism promotion and prevention of hydrogeological risk.

The pacts also allow both the city and the civic actors of the partnership to provide different kind of resources for the realization of intervention: time, work, competences, communication and dissemination infrastructures and financial resources. The total amount of financial resources invested (by civic associations, NGOs and cultural foundations and single citizens) for regeneration interventions is 480.180,27 €, calculated on the whole amount of pacts, while the amount of financial resources invested by the city administration across the whole amount of pacts is 195.558,84 €. In order to analyze the capacity of resources allocation provided by this policy, a deeper analysis is needed, that would situate this data combining them with an assessment of the other resources allocated (communication and dissemination, time and competences, organizational support provided by the City) that was not possible to assess through the qualitative coding of the pacts.

4.4.1. Co-design laboratories for urban commons governance: Croce del Biacco, Pilastro, Bolognina.

To complete the detailed analysis of the urban policy on governance of the urban commons in Bologna, an overview on some of the result of the co-design labs on urban commons governance organized within the Co-Bologna (2016) program could be useful to achieve the scope of this chapter. Part of the work conducted within the Co-Bologna process was that of conducting co-design processes to observe the way through which prototypes of local/neighborhood-based institutions, characterized by adaptiveness and diversity, enabled collective action for the urban commons, after the Regulation was approved. The labs were organized in three Bologna neighborhoods: Pilastro (collaborative economy disctrict); Bolognina (social innovation in public housing) and Croce del Biacco (co-management within urban regeneration processes).

a) Bolognina

The Bolognina experimentation field, supported by Federcasa, is located in an area characterized by exemplar experiences in the care and regeneration of the commons and in the field of social and cultural innovation, and sets for itself the objective of generating connections between the already existing projects, increasing their potential and offering new occasions of collaboration in the use of space. The ultimate goal is the creation of a

neighborhood direction, on the model of the French *Régies des quartiers et des territoire*, based on a public-private- community partnership formula, and the path will be modelled on the successful experience of Pilastro 2016.

Figure 13 Co-Design process, Bolognina urban governance lab. Source: Co-Bologna.it

The reflection on private spaces will be followed by one on public spaces, thanks to the involvement of businessmen and subjects who are active in the innovation field. This process will aim at sharing common initiatives to promote the area, presenting new proposals for the care of the community and identifying actions that can answer to the needs expressed by participants. The process enjoys the support of Federcasa that considers it as an experimentation useful to bring innovation in housing policies at national level. The lab benefited from the collaboration of ACER Bologna, ASPPI, the neighborhood Navile and from the competences of di Kilowatt e CBS-Abito. Through Co-Bologna had contributed to the creation of a Community Association composed by the businessmen from the artists' streets of Bolognina.

b) Pilastro

The Pilastro governance lab built on the urban economic development policy "Pilastro 2016". The co-design lab was aimed at facilitating the participation of the community actors in the Pilastro North East District Development Agency. The lab addressed the community actor of the Agency, the Mastro Pilastro Group. The aim of the process, in line with the work of facilitation that the Camelot social cooperative already conducted, was that of providing the group of civic actors with the tools necessary to actively participate in the process of inclusive economic development carried out in Pilastro. This

is why the lab was aimed at facilitating the co-design of a sustainability plan for the activity of the civic actors, and the type of neighborhood services offered.

The aim of the Pilastro 2016 process was that of creating an ecosystem of neighborhood's collective institutions that supposed to be autonomous and sustainable, after the initial intervention of the City:

> The Pilastro process involved many actors, but only in the process of initiation, then actors themselves must continue the process through the institutions created (the Agency, the cooperative, the community house). This has been designed in the logic of development policies, which do not give results in two years but in the long run. We have set ourselves as the result of a first phase the creation of organizations, then they will have to be them to realize concrete objectives of improvement of the territorial context. The role played by the municipal administration is not just a supporting role (Interview with Coordinator of the Local Development Projects and responsible for the Pilastro 2016 project, August 4th 2017).

The role of the City, after initiating the constitution of the collective institutions is that of monitoring the process. In this way, the City act as an enabler of the co-governance at the Neighborhood level. This feature of the Pilastro process is particularly relevant because it would allow us to observe the empirical manifestation of an approach that was defined as "subsidiarity governance", based on the "citizen side of governance" (Moro 2002) and the "enabling state" (Foster 2011), as appropriate design principles for governing the urban commons. The institutional actors, in this case the City, are supposed to enable and favor the collective action that is autonomous and self-regulated. But the City is not supposed to retire from the partnership created to enable the processes, nor to retire from his responsibility.

The monitoring activity is carried out through the participation of the City to the collective institutions created. The City participate in his capacity as an enabler, not through a direct intervention in the organization and implementation of the activities nor in the coordination between the actors:

> The administration does not leave the scene once the organizations have been created, it maintains a role that is equal to that of the other actors (the objectives that the Pilastro process had set themselves were very ambitious, in fact the Development Agency was created while the other organizations are still under construction). The administration is not therefore the actor who has only facilitated and then left, remains on the scene from a collaboration perspective. The agency represents a public-private-community partnership that represents all the actors of the territory (the Municipality of Bologna

is a founding member of the Agency) that in various capacities carry out economic and social development activities that invest in the territory from a of corporate social responsibility (Interview with Coordinator of the Local Development Projects and responsible for the Pilastro 2016 project, August 4th 2017).

A crucial part of the enabling role of the institution is the support to the urban regeneration activities. The support is provided through economic grants. The funds to regenerate the facilities and buildings that are necessary for the Agency to carry out his economic development plan were made available by the City through the National Plan for Peripheries (the interventions will be operative from 2018). The Agency is built as an open partnership that will be the founding member of the Pilastro Neighborhood Community Cooperative.

Within this complex process, Co-Bologna activated a co-design process, (January through June 2016) organized with the supervision of professional facilitators and the support of the Camelot Cooperative. The aim of the laboratory was to facilitate the Mastro Pilastro group to achieve the construction of an urban community cooperative.

Figure 14 Co-Design process, Pilastro urban governance lab. Source: co-bologna.it

The process led the Mastro Pilastro group to organize in an institutionalized form, an "Urban Community Association".

c) Croce del Biacco

Croce del Biacco is a public housing cluster with a high percentage of multi foreigners residents. In close proximity to Croce del Biacco there is the Bologna main migrants' first hospitality center, the Mattei Regional Hub. There is also FabLab and a network of cultural and creative spaces in Piazza dei Colori. The Croce del Biacco area is very relevant, because it is the object of two complex pacts of collaboration. the Croce del Biacco-Piazza dei Colori area is characterized by a multicultural context which gives her a a particular strategic importance from the point of view of redevelopment of the suburbs, urban regeneration and dialogue between cultures to allow co-governance of the urban commons. The first one is a pact between the City and the Fondazione del Monte di Bologna and Ravenna for a complex regeneration intervention of an urban public space. It is on of the complex pacts of collaboration carried out within the framework of the urban policy on co-governance of the commons. The pact provides for the execution of a complex work of regeneration of Piazza dei Colori square and the solicitation of proposals for collaboration for the shared management of the regenerated public space. The pact also provides for the collection of civic collaboration proposals, stimulated during a participatory process that was held previously. This pact of collaboration was followed by a second pact, for the implementation of maintenance, hygienic protection interventions for the green area, furnishings for the new park and the regenerated surrounding area, including the areas of the Croce del Biacco, Piazza dei Colori and the Ex Pioppeto Mattei. This pact of collaboration was signed between the City and an informal grouping consisting of a wide network of NGOs (coordinated by the Angolo B NGO), single residents, Committees and cultural centers (Center of Islamic Culture / Mosque of Via Pallavicini, NGO "Nuova Vita" / Evangelical Church, Parental Committee "Livio Tempesta" among the others). The network of civic actors has undertaken the commitment to carry out activities of care and management of the square object of the work of regeneration, Piazza dei Colori, creating a continuity with the intervention and promoting a community of care through the aggregation of existing social networks in the area. The urban governance lab that took place in Croce del Biacco in the context of the Co-Bologna program which was conducted with the support of a professional facilitator and took place between June and October 2016, was focused on providing the community with the support needed to design a form of governance that could allow to manage a collaborative economy and social innovation district.

Figure 15 Co-Design process, Croce del Biacco, during the Co-Bologna program. Source: Co-Bologna.it.

Among the actors that participated, we can find the local associations and the residents that signed the pact for Croce del Biacco, social innovators selected through the Incredibol call and migrants hosted in the Via Mattei hub. The main output of the governance co-design lab is a "Preliminary Protocol of Collaboration" that unifies the community of the lab participants around common objectives, values, timing and future actions. The participants showed enthusiasm since the beginning towards the idea of a guided process of coalition of the civic, social, economic, cognitive and institutional forces active for the care of the square. However, from the very beginning, the existing conflicts and the different perspectives between commercial activities and NGOs emerged although, during the course of co-design activities, they merged into common objectives and differentiated but shared strategies. To achieve results that are able to take root in the territory and remain in time, the group immediately focused on short-term micro-regeneration activities (such as the street art day) involving Neighborhood institutions. The co-governance lab ultimately constituted a preparatory work that facilitated the civic actors and led them towards the Participating Planning Table, a co-working table organized by the Neighborhood institutions (San Donato – San Vitale Neighborhood Council 2016). The table has the goal of defining an action plan of initiatives and projects for the use of resources available in the Neighborhood.

4.5 Conclusions

The analysis carried out in this chapter argues that since 2011 the city of Bologna implemented a policy ecosystem aimed at enabling civic collaboration and addressing governance of the urban commons and promotion of collaborative economy, adopting an incremental model of policy making (Lindblom 1958; Morlino et al. 2017) through which the Bologna policy makers have experimented with several means to innovate participatory policies, making them ultimately converge toward the urban commons and collaborative economy. As Lasswell's (1954) efforts have highlighted since the 1950s, integrating policy formulation and implementation aspects and understanding the range of policy tools available to policy makers are key aspects for public policy research. The Regulation defines a toolbox of policy alternatives that includes the agenda setting (Lasswell 1971) (goals, general principles, areas of intervention) and the policy tools through which to reach them. Policy tools can be of different types (communicative, organizational, economical), so that policy makers can offer a broad spectrum of alternatives to achieving their goals. If one of the main research questions in governance studies is to identify the key elements and processes through which governance is implemented empirically (Capano et al. 2015) this analysis aims to understand the main elements and mechanisms through which the policy of collaborative governance of commons institutionally designed by the City has been implemented. In this case, the range of policy instruments is defined by the policy itself, which states that they are identified by the actors themselves through a co-design phase and are enucleated within the pact which sets the commitments and responsibilities of the various actors and is the output of a co-design process that sees the proponents and the City administration working together to develop a final version of the pact. The commons governance model defined by the city of Bologna focuses on collaboration as a method applied to the government of commons, updated in different forms, which involves the structuring of a public-private-civic partnership. The question that will guide this research phase is whether, in the context of the co-design policies of urban commons, empirically has a collaborative government model that empowers collective action on commons, and whether these processes of democratic innovation lead to the emergence of institutional democratic innovations (Smith 2010) of sustainable urban commons' co-governance.

The survey carried out to complete the analysis is not presented here, but can still use some evidences (De Nictolis & Pais 2018) to advance some reflections. The first part of the questionnaire allowed gathering information relevant for the analysis of the profile of the collaborative Pact referents, the "model of social centrality" (Milbrath 1965, Pizzorno 1966; Biorcio 2003, Biorcio, Vitale 2016), ie the fact that it is more likely to take part in political and social life who is in a high position in one of the many social hierarchies. This interpretative hypothesis seems to be confirmed also in the case of the Pacts. The referents of the Pacts are predominantly men (62%) who come from the associative world and - to a lesser extent - companies. Participation is strongly concentrated in the middle

age classes, with a prevalence of women among forty and male among fifty. The Pact referents were born almost exclusively in Italy (95%), only 62% was born in Bologna and only 59% reside in the district covered by the Pact, a factor that could signal the fact that the Pact is used as a professional opportunity, not only to improve the quality of the neighborhood in which we live. The datum of social centrality is also confirmed by the qualifications and work positions of the participants and by the qualifications of the parents. Also in terms of social and political participation, the Pact referents are far more active than the Italian average in terms of membership of associations and present pro-social behavior. The outcome of the relationship with the City administration throughout the process is assessed as positive by the participants. The main issues in the relationship are identified in the bureaucratic obstacles.

The policy seems capable to enable more interventions on the public space than on buildings or complex urban regeneration processes.

The partnership analysis allowed us to shed some light on the degree and intensity of aggregation of the various urban actors in the process of co-governance of the commons promoted through the Regulation, with particular emphasis on the prevalence of bilateral partnerships where the municipality has interacted with a single civic actor (NGOs, cultural foundations, economic actor or single citizen). Finally, with regards to the ability of the pacts to be an economic policy tools for achieving inclusion and solidarity purposes, investigated through the analysis of the goals of the pacts, it is noted that the promotion of collaborative services and digital innovation, have had a minimal spread. Looking at the universe of the pacts we can therefore advance the hypothesis that there is a smaller group, albeit with relevant examples, of pact that aimed at reducing economic inequalities and creating social, economic, growth opportunities through civic collaboration for urban commons, which need to be deeper investigated case by case. These first results stimulate reflection and need further insights. The analysis also allows some reflections on the role of the Regulation as a means to achieve disintermediated peer to peer collaboration among city inhabitants. One of the objectives of the Regulation is to enable collective action by promoting the creation of a polycentric system in which governance actors are autonomous decision-makers, who share the responsibilities of policy formulation and implementation through co-design tools. This would contribute to the informalization (Boudreau 2017) of the urban institutions, and the creation of a form of state-platform (Iaione 2016) whose role within commons governance is to create conditions and encourage collaboration and cooperation among different urban actors. Among the pacts signed by the city, especially those who see the Mayor as a signatory, some pacts such as that signed with Agesci emerge as they provide for the simplification of procedures and enable the self-organization of the groups which will be able to proceed directly with the organization of the interventions on the basis of a framework-pact that constitutes the cornerstone of the civic collaboration. The group of pacts pursuing social innovation and collaborative services that contribute to increase solidarity network and

social inclusion (such as shows how the policy enable co-governance of tangible but also intangible commons. The group of pacts including the Forever Ultras Pact, the Bella Fuori 3 pact, the pact for the HUB Underground base, shows how the policy facilitated the creation of partnership for complex urban regeneration of space and buildings, mainly within the context of bilateral partnership. In the City of Bologna we can observe, although the wide majority of actors participating consist in NGOs or informal group of active citizens, the increase of collaboration with private social actors, such as NOT for profit foundations, social enterprises and start ups and economic actors. Notwithstanding the increase of this kind of pacts, there is still a tendency to sign bilateral partnership with the actors instead of promoting multi-lateral partnerships in which different types of actors interact not just with the City, but among themselves, thus enabling the creation of a polycentric governance system.

The distinction emerging from the analysis between "simple" pacts of cure and "complex" pacts of urban regeneration of spaces or buildings is a distinction operating only at the level of the type of intervention. The degree of commitment of the civic actors and the potential outcomes in terms of social cohesion deriving from the pacts of cure or co-management is very high. This determines a situation where, as the Head of the Active Citizenship Office of the City of Bologna recognizes in the report on the pacts of collaboration drafted by the NGO responsible for the advocacy of the Regulation throughout Italy (Labsus 2016).

> The complexity of some agreements may derive from factors unrelated to the object of collaboration in the strict sense - fragmentation of the administrative skills involved, specific regulatory constraints etc. - then producing a proportionally lower impact in relation to the severity in the broad sense endured for their realization. The experience tells us that often citizens identify the value of a pact of collaboration in the effort put by the City administration to produce simple and tailored solutions to their needs (Head of the Active Citizenship Office of the City of Bologna, Labsus 2016).

The large number of partnership agreements signed and the variety of associations, informal groups and individuals involved is certainly an output of the Regulation. In the same way, the 1,473 inhabitants of Bologna who participated to the Neighborhood Laboratories in 2017 (Ce. So. Com. 2018) and the 14.584 who voted on the participatory budget on the other hand represent an important output and a success factor for the participation dimension. The 1,473 participants to the Neighborhood labs path are limited to the "usual suspects" (Ce. So. Com. 2018) which can be assimilated to the group of civic innovators that participated to the first phase of implementation of the policy on co-governance of the commons. This result is partly confirmed by the results of the survey on the signatories of the pacts, where we find that in most cases the pact was made by

people who have previous and good mutual knowledge and had already carried out initiatives together or by a group of people they know each other well, but also involved people with whom there had been no previous contacts. In part, however, the data also show the potential of the pacts to intercept civic actors previously not active at the local level (in one case out of four, the respondent claims not to have previously carried out other collaborative initiatives to promote the commons at local level) (De Nictolis and Pais 2018). This overall picture, together with the consideration of the prevalence, among the signatories of the pacts, of organized social actors (mainly NGOs) and the prevalence of bilateral partnerships would therefore seem to show that we are facing a framework of great investment and important results in terms of bonding and some initial results, that leave open challenges, in terms of bridging and the quality of democracy. In light of the Bologna analysis, the dimension of urban co-governance does not seem to be able to be measured only in terms of greater or lesser power and influence of citizens in the process (Arnstein 1969) but includes different degrees ranging from sharing to civic collaboration to polycentrism which sees creation in the city of institutions autonomous and independent collectives that allow to reduce asymmetries in the concentration of power through the economic means which would be able to make the pacts means for sustainability of governance devices for the urban commons, an element that often represents a risk associated with experimental democratic innovations.

4.5.1 Neighborhoods as institutional spaces for civic engagement and social/solidarity economy through the urban commons.

While still implementing its urban policy for co-governance of the commons, the City of Bologna is represented by the experience of the neighborhood laboratories and the participatory budget, a process led by Urban Center, which has activated a cross-sectorial coordination group, taking on the new function of "Office for Civic Imagination". This structure has recently found a synthesis in the organizational innovation of the Urban Innovation Foundation (Urban Innovation Foundation, 2017). But if in the case of the implementation of transparency, as in the case of Comunità_Iperbole, of participatory democracy as with the participatory budget and of deliberative democracy and the neighborhood laboratories a central role has been played by a central administrative structure (the Urban Center, which later became the Office for Civic Imagination) in the case of urban policy for the co-governance of common goods, a key role was assumed above all by the neighborhoods and the support of the City Office for Active Citizenship. This role of the district in the institutional ecosystem of the collaborative city is perfectly consistent with the provisions of the decentralization reform of the city of Bologna, approved in July 2015, which brings a change to the role of the Neighborhood Council, which acquires the function of promoting the culture of community and will assume a role of greater listening and impulse to the collaboration of citizens also through the development of project and integrative functions for the care of the community and for the care of the territory, together with support activities to create community networks.

The reform has in fact specified that the district "works to promote and promote the sense of territorial community, the culture of proximity, solidarity and collaboration between individuals and between city organizations, also according to the setting of community network and of shared administration that is based on the principle of horizontal subsidiarity as per article 118, last paragraph, of the Constitution ". (See Article 5, Reform of neighborhoods, Annex A to P.G. No. 142306/2015). The reform also identifies new functions within the neighborhoods, expressly defined as "functions for the care of the community and the territory", which must be the framework and the plot for the grafting of these collaboration practices. In the case of the urban commons, the relevance of the role emerged after the first phase of implementation:

> The tradition of the neighborhoods in this city comes from afar. The neighborhoods are places of active participation, care and listening to the communities. And the neighborhoods also take care of those who do not participate. We are working in this direction to activate neighborhood and neighborhood actions. And we got there through the experience of the Regulation (Head of the Office for Institutional Affairs and Neighborhoods, City of Bologna 2016).

When analyzing the urban crisis in US cities, Bish and Ostrom (1973) advanced the hypothesis that absence of fragmentation of authority and overlapping jurisdictions (and not their presence) would be the source of institutional failures in urban government. The analysis of the role of neighborhood as it emerged with the experience of the Regulation for the urban commons and was then transferred to other urban participative and deliberative policies (the deliberative experiment of the Neighborhood labs and the participatory budget) seems coherent with the way Bish and Ostrom envisioned the participation of NGOs and city inhabitants in taking care of their cities:

> Residents in many big cities have undertaken efforts to organize voluntary neighborhood associations to deal with neighborhood problems. However, we can expect such efforts to involve very high costs in time and effort and to be plagued by holdouts or free riders (…) People will organize for action in extreme exigencies but purely voluntary effort will be abandoned as conditions ameliorate. (Bish and Ostrom 1973, 95-96).

And the way they interpreted the role of neighborhoods' institutions to facilitate or "manage" them

> Il problems require routine, continuing attention, provision will need to be made for the exercise of some governmental authority (…) governmental organization is also useful if voluntarism is to be supported on a regular basis (…) sub-urbanities draw both upon the

voluntary services of community residents and the services of professional employees (Bish and Ostrom 1973, 95-96).

The findings of the neighborhood laboratory tests were subject to scientific observation by the So. So.com University of Bologna. which has produced an analysis, mainly through participant observation, of the experience that gives back a complex picture and stimulates reflections in the light of which the analysis of collaboration agreements can provide support. The first element that emerges (Ce. So. Com. 2018) and on which the authors of this paper is concerned is the role of the districts, the second crucial element is the fact that the district Laboratories are structured as spaces for civic engagement. and active citizenship. Civic engagement is one of the fundamental pillars of the concept of civic imagination. The research hypothesis of this work, on the relationship between urban co-governance and economic democracy, seeks to understand if the city can invest in neighborhoods not only as spaces for civic engagement but also as productive units of inclusive economic development. If only the participation function is allocated to the districts and is not accompanied by the function of inclusive economic production (Florida 2018), so as to bring out a polycentric network of economic production centers the risk (beyond the impacts that the reforms on decentralization have already produced from the point of view of the relationship between neighborhoods and democracy (Pizzolato 2014) is to lose an element of the "urban vision" underlying the collaborative city (Iaione 2018). To do this, it is necessary to take into account what Robert Dahl already stated in 1967, that the city was the best unit of measure for democracy (small enough for participation, big enough for the contribution and therefore the influence of individuals to be significant), the academic discussion on the emerging role of cities as political and economic actors and the results of the above-mentioned studies by Elinor Ostrom on the cooperative government of common resources, which at certain conditions is able to guarantee the conservation of resources and the well-being of the communities whose survival is closely linked to the production units of the system of natural resources they are cared for. The "civic imaginators" are the people who are inside the administration that succeed, forcing the concept of administrative rationality, they manage to imagine the city as an engine of inclusive economic development. The districts could therefore be those spaces within which the communities constitute forms of common interests and begin to co-produce or co-manage services of general interest and community, with a coordination at the central level.

The City of Bologna also implemented a complex policy experimentation that interconnects the dimension of the neighborhood as a space of civic engagement and inclusive economic development and regeneration of urban commons, the Pilastro 2016 process. As showed in the chapter, the Pilastro 2016 process which led to the constitution of the Pilastro North East Development Agency is centered on the role of the Neighborhood institution and on the cultural and social values that form the Pilastro inhabitants' identity. And the creation of the collective institutions is aimed at promoting

a sustainable and inclusive economic development within the neighborhood, starting from the regeneration of the commons in it.

Chapter V - Models of co-governance of the urban commons. Milan, Naples Rome and Turin.

5.1 From the entrepreneurial city to a platform for social innovation: social movements, social digital innovation and the commons in Milan.

The city of Milan is key in the Italian Cities' ecosystem. As recently stressed by an outstanding research on the role of cities as platforms for a renewed relationship between public political, economic, and social actors, that stresses the need for a conception of the city as a political phenomenon, the Italian Urban System is at the same time polycentric and centered on the dualism between the two main cities of the country, Rome and Milan (Artioli 2016). The elites of the City of Milan have been concerned with the need to restore the status of the City as the moral and economic capital of the country, in contrast with the development encountered by his Political Capital, the city of Rome, since the 1990s (Pin & Galimberti 2016, 209). Since 2011, the city of Milan encountered a period of deep political transformation and is possible to observe a dynamic tissue of social networks and active citizens promoting relevant example of social enterprises and democratic innovations. This section, focused on the analysis of the case of Milan, is divided in three part, as already anticipated; first, a brief outline of the socio-economic and political-institutional profile of the City, highlighting the indicators that are relevant in light of this work; it follows the description of the case studies mapped in the City, with a highlights on the most relevant roadblocks in the development of the bottom-up process or the policy with the support of empirical observations collected through on field observation and semi-structured interviews with key representatives of the process or policy testimonies, both single interviews and group interviews, conducted in person in Milan; finally the conclusions, where a connection between the analysis of the cases and the relevant existing literature, that stresses as a prominent feature of the City Government the strong promotion of the transformation of the city into a platform for social innovation led – economic development, will be drawn. We will see how the City of Milan represents a peculiar case in comparison with the other Italian Northern Cities took into account in this section of the work. The analysis of the urban democracy in Milan through the lens of the commons shows that the policies and practices analyzed embodies an approach toward the urban commons oriented at creating an ecosystem favorable to the development of civic entrepreneurship and a strong focus on digital and technological issues.

In 2011, After more than 20 years of center – right Mayorship, a center left coalition led by Giuliano Pisapia succeeded at the local elections, followed by another center left coalition led by Giuseppe Sala, current Mayor of Milan, who maintained the basic structure of the former City Government, keeping half of the Deputy Mayors appointed by the former Mayor, Giuliano Pisapia. Milan has a population of 3.099 million inhabitants (in the Metropolitan Area, representing the 7,2 % share in the National Urban

Population, with an annual rate of change of 0,13% in the last decade. The growth of the Metropolitan area of the city of Milan encountered a strong increase in the last two decades, and it's expected to have an additional increase in the next one. The city area instead presents a total population of 1.324.169,000 inhabitants (millions).
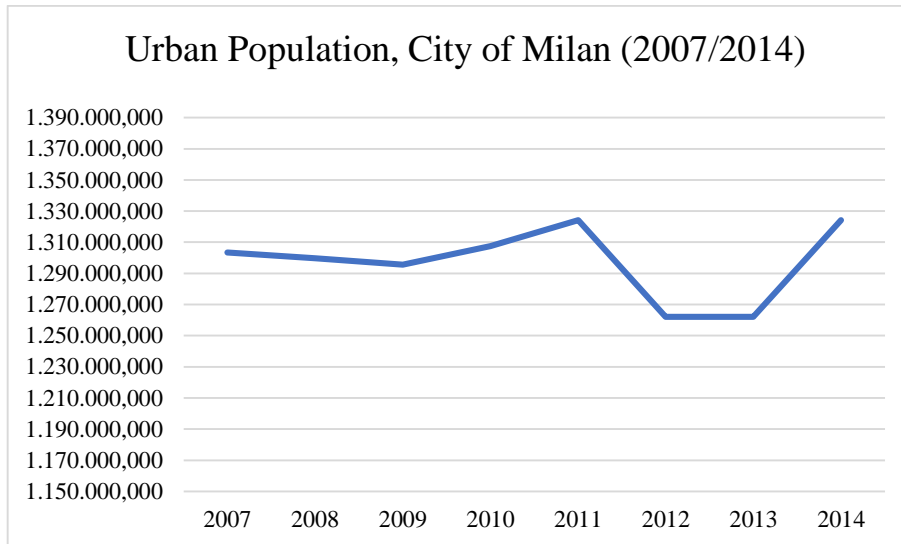
Figure 16 Urban Population, City of Milan, EuroStat, Population on 1 January by age groups and sex - cities and greater cities. Last update: 12-09-2017.

Economic indicators of the Greater City of Milan are highly positive in the Italian Context. The City of Milan certainly represents the most dynamic city of the Country from the economic standpoint. The city presents the highest GDP per capita of the Country (57.074.17) and the highest GDP per city (234.523.98), whit a level of income inequality (GINI Index) of 0.314, while the average real estate value (per square meter) is 3.842,0, the highest in the Country.

Employment rate	Unemployment rate	Families with potential economic distress	Index of social and meterial vulnerability
50,8	6,9	1,2	98,9

Figure 17 Social and economic vulnerability indicators_Milan. Source: ISTAT report on the decay of urban peripheries (2017).

City	Case study
Milan	Macao
Milan	Milano Sharing City, 2014.
Milan	Temporary reuse of spaces, 2012
Milan	Mare Culturale Urbano

Milan	7 modi per
Milan	Cooperativa Borgo di Chiaravalle
Milan	Pandora
Milan	Unza!
Milan	Comunità Emmanuel
Milan	Spazio Visconti
Milan	Società Escursionisti Milanesi (SEM)
Milan	Progetto Robur
Milan	Santeria Social Club
Milan	Associazione Zerodiciotto
Milan	Associazione Joint
Milan	Zerodiciotto
Milan	Casa delle Donne
Milan	P7 Liberty Ospitalità e scambio
Milan	Revolve
Milan	Fabriq, Incubator for social innovation
Milan	Fabbrica del Vapore
Milan	Milan Sharing City
Milan	Manifacture 4.0 Plan
Milan	Maker Spaces and FabLab
Milan	Co working
Milan	Base Milan. Co working space
Milan	Guidelines on Open Government and Promotion of Civic Participation
Milan	Regulation for Civic Collaboration on the Urban Commons
Milan	Participatory Budget_1
Milan	Dreaming classroom
Milan	More green in the district
Milan	CondividiMI1
Milan	New sport spaces at Trotter Park
Milan	Living the Lambro Park
Milan	Today we are out
Milan	Designing and language colored
Milan	Recover to regenerate
Milan	I am going around safe
Milan	Didactic and Culture
Milan	Safe on the street
Milan	the green street, to live healthy and safe
Milan	meet in Vercellina, San Siro and Baggio!
Milan	Oasis of Culture
Milan	Unite the park with the bycicle
Milan	Live Zone 9

| Milan | Cittadini Creativi |
| Milan | Participatory Budget_2 |

Figure 18 Case studies_Milan

The mapping phase of the Milan case revealed a high heterogeneity of cases (including policies, policies' outputs and community spaces tot. n. 62. Before proceeding with the analysis of the relevant policy and the project that are relevant as co-governance of the urban commons in the City of Milan, a rough overview on the participatory budget experience (2015) and the Open Government plan (2017) is worth. Although those two policies do not address directly the urban commons, they can be considered as part of the institutional ecosystem that allow urban co-governance to flourish.

5.1.1 Promoting the commons through participation. Participatory budget in Milan.

The city of Milan launched his first experimentation of participatory budgeting in 2015, under the Mayorship of Giuseppe Pisapia, who succeeded with a center left list composed of public intellectuals at the local elections of 2011, after twenty years of lead by a center-right city government for the very first time. The first edition (2015) of the Milan Participatory Budget (entirely funded by the City of Milan with a total amount of approximately 6.610.000 euros between funds for projects and organizational expenses) was realized in collaboration with the Institute for Social Research, Urban Adventure, ARCI Milan and ACLI Milan. It involved a total amount of 2.200 people, less than the 0.16 of the City population (Bilancio Partecipativo Milano 2015). The process was organized in three phases: The first phase of diffusion and outreach was aimed at involving Milan population and provide them with more information as possible on the process. During this phase, public meetings and communication activities was organized. This phase also launched a call for interest to citizens that wants to collaborate in the following phases. The second phase is that of co-working, aimed at drafting the projects to be presented at the vote. This phase was structured in 9 laboratories, one per city zone, and involved 30 participants per city zone, extracted from the 700 submission presented by citizens at the end of the first phase. In the third phase, the projects drafted in the co-working phase are submitted to vote by urban inhabitants. The online voting phase lasted 18 days and collected 30.172 votes (3% of the urban population). The projects with a budget of less than 100.000 euros were directly funded in the city public works of 2016, while the projects with a higher cost were inserted in the triennial strategic plan of public works (2016-2019). (Mengozzi & Fletcher 2017). The ouput of the process in the 2015/2016 year is rich: each District implemented two projects, except for District 4 and 9, whose implemented only on (16 projects in sum). Every project is composed of several interventions (78 projects in sum). The total amount of funds invested in the projects is 6.410.000 euros. The projects chosen by urban inhabitants are focused on public space, requalification of public buildings such as schools, squares and parks. In some cases, such

as the project of the Fourth District, "Vado in giro sicuro", that provides interventions on several public spaces in order to enhance urban security and eliminate architectonical barriers: building a system of videocameras, enhancement of illumination; interventions to enhance security around crosses and crosswalks; dejection of architectonical barriers through the realization of lifts, ramps and platforms in two public schools; installation of bike sharing. An updated version of the participatory budget was implemented by the city under the new Mayorship of Giuseppe Sala, elected in 2016. The process (*Bilancio Partecipativo Milano* 2016) was promoted by the Deputy Mayor to Participation, Active Citizenship and Open Data. With the path "From the idea to the city", launched by the City Council, the participatory budgeting is implemented as a part of the broader development plan for the peripheries, for promotion of policies of accessibility and enhancement of administrative decentralization. The new version of the process was approved after a public consultation process involving the political and technical bodies of the City of Milan and the nine City Districts, the Deputy Mayor for Budget and Public Works. The initiative addresses the whole population living in the City of Milan and anyone who has a continuous relationship with the city territory for study, work or residents (the so-called city users), starting from the age of 16 and of any nationality. The amount of City fund that are available for participatory budget is four million and a half euros, 500 thousand for each single City District. The difference with the first version of the process, is that there are four phases. After the reachout and dissemination phase, the co-working, the voting phase, there is a fourth phase consisting in the monitoring of the projects. On the website, urban inhabitants will be able to monitor the different projects funded and see their state of advancement. The project also provides an "Accessibility bonus", and a City District bonus. The projects that respect the urban accessibility principles will receive an additional 10%, and the projects that accomplish with the District's needs will also receive an additional 10%. This new version of the participatory budget was realized in collaboration with the University of Coimbra, The University of Milan and the Onesource company (Milan City Government 2017). The process is mainly conducted through the online platform, although it's possible to receive support from civil servants, in order to neutralize the implications of digital gap. In fact, who wants to participate to the voting phase but struggle with the online procedure, can be assisted in the voting in specific public spots indicated by the process such as public libraries of schools. The budget allocated to the participatory budget is been reduced to 4.500.000 in sum. As already anticipated, each District will have 500.000 euros at his disposal, therefore the projects must be in a range between 100.000 and 500.000. Different kind of actors will be able to access to the participatory budget process: individual urban resident, NGOs, organized civil society groups.

5.1.2 The first example of an Open Government plan at the urban level

On march 2017, under the proposal of the Deputy Mayor for Participation, Active Citizenship and Open Data, the city government issued a deliberation (Milan City Government 2017b) providing guidelines for the Open Government and the promotion of civic participation in the city of Milan. Through this policy, the city government aims at providing guidelines on measures and actions for the implementation of the objectives stated in the Third Italian Open Government Action Plan, approved by the Italian Government in September 2016.

This is a unique case in the Italian context of an urban policy that makes explicitly reference to the Open Government Partnership, its principles and the role of the City in its implementation. Although it might constitute a good platform to complement and expand the institutional capacity of the urban policy on the social use of city-owned buildings and thus build an urban policy on urban commons co-governance, the Open Government policy issued by the City of Milan only addresses the dimension of transparency.

The City of Milan ultimately does not interpret Open Government Agenda in his broader sense. Through the Plan, the City decides to first invest in the implementation of transparency and it constitutes a pillar for the transition of the Milan Administration to an open, transparent infrastructure (Interview with the Deputy Mayor for Participation of the City of Milan, June 21st 2017). This case contributes to the confirmation of the results of the first research on the implementation of the Open Government in Europe (De Blasio & Sorice 2017).

The guidelines provides a plan for 12 months, with a strong emphasis on the first pillar of the Open Government Plan, the dimension of transparency. The actions provided by the guidelines are divided into six categories: a) to publish the consistency of the City owned real estate assets in georeferenced mode, with the management methods associated with the asset, also in view of the collection of proposals for use by civil society for under-utilized assets; b) Present the data using open, accessible and reusable formats as universal standards, eliminating the use of PDFs containing scanned image images to facilitate consultation by all, ensuring effective access to information even to those who need technology Assistive devices (screen readers, braille keyboards, etc.) consistent with the principles of equality and non-discrimination; b) to facilitate the retrieval of information within the portal by enhancing links to resources with particular reference to the data contained in the "Transparent Administration" section; to published data in "Transparent Administration" issue in Open Data format to facilitate new forms of consultation and original processing; systematically provide the technical documents with an explanatory glossary; simplify and enhance the search functions of document archives at all levels by introducing, where the information relates to "processes", RSS or

similar feed systems for updating the progress statuses; Publish the data for the municipal organization with the key "Who is Who" in order to make it easy to identify the requested referent and to place it in the organizational chart; interrogate similar data but distributed in different databases through a single access channel; For example by dividing the information between disaggregated databases that occurs in the case of contracts; c) to include a specific attention to the quality of the information published and the impact it has on citizenship, using benchmarking and comparison parameters with the results of the Customer Relationship Management (CRM) platform; to create on the institutional platform of the City sections dedicated to complex issues such as OpenBlans for the presentation of municipal budgets in a clear, aggregated form; to feed the portal of the Open Participatory Territorial Cohesion Agency, in which the balance sheet and performance data of the participating companies are to be combined; to include in the "Biennial Training Plan" activities aimed at disseminating and rooting in the institution the culture of transparency as a basic habit of rapport with citizens and administrative professionality beyond compulsory fulfillment; to update publications more frequently than what is provided by the obligation in charge of the City; d) Establish the "Register of civic access" pursuant to the Anac Resolution no. 1309/2016 paragraph 9 and publish an annual access report with a view to monitoring the phenomenon and designing facilitation interventions; activate the "Participation Portal", a multi-sectorial platform collecting civic access cases - possibly using the Customer relationship management platform (CRM) - as well as the functions required to implement the actions described herein, and to offer the environment in which to present and sign petitions, questions and proposals for popular initiative deliberation; to evaluate on the organizational level the creation of a unique structure dedicated to the management of municipal civic access; to design appropriate forms of "civic testing" for the information publishing activities of the City of Milan, in collaboration with citizens, associations, intermediate bodies; to create the "Quality of Services" portal, in which the services cards, performance data, objectives achieved, perceived quality and customer satisfaction are converged, with synthetic and information presentations; and that includes management control and performance evaluation of companies/associations providing outsourcing services to both citizens and internal customers; organize the publication of information for policy and strategic projects, with the real-time updating of their progress; e) the Municipal Council Members must adopt the Public Agenda of the meetings with stakeholders using the "LobbyCal" platform developed under the U.E. Integrity Watch, available for free to all public administrations and adopted by the EU Commission for the Public Agenda of the European Commission meetings; publish summary papers with the activities of the City Council; invite the City Council, with the modalities of rite, to implement the Public Register of the elected and named as briefly described above, integrating it into its Rules; f) review the City Bylaws and City Guidelines and regulations concerning transparency for adapting them to the civic access to information and to the principles of the Open Government.

5.1.3 The Regulation of Temporary Uses of City Owned Buildings: the creation of urban commons from the top down.

The City of Milan is carrying out one of the most advanced and innovative policies on the use of a type of physical urban infrastructures, the city owned buildings. The city of Milan started experimenting with projects and policies for the temporary reuse of urban areas that are abandoned, underused or in the process of being transformed. On March 30, 2012, the City of Milan signed a memorandum of understanding with the Association Temporiuso.net and the Diap of the Politecnico di Milano for the start-up of temporary experiments on buildings and areas abandoned, under-utilized or near-transformed. The Temporiuso design for Milan is divided into five phases. In September, the City of Milan issued a resolution that defined the guidelines for the assignment of municipal property to associations to carry out projects of socio-cultural interest. On 28 September 2012, the municipal council issued a resolution for the purpose of the approval of the criteria for the use and use of municipal property in order to launch projects aimed at the development of social and economic cultural activities» (Temporiuso 2012). With this resolution, the Municipality of Milan revolutionizes the guiding criteria for the assignment of properties municipalities. The guidelines are designed to encourage the re-use of assets existing building as "a form of urban policy capable of activating processes cultural, social and economic development of the city". The resolution refers to the Regulation for the assignment and leasing of municipal buildings to non-profit associations, which was approved in 1998. The guidelines are intended to favor the re-use of real estate and to establish a stronger relationship in this respect between the municipal administration and the youth world. The subject of the resolution is the underused and degraded communal property, which can be assigned by a public notice procedure, also free of charge to non-profit organizations, ONLUS, social cooperatives and foundations for social purposes. Profit entities such as small businesses and social cooperatives and non-profit parties can participate. Real estate will be banned from the Municipality and assigned for a variable period of time, through a public disclosure procedure. The bids must comply with the criteria set out in the guidelines of the resolution: for the re-use of property in degradation by public or private entities is foreseen the allocation in a free use fee. Associations can be assigned free space for up to three years. The subject of the resolution is the underused and degraded communal property, which can be assigned by a public notice procedure, also free of charge to non-profit organizations, ONLUS, social cooperatives and foundations for social purposes. Profit entities such as small businesses and social cooperatives and non-profit parties can participate. Real estate will be banned from the Municipality and assigned for a variable period of time, through a public disclosure procedure. The bids must comply with the criteria set out in the guidelines of the resolution: for the re-use of property in degradation by public or private entities is foreseen the allocation in a free use fee. Associations can be assigned free space for up to three years. The aims that the City of Milan intends to pursue are those of improving urban living, promoting social innovation, new

entrepreneurship and urban employment growth. In order to pursue this aim, the Municipality proposes that buildings can be allocated for incubation projects of new businesses, for co-working, association spaces and association networks: the free use license is foreseen for the presentation of a design proposal of public and general interest. To encourage new entrepreneurship and employment growth, the municipality also foresees that the allocation fee for commercial spaces in peripheral districts may be reduced to as much as ninety per cent for the first five years for new businesses that wish to implement projects innovative entrepreneurs with social goals. The administration is called upon to promote ideas competitions to enable a participatory process of defining property reuse projects to be launched. The best proposals can be the basis for guiding the formulation of municipal property allocation (Milan City Government 2012c) Once the properties have been identified for NGOs, the municipality publishes a list, describing the building's characteristics along with its rent. A commission is set up specifically to evaluate the proposals for the assignment of immovable property, identified by March 30 each year from the Demerging and Asset Sector of the City of Milan. The Commission will evaluate on the basis of the project's compliance with certain criteria, among others: formalized involvement in the application to provide for the necessary renovation and maintenance work, of the association in the territory of the city, the destination of services and benefits also to non-members (Milan City Government 1998). The policy is therefore active since 2012, and produced a disruptive impact on the active citizenship and community/social enterprises environment of the city of Milan. In terms of policy outputs produced a moderate output in quantitative terms (n. 18) although the projects are all complex regeneration processes, mainly in city blighted areas or outskirts. An example is the Spazio Visconti (2014) a space given in concession to a group of NGOs that realize a series of activities related to the personal welfare and wellbeing, a space for mutual support and counsel for mothers, a kindergarten. Here follows an exemplary list of community spaces enabled through this project (extract from the dataset: not exaustive).

The City of Milan recently initiated a process (2016) to issue a version of the Regulation for the urban commons based on the Bologna version, but with adaptation to the local context and in particular adaptation to the needs of the City. As per the case of Bologna and Turin, the very key point is that of the internal work of the administration.

> We are working to launch a Milanese version of the cooperation agreements at the end of September. We are therefore working with the internal offices to harmonize the existing regulations (procurement code, building regulations) and the competence of the Municipalities in this field that already today have the possibility of experimenting with processes for the care of common goods. We must put to the System these things that were born at different times. From a political point of view, the conflict between economic valorization and co-management has to be resolved (Interview with the Deputy Mayor for participation, City of Milan, June 20th 2017).

In the case of Milan, the issue of the sustainability emerges with a very strong accent. In the case of the policy, it can be a concern for the City the fact that the co-governance and the economic profitability of city assets are mutually exclusive. As we will see with the case of Macao, proactive parts of civil society are already facing with the issue of sustainability and the solutions implemented can provide some insights on this side of the issue.

5.1.4 Buying back the Commons. Macao as the Italian prototype of a commons-based real estate transaction.

The policy conducted by the City of Milan for the social use of the urban commons is highly structured and institutionalized and resulted in the creation of relevant spaces and complex urban regeneration. The case of Macao tells us something more on the way social movements structures self-governance of the urban commons. The Macao experience can be positioned within the unique experience of the "commons movement" in Italy, reclaims the commons against the neoliberal policies that attacks them, and it shows relevant similarities with the experiences introduced in the analysis of the case of Naples. We observed a blossoming of these experiences in the Italian context from 2011 such as, among the most actives: La Balena; Nuovo Cinema Palazzo; Ricreatorio Marinoni; S.A.L.E. Docks; Silvia Jop; Teatro Coppola; Teatro Rossi Aperto; Teatro Valle Occupato. One of the most recent cases of informal management that specifically target the issue of the commons with an innovative output in terms of collective action is the case of Macao in Milan. The case of Macao is unique within the wide and rich panorama of social movements carrying out self-governance of the urban commons through informal management because it offers an example of how local communities involved in the process are getting organized and starting real estate negotiations with the public or private owners of the assets. The negotiations are aimed at transferring the property of the real estate, or important pieces of the real estate, in communities' hands. A case study at the EU level, which in fact was of inspiration for the Macao organizers (Group Interview with Macao organizational committe, June 20 2017, Milan) is the Mietzhauser Sindakat in Berlin (Syndicat 2014). The same dynamic, but directed to acquire the property for housing purposes or for community professional purposes, was activated by the Real Estate Development Cooperative (REIC 2017) in New York City. REIC is in fact collecting funds that are put into a trust to acquire commercial spaces at the community's disposal.

The Italian context presents many cases of this kind, in urban or peri-urban areas. A recent case is that of the Innesto Community Coop in Val Cavallina, Lombardia. The community coop launched a crowdfunding campaign to buy back from a public authority "La Casa del Pescatore" (Innesto 2017). This is considered critical facility for the local community for this is the place where many community activities take place. At the same time this

facility is the means through which the micro-economic activities that guarantee the economic sustainability and therefore the social impact produced by the Community Coop are run. A similar experience was carried out in Rome by the Community for the Public Park of Centocelle, in the context of the CO-Rome experimentation of the Co-Cities project, that will be introduced later in this work. We will focus here on a brief description of the Macao experience in Milano. Later in this work we will suggest this approach could be a possible strategy for contexts that are facing similar issues in Bologna, where the Làbas (2017) collective was recently evicted by the police from an abandoned former barracks. It might also apply to cases in peri-urban areas such as Mondeggi, Tuscany where the Mondeggi as a Commons Initiative gathers a diverse network of organic producers, farmers, professors, architects, students and active citizens who want to oppose the selling out of public heritage in favor of private investors, and propose to the City as an alternative to privatization the civic use of the whole property.

The Macao experience was initiated by a group of artists and creative workers, part of the "Lavoratori dell'arte", Art Workers movement in 2012. They represented the Milan branch of a larger network, active at the National level. The activists' group was issue-related, focused on culture and art, and were active protesters against the cultural polices and the regulation of cultural production at the Italian and European level.

The "breaking point" for the activists that represent the Macao experiences is although not the austerity policies issued through the Pact of Stability, or the shrinking of public resources for culture after the economic crisis. The founding group, that is also representative of the organization of the Movement, is active since the early 2000' and identify the G8 held in Genova, that they all attended, as the breaking point with public institutions and the moment in which culture start to be seen as a controversial policy area in the country. (Group Interview with Macao organizational committee, June 20th 2017).

Macao blossomed in the period of the Mayorship of Giuliano Pisapia and the large coalition of left wing parties that he led, that succeeded at the local elections in Milan after decades of right-wing coalitions governing the City. The Macao experience initiated with the occupation of an abandoned skyscraper in the center of Milan, the "Torre Galfa". The group of activists, artists and creative workers were evicted some days after the occupation, but a few weeks later they managed to occupy and move into a former slaughterhouse, in Via Molise 12, were they are still based. In the initial phase of the path, thousands of people participated to the Macao activity. After the first months of activity, the participation considerably shrank to 120 people in late 2012. The building that Macao is currently occupying is publicly owned, and located in a semi- peripheral area of the city. The occupation is therefore illegal, but the City undertook a strategy based on tolerance and informality. In the early summer of 2014, the City of Milan set up a negotiation board to deal with City-owned abandoned spaces with a potentiality for social innovation purposes. (d'Ovidio & Cossu 2016, 4). The aim of the negotiation board was

to find ways to include even informal associations or autonomous organizations or collectives. Macao accepted to participate to the negotiation, although the dialogue did not produce substantial results. The intense dialogue with the City produced a draft of City Resolution (Macao 2015) that takes inspiration from the Bologna Regulation with significant adaptation. The Resolution was not approved by the City Government in charge. The building where Macao is currently based is owned by a company with public participation, Sogemi S.P.A., who decided to sell the buildings contained in the area of the former *ortomercato*, including the Macao's headquarter. Macao therefore decided to implement a proactive strategy and proceed with the acquisition of the building, following the successful model of collective property adopted by the *Mietzhauser Sindakat,* active in several german cities. After manifesting their interest to buy the property to the City of Milan, who declared that they must necessarily proceed with a public contest, Macao launched a fundraising campaign for the acquisition of the building and constituted an association, composed by individuals and other NGOs that want to contribute to Macao's activities (Macao 2016) open to everyone. The association's first step, as soon as the necessary funds are collected, will be the acquisition of the Macao's building.

The work of Macao produced a sort of "butterfly effect" in the Milan context. Also for other projects whose activity is not directly related to Macao, the learning triggered by the experience of Macao influenced both community spaces and the City. In more than one interview, is possible to hear representative of community spaces with successful experiences in the field of the commons stating that "without the example of Macao, this would have not happened".

5.1.5 Analysis

The case of Milan is representative of a situation where the dimensions of participation and collaboration are less emphasized in this policy since its goal were focused on the enhancement of autonomy and sustainability capacity of the city's big and proactive NGOs. The key concerns of Milan policy makers, in line with a national concern related to the promotion of metropolitan economies of scale, was the creation of a favorable terrain for the development of economic and digital innovation. A recent analysis provided by Pin and Galimberti (2016), focused on the policy area of innovation, allow us to trace the process of genesis and development of the urban policies that promoted the raise of an ecosystem favorable to the development of economic and digital innovation. The process began in the early 2000s and received a strong push from the Mayorship of Letizia Moratti, whose activity focused on the promotion of technological startups and the creation of a network of incubators in the City, also as a part of a City branding program (Pin & Galimberti 2016, p. 212). With the Giuliano Pisapia Mayorship, the issue of innovation starts to be framed as a metropolitan issue and as an issue strictly related to the support to scientific research. The issue of incubators, co-working spaces, fablabs, start to be framed as a Smart City issue, as already showed in the presentation of

the Smart City program's policies earlier in this chapter. The set of policy issues and instruments for supporting innovation therefore developed as a very complex one; innovation and sustainability of the project appear as key issues and priorities and pushed civic and knowledge actors (mainly University) to take a proactive role in the pursue of the goal set by the City (Pin & Galimberti 2016, pp. 212-214).

The urban policy for the use of city owned under-used buildings for social purposes did not implemented a system of collaborative governance of the buildings, instead stimulated the proactive organized social sector of the City of Milan to enrich their efforts and take the responsibility of the buildings. The policy is based on the traditional system of concession of buildings for social use and resulted in the creation of public-civic partnerships that allowed regeneration of buildings in blighted areas of the City. The project allowed the creation of long-term projects (the concession goes up to 30 years) that guarantee the offer of welfare services in the neighborhoods and involve highly committed and robust NGOs:

 Once the Regulation for the Urban commons will be approved in 2017/2018 and will produce its first effects, it will be possible to analyze whether the City builds a connection or it will keep the two approaches at the same time, to stimulate participation of different publics.

5.1.6 Conclusions

The first City analyzed in this chapter is the City of Milan. The main quality of the approach embodied by the City of Milan addressing the facilitation of the emergence of co-governance of urban commons compared to the other cases presented in this work and particularly that of Bologna is that is highly institutionalized but at the same time leave the urban community a great autonomy to define and create the projects, not only when they involve "simple" interventions of care of the commons, such as the adoption of green spaces, but also when they involve complex urban regeneration interventions on city-owned buildings. The most outstanding aspect is the focus on sustainability and autonomy of the communities. The policy for the social use of city-owned buildings as commons activated a great participation from the City inhabitants (Interview with Director of City Area for Housing and Social Valuing of Space, City of Milan, September 18th 2017). The policy clearly aims at promoting equality issues, operationalized in terms of providing city inhabitants with urban infrastructures as platform to create their own development opportunities. A key concerns of the City regarding to the civic proposals is that of sustainability (Interview with Director of City Area for Housing and Social Valuing of Space, City of Milan, September 18th 2017).

The City does not act as a mediator or as a platform for coordinating the action of civic actors that are willing to participate. The activation of collective action is autonomous and not coordinated or facilitated directly with an intervention of the City, although the need of intermediation by the City is very strong for City inhabitants regarding this policy (Interview with Director of City Area for Housing and Social Valuing of Space, City of Milan, September 18th 2017).

This approach of the City of Milan is also mirrored by the outstanding example in terms of commons self-governance, of the Macao experience, which by experimenting with the civic "buyback" of the urban commons, along with the "reclaiming" of the urban commons as a strategy for achieving autonomy as sustainability.

5.2 The role of the city as an enabling institutions of collective action for the urban commons: the case of Naples

The City of Naples is a crucial case study for illustrating an empirical manifestation of the *informalization* of urban public institutions that enables urban communities, in this case with a core group constituted by a wide range of social movements or groups belonging to a network of social movements and collectives. This case study shows a model of urban co-governance relies heavily on self-governance of the urban commons. This chapter will focus on the analysis of community spaces and urban policies that developed hybrid spaces of governance of the urban commons in the city of Naples between 2011 and 2016, analyzing the dimensions of participation and equality (both input dimensions and output dimensions). The first paragraph will introduce the eight community spaces that were recognized by the City of Naples as urban commons and will analyze them in light of the dimensions of participation and equality in order to measure the presence of an urban co-governance scheme and its level of intensity. The case of the *Ex Asilo Filangieri* will be introduced as the last case, since it is the most advanced case from the perspective of the public-commons partnership. The case of the *Ex Asilo Filangieri* will be used as a hinge with the paragraph n.2, that introduces and analyzes under the same dimensions the urban policies adopted in order to recognize these experiences as urban commons and enable them. The second paragraph will introduce and explain the urban policies issued by the City of Naples between 2011 and 2016 addressing the commons in order to understand and explain the policy strategy adopted by the City to institutionalize urban commons, the policy tools adopted and the output in terms of participation and equality. The analysis presented in this chapter is based on 1) qualitative coding of policy documents and relevant documents about the community – led cases (institutional website; official declaration published by the communities 2) site visits conducted in 3 out of 8 community spaces and participants observation 3) interviews with policy makers of the City of Naples (civil servants and the former Deputy Mayor for the commons). Both site visits and interviews were conducted in the month of March 2017, on the 13th and the 31st. Coding of data were software assisted: data where

processed using Microsoft Excel and Atlas.ti. The analysis will not provide the number of segments analyzed and the list of codes and quotations, since Alta.ti was used to code and visualize links and relations between codes that are key to understand the way in which the key concepts that constitutes the main features of the Naple's approach toward the commons are connected.

Naples is the main city in Southern Italy and its urban system presents a series of significant contrasts in particular regarding unequal distribution of economic resources and political exclusion (Mazzeo 2009). The city incurred in a deep political and administrative transformation since 1990' from the Bassolino (1993-2001) to the Jervolino administration (2001-2011) under whom the city saw a fast and deep urban development although challenges and controversial aspects remains, for instance regarding weakness (Mattina 2007) and efficiency of city administration (Mazzeo 2009). The demographic evolution of the city saw an increase in the city population As of Naples economic situation, it has been for many years more critical than that of other cities. The GDP of the city of Naples (2013) correspond to around 4% of the national GDP, which confirm the position of Naples as the third city in the country also from an economic perspective, with a big distance from Milan (11.7%) and Rome (9.4%) (World Cities Report, 2016).
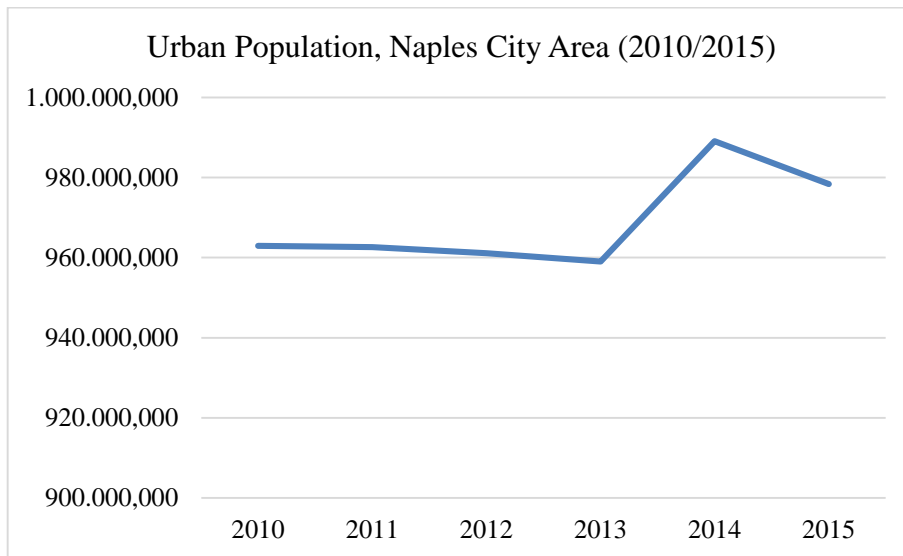
Figure 19 Urban population, Naples City Area, EuroStat, Population on I January by age group and sex - cities and greater cities. Last Update 27-11-2017.

Population, City of Naples	
Year	Population
2010	962.940,000
2011	962.661,000

2012	961.106,000
2013	959.052,000
2014	989.111,000
2015	978.399,000

Table 4 Urban population, Naples City Area, EuroStat, Population on I January by age group and sex - cities and greater cities. Last Update 27-11-2017.

Naples, Economic Profile			
Year	GDP (million US$)	GDP of the metropolitan area as a share of national value (%)	GDP per capita (US$)
2000	78.701	4,0	22.359
2010	80.621	3.9	22.694
2012	77.675,14 €	3.9	21.806

Table 5 UN Habitat World Cities Report Statistical Annex, 2016.

Employment rate	Unemployment rate	Families with potential economic distress	Index of social and material vulnerability
50,3	7.0	0,9	98,5

Figure 20 Social and economic vulnerability indicators_Naples. Source: ISTAT report on the decay of urban peripheries (2017).

City	Community Space	Year
Naples	Ex Schipa	2011
Naples	Ex Ogp	2012
Naples	Giardino Liberato	2012
Naples	Ex Asilo Filangieri	2012
Naples	Ex lido Pola	2012
Naples	Villa Medusa	2013

Naples	Santa Fede Liberata	2014
Naples	Scugnizzo liberato	2015

Table 6 Naples_case studies mapping

The policy strategy followed by the City of Naples can be concretized in a set of municipal resolutions, issued between 2011 and 2016, during the Mayorship of Luigi De Magistris (Bollier 2015) a former prosecutor and member of the European Union Parliament that won the local elections through a civic list. The Mayor established first example in the Italian context of a City Department for the Commons (and a correspondent Deputy Mayor for the Commons). The role of Deputy Mayor for the Commons was first covered by a public law professor and scholar of the commons, Alberto Lucarelli and later by the urban planning professor Carmine Piscopo (current Deputy Mayor). The policy strategy toward the commons followed by the City foresees the enabling of the active role of social movements and cultural associations that, between 2011 and 2015, carried out a series of occupations of city or state-owned dismissed or abandoned urban structures with the involvement of neighborhoods' inhabitants, to turn them into spaces open to the community where social activities are conducted, with in some cases the provision of social services, configuring a form of urban welfare. Many of the laws that the City of Naples issued to regulate the commons and the main legal innovation introduced through this path, the civic and collective uses, have been adopted in order to enable and institutionalize the activity of social movements and have been drafted in close collaboration with some of them resulting in the creation of hybrid spaces where urban communities carry out self-governance of city owned building as urban commons with the support of the City. Another relevant policy tools developed by the City, and first step of this policy strategy from a chronological standpoint (2011) together with the insertion of the legal category of the urban commons into the City Bylaws is the creation of an Agency for the Water as a Commons (*Agenzia Acqua Bene Comune,* ABC Napoli) as a way to implement the result of the National Referendum on the privatization of water's management, which took place in 2011.

5.2.1 The genesis of the civic and collective urban uses policy: community - led creation of urban commons in Naples.

In 2016, the city recognized the collective and civic use of spaces that might be considered as commons and includes the list of the seven city owned buildings occupied and co-managed by associations, social movements and informal groups of neighborhood inhabitants. The spaces occupied and officially recognized as commons are those included in the following tables. This list is not considered exhaustive, but it requires a continuous local supervision. It is not an exhaustive list of all the community spaces in

Naples that can be considered as urban commons, since it only includes the spaces that the City officially recognized as urban commons.

The occupation of the former School *ex-scuola Schipa* one of the occupations that foresees equality goals, operationalized in terms of a greater access to housing. The space was occupied on November 2011 and was requalified by the organization and city inhabitants who participated to the occupation. The Set Free Garden, *Giardino liberato*, a former convent, was first occupied in 2008 by the Italian far right movement CasaPound and in 2012 (after a communication campaign and a long-term fieldwork and sensibilization activity in the surrounding neighborhood) a coalition of activists and Neighborhood inhabitants occupied the spaces and "set it free". Prior to that, a process and social inquiry was conducted in the Neighborhood involving urban inhabitants and the city administration in order to identify the priorities of the surrounding area in terms of urban welfare and services, ending up identifying the lack of a kindergarten and green spaces as a priority. The occupation was conducted after the distribution of small plants throughout the neighborhood, giving city inhabitants an appointment into the space for seeding them in the internal garden. Among the goal of this occupation is also to avoid that the building, potentially object of a public sell (the building is included into the fourth their of "*beni cartolarizzabili*"), which means that the building is a warranty of the City of Naple's public dept and it could be requested at any moment by the Ministery of Treasure in order to face serious public financial struggles. The City is available to work together with the community to avoid this to happen, but the building is still potentially object of this phenomena, thus one of the goal of the occupation is also to create social value around it and avoid this to happen. The maintenance of the space and the restructuring works are self-sustained/self-funded by the occupation itself. The Ex OGP (figure 1,2,3,4) is a very big structure formerly owned by the Agency of the State Property and formerly managed by the Ministry of Justice. It was occupied in 2012 and is one of the community spaces that organize a form of welfare of proximity and provides city inhabitants with an offer of Neighborhood and social services, such as for instance; legal counsel for migrants and exploited workers; kindergarten; after school; health care and ambulatory services (general and gynecological medicine). The Ex Lido Pola is an structure owned by the Agency of State Properties that the social center Bancarotta regenerated with the involvement of residents of the surrounding area in 2013 where cultural and social activities are organized. Villa Medusa is a city-owned ancient building that was occupied in 2015 by a group of associations. Santa Fede Liberata, occupied in 2014 by a group of associations, city inhabitants organized in informal groups, civic associations, committees and organizes cultural organizations and provides Neighborhood services. Finally, the Scugnizzo Liberato, occupied in 2015 by activists and Neighborhood inhabitants. The structure was a former juvenile detention center, and currently the activists that self-govern the space organize cultural activities and welfare services, mainly aimed at establishing a network of mutual support at the Neighborhood level.

Figure 21 Ex-Ogp Je So' Pazz Courtyard, March 13 2017, Elena De Nictolis.

Figure 22 Internal Courtyard of the Ex-OGP. Source: Elena De Nictolis

Figure 23 Internal courtyard of the Ex-OGP. Source: Elena De Nictolis.

Figure 24 Graffiti Outside the Giardino Liberato, Naples, March 13 2017, Elena De Nictolis.

The Ex Asilo Filangieri is a leading example for the case of Naples, because this experience developed a model of self-governance that was recognized by the City as a model to be adopted also for the other spaces recognized. This model of self-governance is modellized because it garantees a high level of opennes and transparency, provides strong opportunities for participation and equality in the access to the spaces and the opportunities offered by it. The Asilo was occupied in 2012 by a large coalition of associations, social movements, informal groups aggregated in a network of Creative workers. It was meant to be assigned by the City to the Forum Universale delle Culture, to organize a broad cultural event. The occupation, later recognized by the City that devoted specific resolutions in order to destinate the complex of buildings (San Gregorio Armeno complex) created a community space for cultural and creative activities. The governance scheme of the Asilo provides the realization of a shared calendar of activity, open to contribution from everyone. There is a continuos deliberative activity carried out through assemblies where civil servants from the City participates. The management of the space is organized through a double structure: an address asembly and a management assembly plus eight working tables that brings priority issues to the address assembly. The space is not accessible only by the members of the organization, but every city inhabitants can access it. The model provides a system where responsibilities are shared between the Asilo organization and the City, that supports costs related to utilities. The Role of the City was key to make the Asilo evolves toward a funcioning model that respectes democratic and inclusive values through specific procedures that regulate self-governance.

Figure 25 Internal and external space, Ex Asilo Filangieri. Source: Elena De Nictolis.

5.2.2 The policy path of the City of Naples towards urban commons. From participation, to collaboration, to polycentrism.

The policies implemented by the City of Naples that recognized and regulated the urban commons were issued between 2011 and 2016 and they cover a wide range of issues. This paragraph will first briefly and roughly describe the policies (their genesis, their main innovative features and controversial aspects).

City	Policy	Year
Naples	Introduction of the legal category of the commons in the City Bylaws	2011
Naples	Deputy Mayor for the Commons	2011
Naples	Deliberative processes on the urban commons: the Laboratory for the commons in the city of Naples	2013
Naples	Agency for the Water as a Commons (ABC Naples)	2011
Naples	"Guidelines for the destination of the San Gregorio Armeno complex".	2012
Naples	Approval of the Regulation for the governing and management of the commons in the city of Naples	2013
Naples	Guidelines for the identification and management of goods belonging to the City Heritage, underutilized or partially utilized, perceived by the community as commons and potentially subject to collective use	2015
Naples	Identification of the San Gregorio Armeno Complex as a space for civic and collective use	2015
Naples	Identification of spaces of civic relevance to be considered as commons	2016

Table 7 Naples_case studies mapping

The first policy that we introduce here is the creation of the Water as a Commons Agency through a Resolution of the City Government n. 740, "Identification and approval of some principles for the conceptualization of water as a commons and guidelines for transformation of ARIN S.p.a.[8] into an agency subject to public law"

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[8] S.p.a. is the acronym for "società per azioni", the Italian legal category to define the joint stock company.

approved in June the 16th 2011. The first step of the City is the approval of a deliberation for the transformation of the Arin, private company for the management of water services in the city of Naples, into a public law agency, the ABC "Agency Water as a Commons". Through this deliberation, the city states some basic principles about water: "water is a commons, a universal human right, not to be subject to the logic of the market" and "property and management of urban water service must be public and oriented toward criteria of equality, solidarity (also in relation to future generations) and respect of ecological equilibrium". The deliberation also states that the city will "process with the consultation of organizations of active citizenship in order to implement the participatory process necessary". The consultation and deliberation phase will be "shared with the maximum transparency possible also through the use of the world wide web". The deliberation finally provides the administration with the goal to implement the necessary changes to the agency Statute to turn Arin S.p.a. into a public law company oriented toward the principles of economy, efficiency, transparency and participation. In this way the City implements the people's will implied by the result of the revocatory referendum of June 2011. The key venue through which the Agency embodies a formal participatory governance and structure a unique example of public-civic partnership in the field of utilities is the fact that a quote of the Board of Directors of the Agency is composed by representatives of users and environmental associations[9]; they have the same power as technicians, ie those who are directly appointed by the mayor. Furthermore, there is a Monitoring Committee, consisting of representatives of citizens, users and environmental associations as well as representatives of the company's employees. Through this deliberation, the city state some basic principles about water: "water is a commons, a universal human right, not to be subject to the logic of the market" and "property and management of urban water service must be public and oriented toward criteria of equality, solidarity (also in relation to future generations) and respect of ecological equilibrium". The deliberation also states that the city will "process with the consultation of organizations of active citizenship in order to implement the participatory process necessary". The consultation and deliberation phase will be "shared with the maximum transparency possible also through the use of the world wide web". The deliberation finally provide the administration with the goal to implement the necessary changes to the agency Statute to turn Arin S.p.a. into a public law company oriented toward the principles of economy, efficiency, transparency and participation. The ABC is an hybridization of a public law subject (the Special Agency) with elements of users' participation. The case of Naples represents a case of "remunicipalization" or "commonification" through the creation of a paradigmatic commons institution (Bailey, Farrell, Mattei 2014, 132). The purpose of the Agency is thus to manage water in Naples through participatory methods. The Monitoring Committee called to evaluate the water service is build on the example of the French

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[9]Italian legal acronym is *"C.d.a"*, also known as *"Consiglio di amministrazione"*.

case: in the Paris's Public Management Entity, *l'Eau de Paris*, where the board of directors is composed of 10 representatives elected by the City of Paris, representatives of all the political groups in the Paris City Council; elected Local authority members and staff representatives (two members); two water and sanitation experts; one environmental NGOs; one consumer organizations and one member of the Observatoire (Bailey, Farrell, Mattei 2014, 133), although the Agency ABC is designed in a more participatory way in order to give more weight to the citizens (Interview with Deputy Mayor for the Commons in 2011, City of Naples, August 4th 2017).

The second step was the introduction of the notion of the commons in the City Bylaws in 2011 through the Resolution of the Naples City Government n. 797, Provision of the legal category of "commons" into the City Bylaws. Issued in July the 7th 2011 later approved through the Resolution of Naples City Council, n. 24, September the 22nd 2011. The Deputy Mayor for the Commons, Digitalization and Participatory Democracy proposed to the City Government the introduction of the legal category of the commons into the city bylaws and the City Council approved the proposal issued by the City Government. The premises of the deliberation state that "The legal category of commons is introduced among the goals and core values of the City of Naples, in the Title I, Article 3 second *Comma* of the City of Naples Bylaws: "The city of Naples, also in order to protect future generations, guarantee the full recognition of the commons as instrumental to the exercise of fundamental rights of the person in his ecological context". The deliberation also state**s** that commons are among the others "water, work, public services, schools, kindergartens, University, cultural and natural heritage, the land, green areas, beaches and all those goods and services that belong to the community that cannot be deprived by the possibility to use them nor the possibility to participate to their government".

The policy strategy continues in 2012 and is enriched with references to deliberative democracy with the Deliberation of City Government n. 9, "Institutionalization and Regulation of the "Laboratory for a Constituent of the Commons of the City of Naples" issued in January the 12th, 2012 and Deliberation of the City Council n.8, April the 18th 2012. The City Government, under the impulse of the Deputy Mayor for the Commons, propose the institutions of a Laboratory for a Constituent of the Commons of the City of Naples to the City Council. The aim of the Laboratory is to implement a participatory path and open dialogue with the realities active in the city of Naples around the issues relevant for the implementation of local public policies. This process will be implemented through 3 main tools: 1) an Assembly for the proposition, consultation and expression of participatory reclaims by citizenship. 2) 6 thematic tables, "*consulte*", that can be conceptualized as mini publics will address six macro-

issues around local public policies. 3) approval of the Regulation of the Laboratory for a Constituent of the Commons of the City of Naples.

The first step of the policy strategy directly addressing the urban commons is the Resolution of City Government n. 400, May the 25th 2012 "Guidelines for the destination of the San Gregorio Armeno complex". The City Government, following the proposal of the Deputy Mayor for the Commons, the Deputy Mayor for City Heritage and the Deputy Mayor for Culture Always in 2012, the city recognized an experience of occupation of a city owned building in the historical center of Naples initiated in 2012 by a cultural association, the "Ex Asilo Filangieri" occupation. Starting from the statement that the city wants to "promote the development of a new form of public law" (at 2) that protect and values the goods that are instrumental to the protection of human rights, as "goods of collective and social belonging" (at 2) deliberation recognizes the space as a "place of complex cultural use" (at 3). The deliberation consider that the building is currently used as a space for artistic experimentations and the promotion of participatory culture. Considering also that the city is "committed to developing a path for a legal and socio-economic recognition of culture as a commons" (at 2) and is also committed to "guaranteeing that the structure will be managed through inclusive and public rules" and to "enabling the realization of processes that allows to put this building at the service of the collectivity as a whole". The deliberation ultimately define the role of the city: "guarantee a democratic management of the building in coherence with the art. 43 of Italian Constitution in order to enable the realization of a constitutive praxis of civic use of the good form the community of workers of the "intangible" – the culture ; the city must ensure that the use of the building is shared and participative; the cost of ensuring the use of the building and internal maintenance is in charge of the city; the city must ensure that the projects organized in the structure are not for profit, allows the participation of citizens into the cultural and artistic life; control over the respect of the rules established; draft and publish the calendar of the activities, that are proposed by the community after the elaboration through participatory and open procedures and must respect the above mentioned principles.

With the Deliberation of City Government n. 17, "Approval of the Regulation for the governing and management of the commons in the city of Naples" issued in January the 18th 2013 the city of Naples start to improve qualitatively the regulation on the urban commons. The city first approved an ordinance providing principles for the self-governance and management of the commons, defines as abandoned or underutilized urban assets that might be used in a more appropriate and fruitful way for the whole urban community, through the establishment of rules, procedures and responsibility. The city qualifies the commons as those "non-rival, non-excludible but exhaustible goods, that are functional to the exercise of fundamental rights and free development

of people; the commons are goods of diffuse interest, for which is necessary to provide a better protection and warranty of collective use, while also preserving them for future generations". Taking into account the previous successful experience of the Former Kindergarten Filangieri, the city is committed to publish a list of city owned goods that might be identified as potential commons. With the Deliberation of City Government n. 258 April the 24th 2014, and Deliberation of City Council n. 7 March the 9th 2015 the city provides Guidelines for the identification and management of goods belonging to the City Heritage, underutilized or partially utilized, perceived by the community as commons and potentially subject to collective use. Starting from the resume of the result of the process conducted by the Laboratory for a Constituent of the Commons of the City of Naples whom one of the aims is to realize a list of underutilized or abandoned buildings, both public and privately owned, that might be used for social purposes through participatory management. The regeneration and reuse of those buildings for social purposes is an important chance to both find a solution for urban decay and create working and economic opportunities for citizens. The Laboratory also observe that there are few buildings that mirrors this definition and are already used by groups of citizens or citizens committee, following a logic of experimentation of direct management of public spaces demonstrating, through this way, to perceive those goods as commons for a collective use that advantage the local community. The city is committed to value those experiences bringing them into institutional and democratic paths also providing an appropriate regulation that defines duties in charge to those whom manage the spaces and to the users. Then, two path are provided:

- The City deliberate that the Laboratory will identify, through participatory procedures, underutilized or unutilized buildings and brownfields, also taking into account already existing experiences. The use of the commons identified will be defined through participatory procedures but the must be creative, educational cultural activities that enable inclusion of vulnerable and marginalized groups (immigrants, young people, women among the others). The will ultimately approve the decisions of the laboratory. The city will also publish a call for interest for single citizens or organized groups (NGOs, Foundation), that are asked to present a management plan for the building or brownfield chosen containing funding sources, expected benefits for the collectivity and type of activity. The use of the spaces should be oriented toward creative and educational non-profit activities, for the whole collectivity and they should be self-funded.

- The deliberation finally states that the city "will proceed with the issue of a regulation for compensation of management charges, whereas justified by the high social value created, providing regulations of civic uses or other form of civic self-organization to be recognized by the city". This section was inserted as an

amendment in the deliberation of the City Council. As the responsible for the Administrative Unity of the Commons in the City of Naples states, this was not conceived as the main path, it covered a secondary position compared to the above mentioned path 1, more traditional and structured, but it then became the main avenue in the practice. (Interview to the Director of the Project Unit on the Urban Commons, City of Naples, March 31st 2017).

The city starts to directly recognize and regulate the activity of the Ex Asilo Filangieri and to recognize the form of self-governance introduced by them, the urban civic and collective uses with the deliberation of City Government n. 893, December the 27th 2015 "Identification of the San Gregorio Armeno Complex as a space for civic and collective use". This deliberation is crucial for the path toward the commons of the City of Naples. Through this deliberation, that represents a synthesis of the previous two years of work of the City, in particular the administration, with the community of the Ex Asilo Filangieri occupation. The deliberation first states that the Ex Asilo Filangieri structure is recognized as a place for cultural and artistic experimentation. The administration is committed to ensure the open use of the buildings, according to the following key criteria:

1) the *uti cives use* (the use is open for everyone that pass through that territory and to the collectivity as a whole).

2) Functioning according to participatory democracy use

3) Pursuing of the goal of diffuse culture according to publicness and inclusiveness

4) Cultural, financial and intergenerational sustainability

The City administration (the deliberation names the administration "civic administration") recognizes the high social and economic value created through the direct participation of City inhabitants in the functionalization of the underutilized buildings. The positive externalities generated by the collective use impact the Neighborhood and the whole city: therefore the administration collaborates to the management charges and to everything needed to guarantee accessibility and protection of the building. The city confirms the support to this experience and confirms its commitment to 1) sustain the cost management in order to guarantee accessibility and protection of the building 2) verify the respect of the principles of inclusiveness, impartiality, accessibility and self-governing, the respect of democratic principles, the respect of the non-profit activity and economic sustainability; it also supports the implementation of crowd funding or self-funding initiatives. The recognition of community spaces started as occupations as urban commons is finally extended to other experiences with the Deliberation of City Government n. 446 June the 1st 2016 "Implementation of the Deliberation of the City

Council, n. 7 2015. Identification of spaces of civic relevance to be considered as commons", that also foresees that the experiences identified adopt a self-governance model based on the same principles of the Ex Asilo Filangieri and provides that they craft an internal regulations adapted on the model of the urban civic and collective use declaration, to be realized in collaboration with the City.

5.2.3 Analysis

The Naples's policy for governance of urban commons is concentrated and produced its effects in mainly three areas of the City. Some of the policies address the whole city, implementing deliberative and participatory processes. In one case, a co-design urban regeneration processes addressing underused urban asset in the City (the Complesso S.ma Trinità delle Monache) was carried out specifically addressing the needs of the neighborhood. The urban commons subject to informal management are concentrated in two main City areas: the historical center of the City of Naples (Materdei and San Lorenzo) and the Bagnoli neighborhood.

Urban institutional level and catchment area.
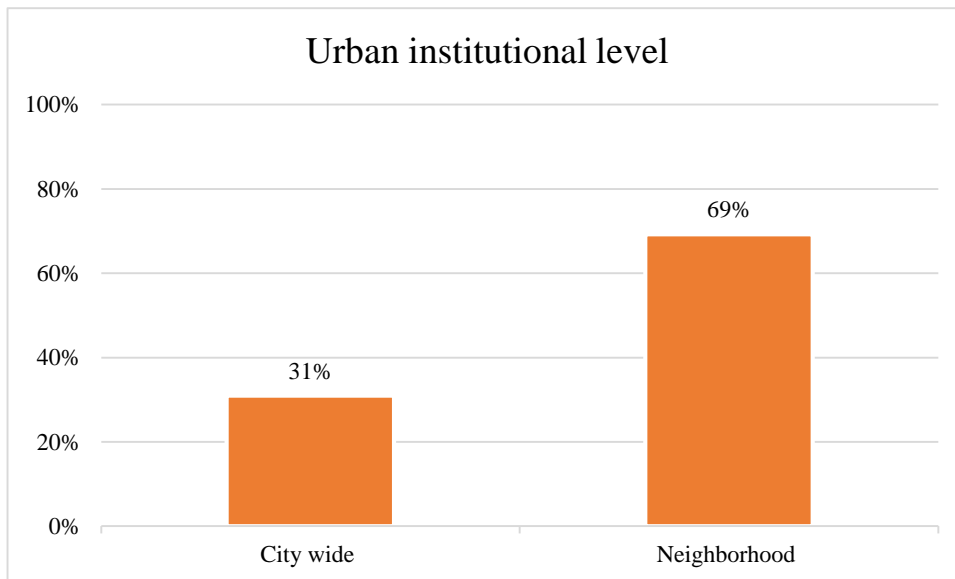
Figure 26 Urban institutional level
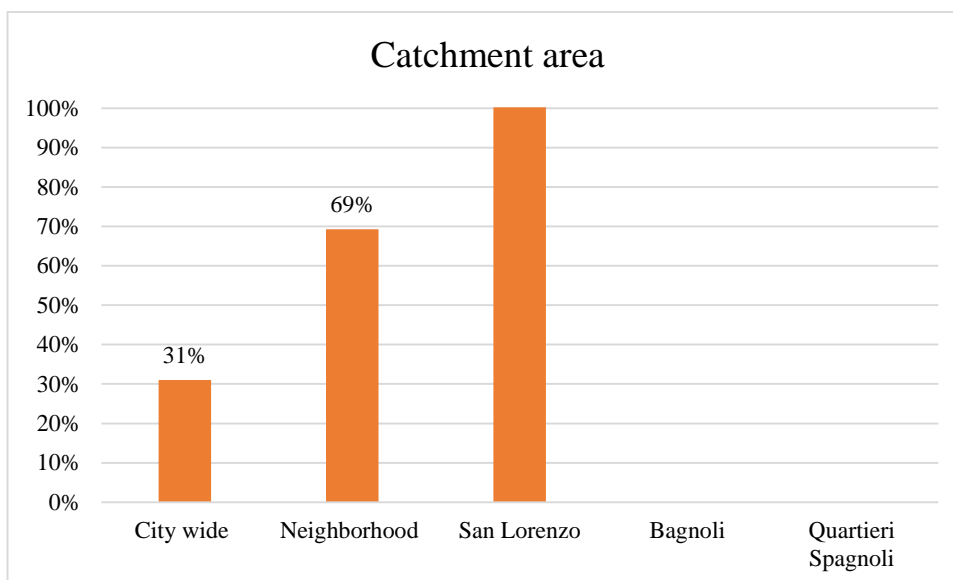
Figure 27 Catchment area_Naples

The dimension of participation in the case of Naples is very high, since the civic actors involved in the process are very proactive and the deliberative or co-design processes organized to discuss and organize the self-governance or the activities in the urban commons are highly participated by City inhabitants. The opportunities for participation implemented by the City of Naples since 2011 are intense and diffused throughout different policy areas. Participation is not structured with co-design methodologies in two relevant cases. In the vast majority of cases traditional participatory or deliberative methodologies are adopted.

Policy	Methodology adopted
Deputy Mayor for the Commons	deliberative mini publics
Deliberative procecesses on the urban commons: the Laboratory for the commons in the city of Naples	deliberative mini public
Agency for the Water as a Commons (ABC Naples)	absent
Principles for the governance of the urban commons and Urban Civic Uses Recognition	co-working and co-design
Ex Schipa	assemblies
Ex Ogp	assemblies
Giardino Liberato	assemblies
Ex Asilo Filangieri	assemblies; co-working and co-design
Ex lido Pola	assemblies

Villa Medusa	assemblies
Santa Fede Liberata	assemblies
Scugnizzo liberato	assemblies
EU-fostered Participatory Urban Regeneration of SS. Trinità Convento	co-design

The institutional design of all process provides complete openness. Participation is always elective, and is highly selective in all the recognized urban commons. The avenue for participation that is institutionalized is in fact the assembly of the social movement/NGO that initiated the informal management. The assemblies are open. The rules for participation are open and available easily, although the rules for decision making and more generally the rules regulating the assemblies needs to be further analyzed and are not available through digital ethnography.

The barriers at the entrance in the case of policy processes are low, in particular for the community spaces that are free to develop their own activities and then be recognized by the city. This could be explained by the fact that, in particular at the beginning of the process, was concerned with the implementation of a strategy for favoring the autonomous activity of proactive urban communities and not that of stimulating the activation of innovative collective action processes, and the focus on deliberation is very strong.

> For the urban commons in Naples, the strategy was that of overcoming the logic of concessions and entering the logic of assemblies, or a deliberative democracy based approach. The role of the city administration is thus not that of exercising the role of the owner of the asset but that of facilitating inclusive processes (Interview with former Deputy Mayor for the Commons, City of Naples, August 4th 2017).

Both the institutionally designed and the community self-governance spaces are designed as inclusive, although there are no specific procedures or substantial indicators that allow us to assess the effectiveness of inclusiveness. Participation in the case of Naples has the capacity of selecting highly motivated participants and has a high degree of openness and a medium degree of inclusiveness.

Public – social partnership

The strategy implemented in Naples is not able to implement circular subsidiarity, or collaborative governance. In the case of Naples we can observe only the implementation of bilateral public-civic partnerships.
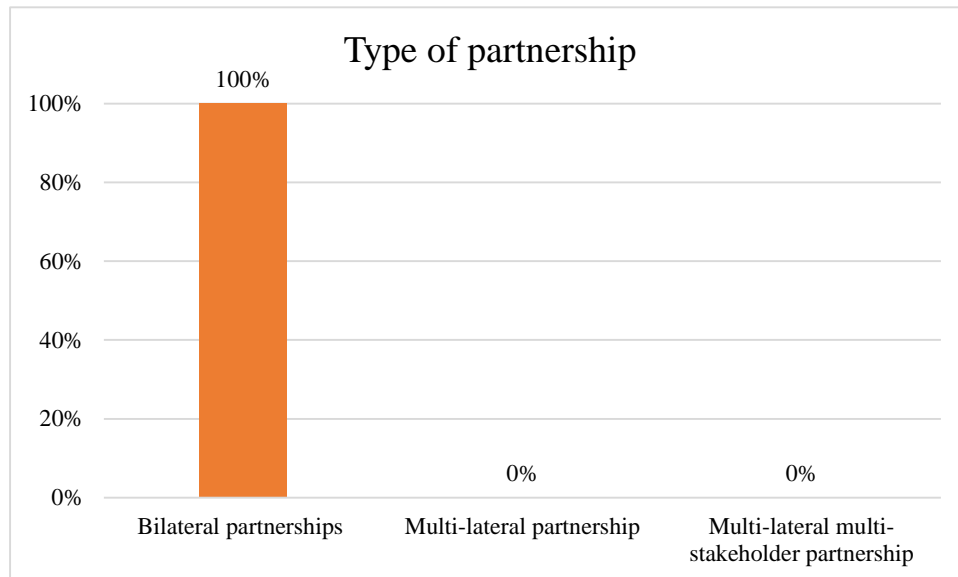
Type of partnership

[Bar chart showing "Type of partnership" with three categories: "Bilateral partnerships" at 100%, "Multi-lateral partnership" at 0%, and "Multi-lateral multi-stakeholder partnership" at 0%. Y-axis ranges from 0% to 100%.]

Figure 28 Type of partnership_Naples

In the case of Naples we can ultimately observe a very high intensity of co-governance in terms of its content (the type of interventions, the goals pursued, means implemented and output produced) along with a very low intensity in terms of the partnership. The role of social movements, as well as the role of public administration, is crucial in the case of Naples although no other actors are involved and the network of actors involved in the genesis of the projects state the same even after few years. The partnership is not enlarged with the development of the project and thanks to the involvement of the City throughout time. This shows that the network of social movements/NGOs that initiated the project is composed of members that are particularly committed and with a very strong bonding. This also shows that the co-governance partnership implemented is sustainable from the standpoint of the actors' commitment, even if the urban regeneration projects undergone are highly complex.

In particular from the standpoint of their pragmatic attitude, the capacity of the social movements/NGOs to provide a concrete connection between advocacy for the rights of city inhabitants and their capacity of activating collective action to make those rights concrete in the urban everyday life and their collaborative capacity with the urban authorities. This is in line with the findings of the research on social movement in western democracy, indeed concerned with both global movements and urban social movement (Boudreau 2017, 65-101). The global social movements that arises as a response to the expansion of neoliberal politics have peculiar characteristics, as highlighted by De Blasio

and Sorice (2014), since in terms of social demands, they do not call for a structural change in economic models but for an opportunity to use their skills (often neglected by the labor market) in a fairer economic framework while in terms of political demands they are calling for a redefinition of democracy itself. They thus did not intend to call into question the legitimacy of liberal democracy but advance a reclaim of creating opportunities raising a fair and decent living leveraging on their skills.

The analysis of the role played by social movements as a "constituent" power in the case of the city of Naples toward the commons was provided by Ugo Mattei and Sakei Bailey, whom situates it in the history of the "commons movement" in Italy (Bailey & Mattei 2013). The success of this movement is demonstrated by "the unexpected victory of the Water referendum where in an unprecedent manner over twenty-seven million Italians turned out to vote with over 95 per cent voting against privatization accomplishing the first 50 percent quorum in Italy over sixteen years". The Italian commons movement has a constituent power because their claim of the commons is rooted in the constitution's purpose of defending people against the abuse of power (Bailey & Mattei, 2013, 967). "The idea behind the movement's claim is that the most fundamental constitutional reform that one could promote in Italy today is the implementation of the current Constitution, especially Articles 3, 42 and 43, rather than drafting new provisions". (Bailey & Mattei, 2013, 981). The analysis of the case of the civic and collective use in Naples carried out by Foster and Iaione (2016) instead stressed the attention on the fact that the role played by the City of Naples and the social movements/NGOs involved is an exemplary case of the "enabling state" and is a condition for the realization of the governance of the city as a commons. The institutional design of the Water as a Commons Agency in Naples certainly represents an experimentation of public-commons partnership, focused on how public law tools might be used to protect fundamental rights (right to water) at the urban level and increase participation in the governance of local public services. The City of Naples recognize**s** the high social and economic value created through the direct participation of citizens in the use of the underutilized buildings and the point of contacts through which is possible to identify the creation of a hybrid space for the governance of the urban commons is the collaborative drafting of the civic and collective urban use declaration in the experience of the Ex Asilo, later recognized by the city as a model of democratic and inclusive governance of the space and suggested for the other experiences (Asilo Filangieri 2015). Civic uses are recognized as a legal tools build upon a *communitarian feature* (Micciarelli 2017) that allow the community spaces to engage in a dialogue with the City administration with a distribution of responsibilities (Micciarelli 2017).

The urban policies for the commons and the community spaces created in Naples only addresses city owned or state owned buildings. The peculiar characteristic of the urban buildings involved is that they are big urban complexes, which makes the interventions (approval of the Charter of Urban Public Space) instead of buildings and one case in

which local public services are involved (water). In all the other cases, complex urban regeneration processes of public buildings are involved.

In the case of Naples, the relationship between the City and the civic actors in the partnerships involved is oriented towards the enhancement of the self-governance capacity of urban communities. The city recognizes self-organization of communities that manage the commons in a collaborative way and promote the production of internal regulations of civic uses, that ensure that the use of the commons is open and inclusive. The city provides a sort of "democratic check" (Interview with Head of the Project Unit for the commons, the City of Naples, March 31st 2017). Through the civic and collective urban uses regulations, the city aims to overcome the risk of an exclusive use of the space, that remains open to a wide variety of subjects. The regulations ensure impartiality, inclusiveness and shared rules of self-governance.

Equality Issues

The policy adopted by the City of Naples strongly stresses the aspect of social justice and equality as a prerequisites for the recognition of the informal management structures as commons. The Resolution of City Government n. 400, May the 25th 2012, starting from the statement that the city wants to "promote the development of a new form of public law" (at 2) that protect and values the goods that are instrumental to the protection of human rights, as "goods of collective and social belonging" (at 2) deliberation recognizes the space as a "place of complex cultural use" (at 3). The deliberation consider that the building is currently used as a space for artistic experimentations and the promotion of participatory culture. Considering also that the city is "committed to developing a path for a legal and socio-economic recognition of culture as a commons" (at 2) and is also committed to "guaranteeing that the structure will be managed through inclusive and public rules" and to "enabling the realization of processes that allows to put this building at the service of the collectivity as a whole". The deliberation ultimately define the role of the city: "guarantee a democratic management of the building in coherence with the art. 43 of Italian Constitution in order to enable the realization of a constitutive praxis of civic use of the good form the community of workers of the "intangible" – the culture ; the city must ensure that the use of the building is shared and participative; the cost of ensuring the use of the building and internal maintenance is in charge of the city; the city must ensure that the projects organized in the structure are not for profit, allows the participation of citizens into the cultural and artistic life; control over the respect of the rules established; draft and publish the calendar of the activities, that are proposed by the community after the elaboration through participatory and open procedures and must respect the above mentioned principles.

In the informal management spaces, the eight spaced initially occupied by social movements and then turned into self-governance spaces, social equality is a key issue.

The recognition of the space as an urban commons by the city is conditioned by the presence of a feature of social value production and social equality goals in the activity promoted by the community.
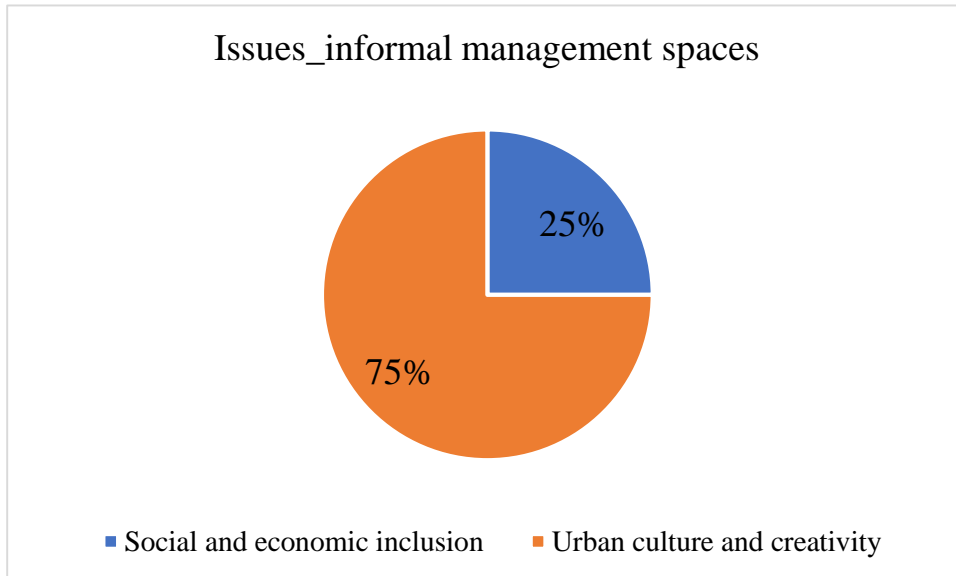
Figure 29 Issues_informal management spaces

Equality and creation of social value are institutionally defined as prerequisite for the recognition of the informal management of the spaces as urban commons This is a peculiar feature of the case of Naples that distinguishes it from the case of Bologna and Milan, where the evaluation of the proposals is based mostly on procedural aspects. The recognition of the space as an urban commons by the city of Naples is instead conditioned by the presence of a feature of social value production and social equality goals in the activity promoted by the community.
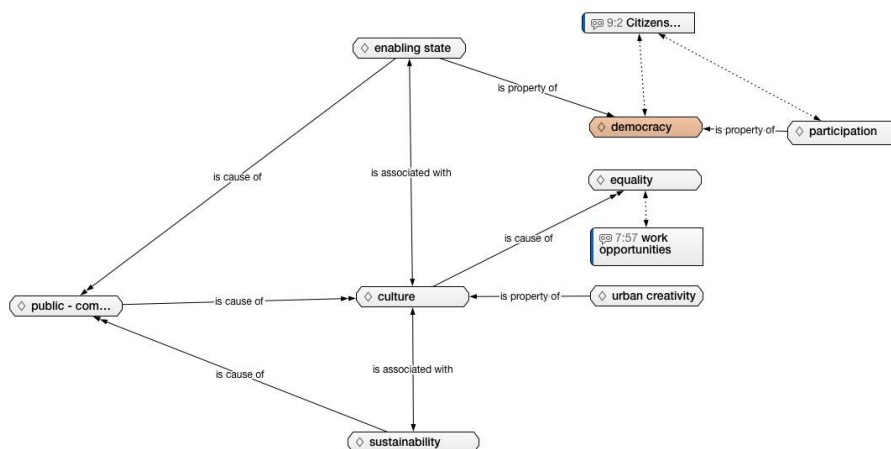

Figure 30 Coding with Altas.ti (Naples).

The role of the city is that of providing a control on the activity realized, that must be that of providing services to the city (cultural and social collaborative services) that are able to provide inclusive opportunities, both to the participants involved and the Neighborhood inhabitants.

Means adopted and output produced
The means adopted and the output produced by the informal management recognized as urban commons are rich and varied. In the vast majority of cases, the activities do not address equality goals directly, since they are mostly aimed at addressing cultural production and to produce cultural goods while contributing to the urban quality of space by regenerating the spaces. The case of Ex-Asilo Filangieri, the community space on which the whole policy strategy is structured upon, is emblematic of this approach. The city recognized the power of generation of a system of self-regulation, the *"potere autonòmico"* contained in the Declaration of Civic and Collective Uses drafted by the community of the Ex Asilo Filangieri that is the product of two years of collective use of the structure *uti cives* along with a close collaboration with the city administration. The City council considered the opinion of accountability regularity issued by the City Administration (in particular, the civil servant responsible for the administrative unity of the commons). The opinion reports the cost sustained by the administration for maintaining and taking care of the building (325.000 euros per year) and compare it with the *civic value* created by the Ex Asilo Filangieri experience. The Asilo realized 3.800 activities from 2012 to 2015, that engaged 145.000 users. This represents a "civic production of value", "*messa a reddito civica*" of the structure, not produced by other public structures.in addition, the administration also consider the governing structure of the Asilo (composed of an Assembly of Management, that discuss over the everyday management issues, an Assembly of Address that defines the general guidelines and take general decisions, the Working Tables that examines the proposal of activities and the *Comitato dei garanti*) that activated a model of "laboratory of citizenship", a responsible and self-governing community and of horizontal and inclusive governance (Resolution, 9-10). The administration concludes that the support to this experience does not represent an additional financial cost for the City, while it actually represents an added value given the civic production value activity produced. Similarly to the Filangieri case, the *Lido Pola*, *Giardino Liberato* and *Villa Medusa* offer a free calendar of sport activities, social and cultural activities. The *ex-scuola Schipa, Ex Ogp Di Materdei* and the *Scugnizzo Liberato* implement direct interventions directly aimed at alleviating situations of social and economic vulnerability:

a) access to housing
b) kindergarten and babysitting
c) ambulatory services of general or specialized medicine free of charge
d) migrants' integration support
e) free legal counseling

f) low-cost sport activities

g) free libraries and study areas.

The case of Naples shows how a polycentric governance of the commons might work. The degree of collaborative governance is not expanded to the whole range of urban actors. The social movements/NGOs that initiated the informal management and are running the spaces are an existing network of proactive and highly committed civic actors.

> We are playing a Copernican revolution that could bring the public administration towards an instrumental function towards the citizens, a function of active listening. The big challenge behind the resolution for urban commons is precisely linked to rethinking the function of the public administration. For these cases we have done nothing but listen and identify the communities that already had the vital and productive places and we recognized the places, and not the communities, as places capable of producing social value, defining them as collective uses . (Interview to the Director of the Project Unit on the Urban Commons, City of Naples, March 31st 2017).

The approach of the City and the civic actors involved shows polycentrism because it is a partnership based on the recognition of autonomy and on constant coordination.

> We make sure everything occurs in accordance with the rules, in this case the first title of the Constitution (therefore equal opportunities, possibility of access and being within the mechanisms of decision-making and being able to have influence). The other feature that we require is that the place proves to be generative of social value. It is not necessary for the community to have a legal recognition. It is just an environment within which things happen that need to be done by a piece of community that has been able to give itself a *nomos*, a self-management, which has therefore developed citizenship. (Interview to the Director of the Project Unit on the Urban Commons, City of Naples, March 31st 2017).

The scope of improvement of polycentrism lays on the creation of mechanisms of sustainability, a shift that would increase the autonomy of the co-governance spaces and allow for the enlarging of the partnership. The City is investing in this direction through the EU Urbact transfer network program (Regional Development Fund) (Urbact Civic eState 2018).

5.2.4 Conclusions

The ecosystem of policies and practices emerged in the City of Naples promotes a form of co-governance of the urban commons representing an empirical manifestation of a rebel city (Harvey 2012). The analysis offers some points of reflection over the way in which such model can help us understand the dynamic and controversial aspects of urban co-governance applied to the urban commons conceptualized as urban public space and urban asset (i.e. buildings or big construction complexes) which makes this case a useful terrain for comparison with the case of Bologna, Milan and Turin and the urban public services (in this case, water) conceptualized as commons. The first observation that we can raise is on the role of formal participatory governance (Deputy Mayor for the commons, Deliberative Laboratory) as a first step toward the facilitation of collective action for the urban commons.

What is also relevant is the output of urban co-governance in terms of building a connection between the commons and human rights, absent in the other cases. It emerges a conceptualization of the city the space where the realization of human rights is possible whether resources are governed as commons. There is a proactive role of the city that only intervenes when civic actors already implemented an informal management scheme. This result in granting autonomy to city inhabitants but raises questions of inclusiveness. Formal inclusiveness is warranted by the democratic check of the city but substantially it is left to the social movements to provide substantial warranties for making this spaces inclusive. More research is needed in order to provide a more robust assessment.

5.3 Experimenting sustainability of the urban commons: the case of Rome.

As already anticipated, this chapter presents the case of an experimentation of co-governance at the district level in the City of Rome. The case can provide insights of how an ecosystemic urban ecology approach can be applied to implement co-governance of the commons.
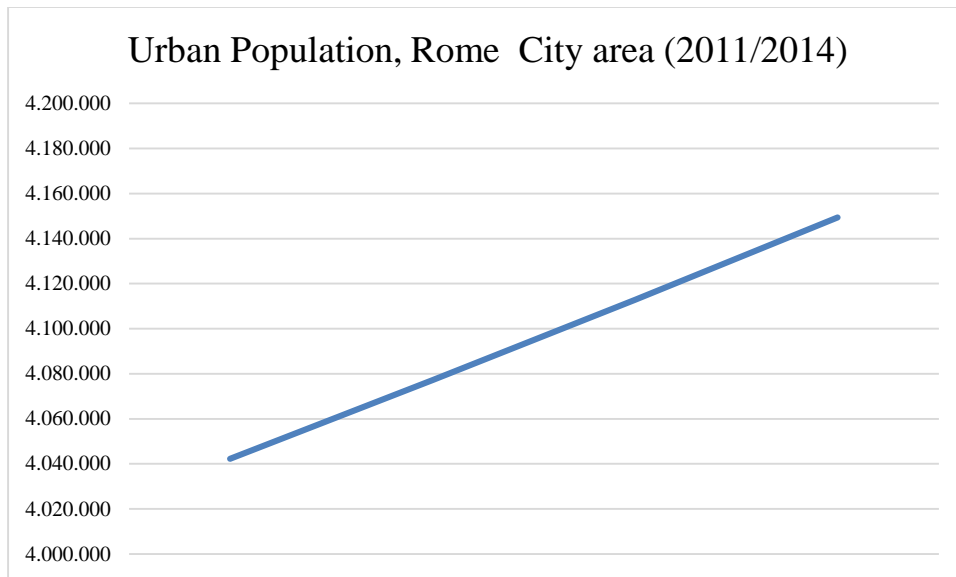
Figure 31 Urban population, Rome City Area, EuroStat, Population on I January by age group and sex - cities and greater cities. Last Update 27-11-2017.

The GDP produced by the City of Rome as a share of the national GDP (9.4%) (World Cities Report, 2016). The City of Rome present high indicator of social and economic vulnerability.

Employment rate	Unemployment rate	Families with potential economic distress	Index of social and material vulnerability
47,9	9,5	2,1	101,0

Figure 32 Social and economic vulnerability indicators_Rome. Source: ISTAT report on the decay of urban peripheries (2017).

The City of Rome did not implemented policies on the urban commons, notwithstanding the rich and varied experiences of community spaces, both conflictual and collaborative. The case of Rome contains both controversial policy paths (the Resolutions issued by the City of Rome n. 219 of 2014 and the Resolution n. 140 of 2015) and a wide and varied myriad of active citizenship realities, committees, informal groups and collectives that carry out advocacy activity for the protection of the commons or the defence of vulnerable

groups, such as in the case of the Palestre Popolari (Sport Cultura Popolare, SCUP). There is also a very rich network social movements active in the commons that are expressed by the wage of occupations of 2011, such as that at the Valle Theatre, the Cinema America and Cinema Palazzo (among the others). The social network actives in the City he "Roma Decide" network, active since April 2016, organized a participatory process in order to draft the Charter of Common Rome, that defines ten principles for the participatory management of the public goods of the city of Rome (Roma Decide 2016). An interesting evolution in the city of Rome is also represented by the galaxy of experiences of collaboration that are evolving towards model of collaborative or circular economy such as the Co-Working Space MillePiani in Garbatella Neighborhood or the Fusolab in Alessandrino neighborhood.

5.3.1. Co-governance of the commons in a metropolitan (ungovernable?) city

In this paragraph we will limit the action to the analysis of some relevant sections of the research conducted during the first year of the Co-Rome process (Co-Rome Report 2016), an carried out experimentation by the LABoratory for the GOVernance of the city as a commons (LUISS LabGov, 2015/2016) within the Smart City and Smart Community research program carried out by ENEA experimenting the conditions to develop a Smart District Urban Integrated Model (2015-2018) in the context of the triennial research program MISE-ENEA Research for electric system (RSE 2016). The process was aimed at experimenting the conditions for the activation of collective action of the urban commons at the district level in a metropolitan city.

Cellamare (2016), in the research on the process of transformation of the city of Rome from the point of view of the policies and practices of living in the outskirts of the City of Rome, where quantitative and qualitative methodologies were used, relying upon an intense field observation work to detect the dimensions related to the everyday life of the inhabitants of the Roman suburbs as a factor interpretation of urbanization processes (Cellamare 2016). Mapping researches in the city of Rome are focusing on self-management processes of abandoned spaces (Reter) or spatial representations of relevant socio-demographic indicators (MappaRoma) that understand Rome as a bicephal city: one part of which is able to capture opportunities for economic development and social inclusion, and one excluded by this process, with a concentration of economic socioeconomic inequality in the eastern quadrant of the City (Tomassi et al., 2016, 13). Co-Roma (2016) has drawn inspiration from these experiences and has focused on testing a methodological approach to experiment urban co-governance at district level in 7 stages: 1) cheap talking 2) mapping 4) practicing 5) prototyping 6) testing / evaluating 7) modeling, testing the first 4. The method has integrated field experiment approaches with ethnographic orientation and design experiment. The several phases of the process will not be explained and analyze in details here. This paragraph will only focus on the analysis of the co-design phase that was realized after the identification of the

Alessandrino-Centocelle Neighborhood as the experimental urban area. The Co-design phase (open, elective participation, guided by a professional facilitator) was aimed at involving district inhabitants and trigger the activation of processes of care and regeneration of urban commons that could then evolve in inclusive governance network at the district level. The co-design phase was run between June and October 2016, with a total of n. 6 workshops (3 hours ca each). About 60 people (15 associations, citizens, representatives of local institutions) participated in the lab, realized within symbolic spaces for the district, although the participation decreases dramatically during the summer and is progressively reduced to a small group of highly proactive participants during the fall.

Figure 33 Co-design lab, Centocelle, June 22nd 2015. Source: Co-Roma.it

Figure 34 Co-design Lab, Centocelle, July 4th 2015. Source: Co-Roma.it

The participants immediately identified the Centocelle Public Archeological Park as commons around which to create a process of coalesce and further started to self-organize in a collaborative community and realize cooperative placemaking activities and regeneration of an abandoned area with the aim of social inclusion (Comunità Parco Pubblico di Centocelle 2016). The initiation of the process was facilitated by the organization of micro-practicing exercises throughout key green areas or urban public spaces of the neighborhoods.

Figure 35 Cooperative placemaking, December 17th 2016. Source: Co-Roma.it

Figure 36 Creation of a community garden in an urban green space "Isola Felice" (2016). Source: Co-Roma.it

5.3.2 Analysis

The following graphs shows an analysis of the data collected during the process of mapping and practicing on the field and the co-design lab (June 2015, October 2016). The coding identified a set of codes: Resource; Role of Public Institution; Regulatory slippage; Urban Coalescence; Appropriation of the commons; Productivity of the resource; Civic collaboration; Equality concerns; Small scale regeneration; Relationship with the Roma Families.
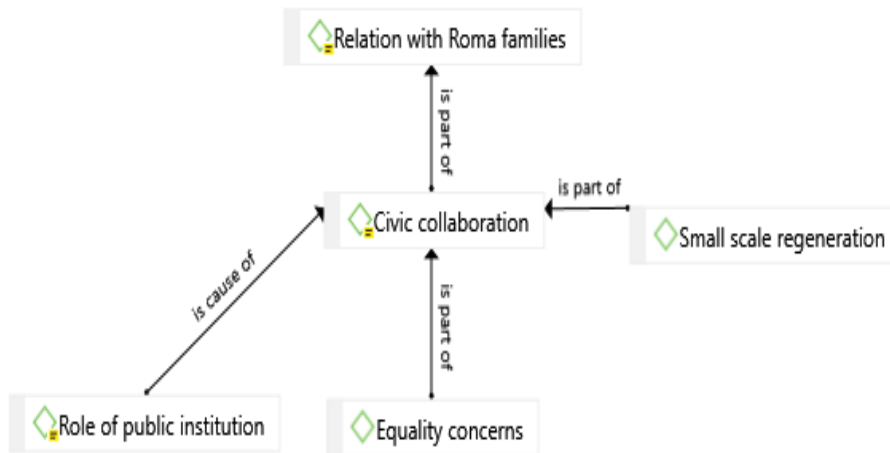
Figure 3 | Coding with Atlas.ti (Rome)

First, it is possible to analyze the intervening variables on the starting situation of the commons that are the subject of the path. The situation perceived as problematic by the actors is related to the perception of poor security in the park and with phenomena of appropriation. This can be summarized with the phenomenon called regulatory slippage (Foster 2011), which occurs when the commons' ability to control is less significant for causes to be found, inter alia, in the stratification and overlap of institutional and institutional skills that exposes the resource to rival use and not regulated. Urban coalescence is also noted as the area on which Commons insists is capable of aggregating several areas of the City Hall and contains archaeological and cultural assets under the control of the Superintendence. This resource property is a complexity from the point of view of institutional intervention but is identified as potential and leverage as it makes the Park a platform capable of creating agglomeration of heterogeneous energies and social networks.

Figure 37 Coding with Atlas.ti (Rome)

In addition to regulatory slippage and urban coalescence, another fundamental feature of the resource emerges from governance, the cultural/archaeological heritage and the environmental value that would contribute to the productivity of the resource. There is a perceived difficulty in ensuring a proactive presence and substantial institutional commitment, but it is for the institutional capacity to do neighborhoo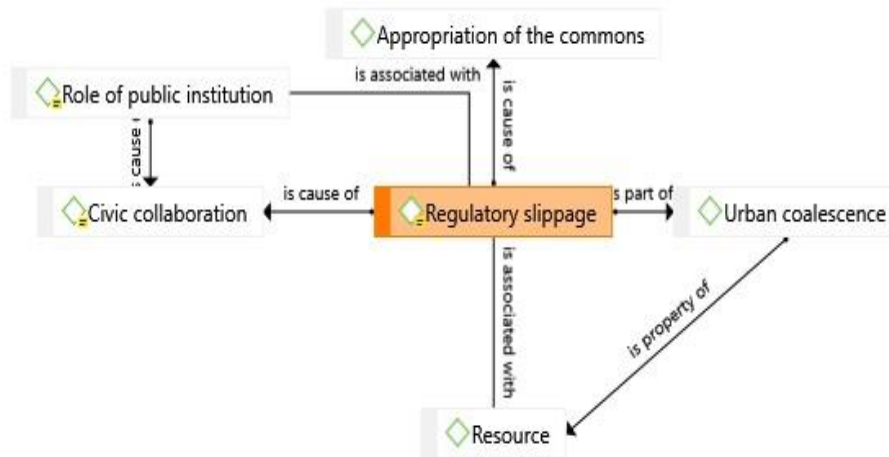d-level governance that triggers collaboration between different associations that were working for the same purpose. Confidence in the institutions is therefore strengthened by the process, not weakened. The actors demonstrate the need to engage in low-activity activities that will provide moments of cooperation and socialization by reinforcing the sense of responsibility towards the neighborhood. The process also involved a relationship of solidarity entrenched with Roma families living near the Park (with whom the participants related gradually, also thanks to the spontaneous participation in micro regeneration operations) and the orientation of co-governance on equality concerns as a result of creating opportunities which promotes inclusion, creation of community networking opportunities and inclusive local economic development. The decrease in participation seems to be explained by the fact that the process is elective and requires a high level of commitment, and it also requires the reach of an internal consensus over the methods and goals of the action, that is a pragmatic and goal-oriented action.

5.4 The urban commons as a tool to achieve urban equality: the case of Turin.

The case of Turin is useful to understand the way the European Union shapes urban co-governance of the commons. The city of Turin holds a strong symbolic power for the history of the Italian Nation State (it was the capital of the Savoia Royal Family, who run a political and military strategy for achieving the unification of Italy, whose territory was divided among different kingdoms and it was the first Capital of Italian Reign (1861-

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1864). The city of Turin, one of the main cities in Northern Italy played a strong role in the industrial growth, in particular as headquarter of one of the main industry of the country, Italian Industry of automobiles Turin, FIAT, and it was mainly identified with that and the city was a recipient of individual and families' mobility, in particular from Southern Italy, attracted by the chances of workplaces. (Bagnasco 1986). The city underwent a political and economic crisis since 1980's, when a decrease in industrial jobs started and level of political protest in the city increased (Rosso 2004, Belligni & Ravazzi 2012). The analysis of the policy making process in Turin around urban planning is an important starting point for understanding current efforts of the City of Turin towards the urban commons.
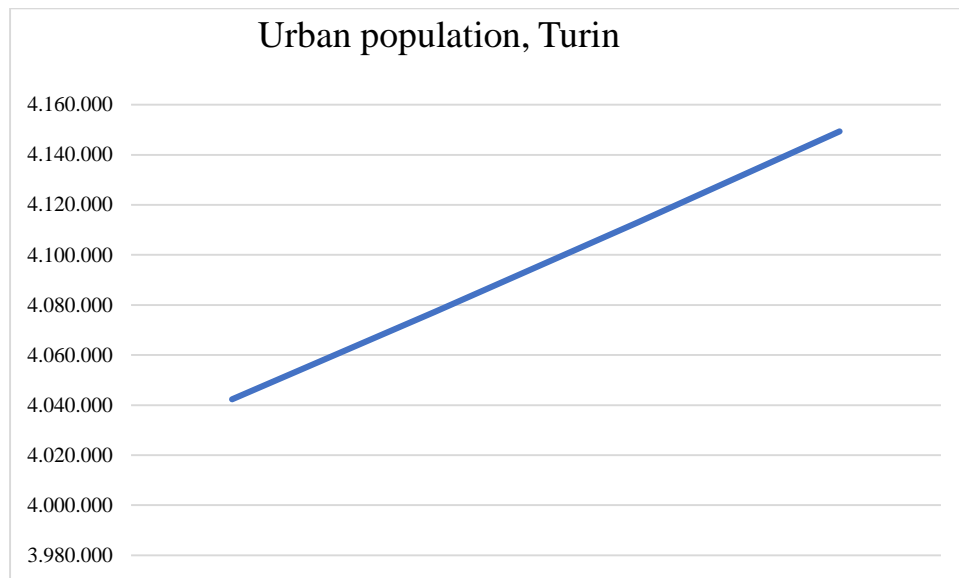
Figure 38 Urban population, Turin City Area, EuroStat, Population on I January by age group and sex - cities and greater cities. Last Update 27-11-2017.

Employment rate	Unemployment rate	Families with potential economic distress	Index of social and meterial vulnerability
46,0	9,8	1,7	99,7

Figure 39 Social and economic vulnerability indicators_Turin. Source: ISTAT report on the decay of urban peripheries (2017).

City	Policy	Starting date
Turin	Peripheries Project	1997
Turin	Neighborhood houses	2007

Turin	Guidelines for local actions of urban renewal,	2009
Turin	Temporary uses	2012
Turin	Regulation for Civic collaboration for the Urban Commons	2016
Turin	Co-city project	2016

Table 8 Turin_case studies.

5.4.1 The two pillars of co-governance of urban commons in Turin: EU-shaped urban regeneration and the Neighborhood houses' network.

The city undercame a process of urban transformation since the beginning of the nineties, in after the 1993 political crisis hit the national level. In 1992, the local government was place under compulsory administration by the central government for budgetary reasons and this factor, in conjunction with the electoral reform in 1993 that provided direct election for the mayor, favored the move of urban planning to the top of political concerns. The political hearth-quake of 1993 and the local government reforms are to be considered as two external drivers for change (Galanti 2014). Urban planning became a key issue for the city since big industrial areas raised during the industrial age were gradually dismissed and encountered decay. This phenomenon created the issue of urban empty spaces and big dismissed structures. In the second half of the nineties, the city focused on the urban development strategies through the regeneration of peripheries and the public housing areas. Also under the impulse of the EU structural funds, the city issued urban recovery programs co-funded by the City and regional, state-level and European extraordinary funds. The "Progetto Periferie" (Turin City Government 1997) a large policy that activated a plan of projects for social inclusion in the neighborhoods. The project started in 1997 and provided a mix of economic incentives for the regeneration of city areas - that encountered degradation although they were not included in the first transformation of the city – combined with a strong communication efforts by the city. (Galanti 2014, 166-167). Communicating the suburbs is in fact a key aspect of the process. All this would not be possible without the quality leap that institutional communication has taken in our city in the period of time that the Suburbs Project has been evolving. Torino has created a central Communications Service, to make this issue one of the levers of the change taking place in the city. The Peripheries Project (*Rigenerazione Urbana* 2018) has taken note of this change and has been one of the first to take advantage of it. The policy program consisted of the following projects: Progetto Porta Palazzo; Revitalising Mirafiori nord; the Urban Recovery Programs ; The Neighborhood Contracts; The community theatre; Participated Local Development

Actions (Urban Barriera 2011). After the great impulse given to the city by the EU programs that contributed to the urban renewal of the city and allowed the City administration to experiment with innovative participatory processes and governance schemes: deliberation social tables, local development agencies and so on. In 2007, with the Guidelines for local actions of urban renewal (Turin City Government 2009). The city recognized that this development was favored by the EU and State-led efforts and provided for a policy program that might keep those efforts active although without the extraordinary funds. It also recognizes that a new approach to the issue of the urban crisis is needed, since the urban crisis is not represented purely by pubic space decay, but also by new issues such as urban poverty and social fragilities, conflicts deriving from socio-demographic changes, shrinking of public and private resources. The issue of the inclusion of new urban inhabitants such as migrants is strictly connected to the new definition of urban quality of life and for building cohesion between different areas of the country. The main challenges for urban policies is therefore the creation of a cohesive urban agglomeration process where different actors interact in the public sphere, enabling a process of local economic and social development starting from the local practices and the local resources. Through the issue of social equality, in particular social cohesion and the ethnical diversity in the city emerges as the main goal of urban renewal policies, while the peripheries project of 1997 was mostly focused on improving the quality of urban life through public spaces regeneration. The guidelines for future actions of local development and urban renewal that the city target semi-peripherical areas, public housing areas, and areas in transformation, mainly those areas that are object of a deep intervention that will shape them and therefore are in need of community-building work. Is in this context that the Neighborhood's houses blossomed, as public buildings regenerated through private and community interventions, were activists of general interest and services are offered to the neighborhood. In the next paragraph, the history and main characteristics of the Neighborhood houses will be retraced.

The roots of the network of Neighborhood houses in Turin are therefore to be traced back to the urban regeneration policy launched by the city of Turin on the stimulus of the European institutions. The experiences of Neighborhood houses network (*Case del quartiere* 2007) have consolidated over time, starting in 2007. Arising from different experiences, what they share is the need to pool resources of public institutions, individual or organized citizens and businesses, in order to carry out regeneration projects for municipal buildings aimed at achieving a twofold objective: the physical recovery of the buildings and the improvement of social cohesion within the communities surrounding the building, pursued by the creation of centralized aggregating places. Main actors are: the City of Turin, third sector associations and volunteer citizens, social cooperatives, committees and local associations), private companies, bank foundations and private sector's foundation, social enterprises. The Neighborhood houses are highly heterogeneous experiences, realized with the concert of public funding (communal, regional, European) and private funding. Each experience ended up with a different legal

and goverance schemes. Foundations involved in the various projects range from bank foundations, enterprise foundations to community foundations (such as the Mirafiori Foundation, which has funded the House Recovery Project in the Park,), a model that is particularly significant in terms of the involvement of urban civic actors. Part of the funds comes from urban regeneration programs (Urban Recovery Plans -Pru-, the Urban Community Project 2, local government-run actions) (Ferrero 2012). The object of the intervention is city owned buildings, abandoned and reclaimed by urban inhabitants (public baths, rural farms, former residence permits) (Bertello 2012). Cascina Roccafranca and Hub Cecchi point, for instance, are the result of recovering activity of large spaces while Casa San Salvario is a deteriorated property that has been degrading many years before the project intervened on it.

The network of Neighborhood houses consists of eight experiences:

Policy	Policy Output
Turin_Neighborhood houses network	Neighborhood's Home Network
Turin_Neighborhood houses network	Bagni Pubblici di Via Agliè
Turin_Neighborhood houses network	Casa del Quartiere San Salvario
Turin_Neighborhood houses network	Cascina Roccafranca
Turin_Neighborhood houses network	Casa di Quartiere Vallette
Turin_Neighborhood houses network	Casa nel Parco
Turin_Neighborhood houses network	Hub Cecchi Point
Turin_Neighborhood houses network	Spazio Quattro

Table 9 Neighborhood Houses Network in Turin

The Multicultural hub of Via Cecchi
The Multicultural Hub is one of the seven "nodes" of the network, officially launched in 2011: for years, however, the "Campanile ONLUS" Association, currently managing the space, was committed to the Borgo Aurora community, involving children and young people in postgraduate and artistic workshops. In 2001, it began with a collaboration with the City of Turin, various foundations and other associations, for the establishment of the Multicultural Hub Cecchi point. The Hub Cecchi point represents an example of urban governance policy aimed at achieving a twofold objective: the redevelopment of urban spaces and the promotion of social cohesion and social integration in a context characterized by strong multiculturalism and multi ethnicity. The Multicultural Hub project is set on a path that sees many actors coming from different sectors of society. The initiative of Vodafone Foundations, Human Mind and Intesa San Paolo, which led to the establishment of the Hub at Via Cecchi, was based on the idea that the third sector energies, if systemized, could make a significant contribution to social inclusion and urban regeneration in the neighborhood. The idea of the foundations found fertile ground in the city of Turin, in particularly because it was linked to the youth policy that the city was developing in those years. A Memorandum of Understanding was signed in 2009

that seeks institutions, businesses and citizens to network on an urban regeneration project that leverages integration and youth protagonism.

The Civic Association «Il Campanile» is deeply rooted in the territory, which has long been committed to neighborhood's community. The association has been identified as the leader of the Foundations project by the City Council, on the basis of its direct experience in the area. With Resolution 2539/5 of 2009, the Association committed, together with the support of the Foundation, to the creation of the Multicultural Hub Cecchi Point. The Foundations have made available the resources needed to renovate the Via Cecchi spaces. The city-owned real estate complex was in a state of abandonment and the Commune had intended to re-qualify it in order to make it a catalyst for the neighborhood's energies, a driving force of creativity and sociality. In 2001 a Convention was signed between the Seventh district and the «Il Campanile» NGO, concerning the use of the spaces. District 7 of the City of Turin entrusted the «Il Campanile» NGO with the structure of the Cecchi point. Since 2009, the association has committed itself to an important project for the restructuring of the area and its buildings and the creation, together with the City of Turin and the Foundations involved in the project, whom signed a Memorandum of Understanding the same year, committing themselves for a total amount of 1.750.000 euros for the regeneration fot the space, that will be at the NGO's disposal for ten years. In addition to this strong financial support, the Hub is also self-financing. Resources are raised through the bar-restaurant's revenues within the space and other recreational and educational activities.

San Salvario Neighborhood's house.
The San Salvario Neighborhood's house was born from the recovery of a city-owned property located in Via Morgari (Case del Quartiere 2017). The San Salvario House is a meeting point and social aggregator for the surrounding community and provides additional services to the neighborhood. In the specific case, the Casa del San Salvario district offers a number of workshops, mainly artistic ones, for the stimulation of childhood and youth creativity, language courses (Arabic - English), theater and sports courses. Some of the laboratories are aimed at the younger sections of the population and many are aiming to promote multi-cultural integration. Casa San Salvario hosts numerous counters and listening spaces devoted to socio - psychological support for the migrant population and for refugees. The building now housed in the Casa San Salvario district, in Via Morgari 14, housed public communal bathrooms and was in a state of degradation. The City Council, with Resolution no. 08009/054 of 2006 identified the "EX-Bagni Pubblici" municipal building, via Morgari 14, as the location for the project "ConverGente, House of Cultures". The project is carried out by the "San Salvario Development Agency" Committee, in collaboration with the Municipality, and co-financed by the Vodafone Foundation for a figure of Euro 400,000.00. The property of Via Morgari has been restored thanks to the economic contribution of the Fondazione Vodafone and the City of Turin and was subsequently awarded for concession for thirty

years to the Local Development Agency of San Salvario, for the payment of a fee Merely recognitive property. The opening of the San San Salvario premises and the beginning of its activities took place in 2011. The "San Salvario Development Agency" Committee is the managing body of the Home of the Quarter and was established in 2006 to carry on the activities started in the San Salvario district in 1999 by the Cicalene (Italian Cooperation Center for the Development of Emergency Nations) in the framework of local participatory development actions of the Peripheral Sector of the City of Turin. The founding members are twelve realities active on local territory, civic associations (i.e. the Citizens Association for the San Salvario Quarter), the Comitati (Splatan Quadrilateral Committee of San Salvario), cooperatives (Cooperativa Sociale Giuliano Accomazzi) and also includes Local parish, SS Parish. Peter and Paul. The aims of the association are to provide additional services to the community by improving the quality of life of Neighborhood residents, with particular attention to the weakest sections of the population (children, elderly people, the immigrants, the carriers of physical and mental discomfort) in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity.

Public Bathrooms of Via Agliè

Public bathrooms of Via Agliè, March 31st, 2017. Source: Elena De Nictolis

The participatory Foundation of Cascina Roccafranca

The Cascina Roccafranca recovery project was born within the framework of the European Urban 2 project The objective of the Urban 2 program was to involve citizens in the design phase of the physical recovery of goods and in the space management phase. Cascina at the time was a property privately owned for social use, which was immediately judged by the municipality to be of great interest, given the interesting position of the Farm and the fact that one of the objectives of the program was the creation Of new centrality, which would favor relations between people. Before purchasing the goods, citizens were involved in a participatory design process. The citizens were then consulted on the destination to be given to the farm. The need for the inhabitants of that area of Turin has become apparent to have a place, which was then designed as a multifunctional center, which combined various social and cultural activities and bands. The City of Turin then proceeded to purchase the property with the European funds of the program and ordered the renovation according to specific criteria: the Cascina is in fact designed to give a feeling to those who go in to find a glass house. Based on the consultation, it turned out that the citizens believed that the Roccafranca farm was a danger for the community, given the severe state of degradation in which the building was poured. The project allowed to recover only part of the farm, the remaining two portions were destined for demolition. The city of Turin, together with the local associations, gave birth to the "Cascina Roccafranca" Foundation for the recovery and management of an ancient farmhouse, transformed into a polyvalent center. The foundation aims to promote self - organization of citizens and is open to the participation of third sector organizations and all citizens who want to contribute to the project. The Statute provides that "The" Cascina Roccafranca "Foundation has the purpose of managing the defined space" Cascina Roccafranca "in order to promote urban management activities that link the Mirafiori district to other institutions and make it possible to experiment with forms of Promotion and social aggregation. The management of the Cascina Roccafranca will have to pay particular attention to the experimentation of integrated solutions that take into account the potentialities and specific needs of the resident population in the area. The Foundation also aims to improve the living conditions of the inhabitants in particular through: a) the construction and improvement of the relationships and modes of aggregation of citizens, of different age groups and social extras. B) the guarantee of access to citizenship rights to all inhabitants of the territory. C) the creation of a place capable of accommodating not only needs and needs but also capacity, ideas, emerging proposals from the population, informal resources present in the territory. D) promoting the creation, within social, health, cultural, educational services present on the territory, of a common working method to always respond effectively to the demands of citizens.

Figure 40 Cascina Roccafranca building_Turin

The Foundation works through co-programming and management of activities that ensure the interaction between public administration in its central and decentralized and private social structures. At the time of asset recovery, it was possible to opt for pure public management or outsource management to an association. The basic need for the choice to fall on the atypical founding instrument was to create a climate of co-responsibility between public and private, in the physical recovery of goods and in local economic and social development (thanks to the foundation Created twenty jobs) and social development. The atypical founding foundation is based on founding members (in this case the founding partner is the only one, the city of Turin) and a college of participants. The commune has assigned the Cascina Roccafranca foundation building free of charge for its entire duration, that is until 2015. Some maintenance costs are borne by the municipality. The technical and administrative staff of Cascina is made up of municipal employees and employees of the Foundation. In addition to the founding partner, the foundation includes participating members who make up the college of participants who can make the foundation a contribution in the form of intangible resources as well. This gives recognition to all those who make a contribution within the foundation, in many cases they are associations that give time and commitment. It is also possible to take part in informal groups, which are not yet constituted; This aspect is novelty because it is not common practice that the public body recognizes as interlocutors of informal groups of citizens. The governing body, the board of directors, consists of five members, three appointed by the founding partner (Councilor for Integration Policies, District Circumstance Two, Member designated for District 2), and two by the College of Participants (the College Is composed of forty five associations and groups operating in the structure). The resources of the Cascina Roccafranca come partly from public funds of the Municipality and the Province of Turin, in part by the contribution of banking

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foundations and self - support (crowdfunding and catering activities, in addition to renting some premises to companies and individuals). An important role within the Farmhouse is played by the operators. The relationship between public and private subjects is almost equal, since the objective is to promote self - organization and participation, so the primary objective of the operators is to accompany citizenship. The Franca rock farm project is a project / container. It is up to the operators and the Council to oversee the boundaries of this container. The Governing Council does not intervene on the individual activities or projects that are proposed by the groups operating within the Cascina. Operators must accept new proposals, accompany projects, and monitor them until they have reached their self-sufficiency. Project management is shared. Some actions must necessarily be carried out by the Foundation; others can be carried out by the citizens autonomously191). In some areas Cascina's activity does not have such a close relationship between the public and private subjects of the foundation. For instance, only the founding members or members of the college of attendees participate in the coursework192. The name of a founder member or member of the College of Participants is not a compulsory credential for carrying out activities within the Farm.

The Mirafiori Community Foundation.

The Mirafiori Neighborhood community in Turin has supported the recent upgrading of the property at the entrance to Parco Colonnetti in Turin. The property had already benefited from recovery operations under the PRU - Urban Reconstruction Program of Via Artom194 (Fioravanti 2014 ; Case del Quartiere 2017). The House in the Park was inaugurated in 2011, thanks to the initiative of the Community Foundation of the Mirafiori district of Turin. The premises of the Mirafiori community foundation in Turin are available to associations and groups of citizens. Part of the House in the Park is dedicated to coworking, open to all associations that need a space to gather and carry on their activities. The structure has become an important aggregation point in a quarter-century characterized by high social complexity such as the Mirafiori neighborhood, and is a place where associations that operate in the territory can meet, creating synergies. The property has been granted to the Community Foundation for seven years, since 2010, with a reduced commercial rent of 90%. The structure, which covers an area of 550 sqm in total, of which 220 sqm is exterior, is managed half by the Mirafiori Community Foundation. The other half of the spaces, which make up the "Locanda nel Parco", is managed by a social cooperative, the Dream of the Knight, and hosts a cafeteria / dining facility. Experiences differ greatly for genesis, the past that have led to rooting and development and management, but retain some common traits. The activities that take place within the Houses of the Quarter are funded by the collaboration of different subjects. Public funding comes from the City of Turin and the District of Reference, a major part of the funds comes from the contribution of the foundations involved. Some role in fundraising is also carried out by self-sustaining activities within the Houses. As can be seen from the analysis of the individual cases, the cafeteria-catering activities and

the availability of some of the properties of the premises assigned to the associations at reduced prices allow the operators to guarantee the sustainability of the project (Ferrero 2012). The Neighborhood houses are all born at different times, sometimes at the end of a journey started years ago, as in the case of the multicultural Hub of Via Cecchi. The City of Turin, from the point of view of creating a network of best practices that would allow to communicate experiences and knowledge, promoted the establishment of a collaborative network between the Houses of the District, together with the Compagnia San Paolo. In this sense, promoter subjects have become the central node of the Neighborhood network of the Houses, in order to manage the relationships that allow these experiences to perpetuate and renew. The management modes are different for each experience (Ferrero 2012). The differences between the forms of management are to be found in the specifics of the project: in some cases, as in the experience of Casa San Salvario, the iter has been very long and saw the establishment of a Local Development Agency, in others Cases have been found a foundation. In some cases the initiative was taken by public institutions, decided to set up an area recovery program, others support for the initiative came from converging on the will of private non-profit private investors, companies carrying out actions Of corporate social responsibility and of public affairs. All Neighborhood houses, except public bathrooms, were not assigned through a public call but through a specific route. As regards the San Salvario house, granted for thirty years by the specially created Local Development Agency, the private lender claimed that there was a guarantee that the concession was at least thirty years old, so that a guarantee would be defined of continuity. In all cases, these are public buildings entrusted to third-party associations with strong roots in the local context. The Commune, the District, the financiers, sit in the "cabin of director" together with the managers (Case del Quartiere 2017). Several solutions have been tried for the realization of the property: in the case of the Hub Cecchi the spaces were assigned to a project leader ONLUS that coordinates many other associations that collaborate in project management, for Spazio 4 an ATS (Temporary Association of Purposes) between associations, for the San Salvario House, a local development agency that groups a number of associations, for public baths a consortium of social cooperatives, for Barrito Temporary Business Association between social cooperatives. For the purpose of this discussion, two are particularly interesting cases, the House in the Park and the Cascina Roccafranca. It was granted by the City of Turin to the Mirafiori Community Foundation, while the Cascina Roccafranca Foundation was established for the management of Cascina Roccafranca, an atypical Foundation in attendance. The nine Houses in the neighborhood, albeit different from each other, share mission and objectives. They are all experiences of promoting social cohesion and integration in multicultural, multiethnic contexts and in some cases with situations of high conflict and social discomfort. The goal is always to foster dialogue and cooperation between institutions and citizens, promoting the self-organization of citizens. The next step should be to create a cabin for the Neighborhood network of the Houses, which operates a network consolidation that has been created over the years and that coordinates activities. The Cascina Roccafranca has promoted a project that goes in

this direction. The Neighborhood house project aims to consolidate the existing network, creating a lifelong learning path, building new networks with the various groups that work in homes to foster the creation of synergies between similar projects.

5.4.2 The Regulation for the collaboration between citizens and the city administration for the care and regeneration of the urban commons. The adaptation in Turin.

As already anticipated in the analysis of the Bologna case study, the City of Bologna has been internationally recognized for this regulation and the successful implementation of these pacts to govern urban commons throughout the City. Since then, several cities adopted the Bologna Regulation (number of cities), making Italy a case study for within country policy transfer analysis. The Turin case study is been selected among the cities that approved the Regulation as the most fruitful process. The Turin City Council approved the Regulation on January 11th of 2016, at the end of the mayoral term of Piero Fassino (City of Turin 2016). The new City Government led by the 5 Star Movement maintained and reinforced the efforts regarding the existing projects on Urban Commons. The mayor Chiara Appendino focused on the co-governance of the urban commons as a key part of his electoral campaign: «we will win whether we will be able to manage the commons, together with citizens» (Gramellini 2016).

In 2016, the Municipality of Turin approved, on the model of the Bologna experience, the Regulation on collaboration between the administration and citizens active in the care, shared management and regeneration of urban common assets. With the Co-City project, promoted by the City, with the University of Turin, the Cascina Roccafranca Foundation (leader of the Neighborhood's Houses Network) and the National Association of Ialian Cities (ANCI), the City aimed at

> testing the Regulation as an instrument of urban regeneration, especially in the most fragile areas of the city. The Co-City project can be interpreted as a real application test for the Regulation. The experimentation concerns both the legal and administrative aspects, and the quality of public urban regeneration policies. The presence of the Neighborhood's Houses Network is, at the same time, the sign of a continuity of the project with processes of participation and active citizenship of long term and the desire to root the processes of urban regeneration starting from the realities already active in the neighborhoods (Interview with Co-City Turin Project Manager, City of Turin, June 9th 2017).

The Turin Regulation took inspiration from the Bologna version although with some peculiar adaptations. Although rich in contents and strongly supported by both the political and administrative power, the policy seemed to be poorly implemented in a first moment. Nineteen months after its approval, only two pacts of collaboration was approved, and five proposals of collaborations were submitted by citizens (Beni Comuni

Torino 2017). Both pacts involves cure of green public spaces, in one cases is a community garden in another case is a pact signed with a single citizen that is committed to contribute to the cleaning (simple activity, with no electronic or mechanical instruments) of some portions of a public park for two years. The City decided to pursue an innovative strategy through EU funds. The Turin Co-City project, in fact, was admitted for funding within the EU Urban Innovative Actions (UIA) program, part of the Regional Development Fund. The project is carried out through a partnership with the Computer Science Department of the University of Turin, the National Association of Municipalities (ANCI) and the Cascina Roccafranca Foundation (Comune Torino 2017) the efforts of different urban actors in promoting the implementation of the Turin Regulation.

5.4.3 Analysis

The City of Turin issued a Public Notice that invite citizens to send project proposals, whose must address one of the three issues identified by the project: 1) Peripheries and urban cultures (1.100.000 euros for realizing the projects) 2) Underutilized infrastructures for public services. (850.000 euros for the regeneration activities, of which 350 are for projects addressing schools. 3) Cure of public space (100.000 euros for the regeneration activities). A total of 2.050.000 euros are invested in the project by the City. Those funds are entirely EU financial funds coming from the UIA program. There are no civic or private financial resources invested in the pacts of collaboration.

Urban institutional level and catchment area. The Neighborhood houses networks as key governance facilitators.

In the case of the implementation of the Regulation for the urban commons in Turin, the City relied massively upon the Neighborhood Houses Network. The Neighborhood Houses provided support to the civic actors that wanted to prepare a proposal, or wanted to turn the project they are already carrying out on an urban commons into a structured project to get access to funding and turn the project into a concrete opportunity of social and economic integration of the participants providing them with a job and socialization opportunities.
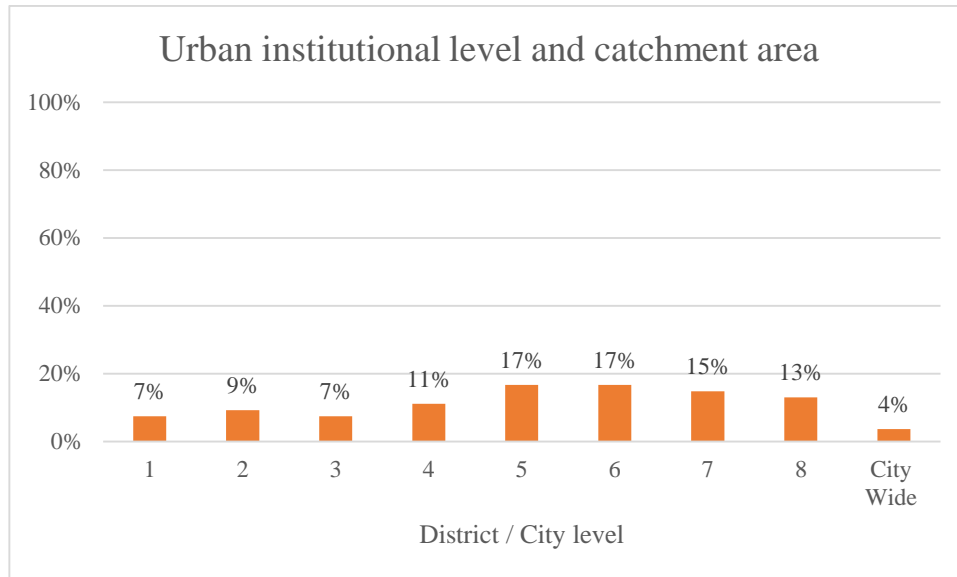
Figure 41 Urban institutional level and catchment area_Turin (Code frequency calculated on VA 54)

Public-civic partnership

The prevalence of the proposals comes from NGOs (n. 35), with a small group of proposals coming from civic/social innovators (single citizens, informal groups: n.10) one pact proposed by a knowledge actor and two pacts proposed by a mixed partnership of NGOs and civic/social innovators. The distribution of the type of partnership in the pacts' proposals foresees a large majority of bilateral pact (n. 29), with a medium proportion of multilateral / mono-stakeholder partnership (n. 16), and two multilateral / mono-stakeholder partnership.

> The Co-City project is focused on public spaces and buildings because the idea was to start from the identification of places as a platform to reverse the negative spiral we were talking about before between urban decay and trust in institutions. The work on public open spaces is less complex than the co-management of a building and then the city is full of open spaces that can be the object of care, supervision, small maintenance. I think this is a possible explanation of the increased presence of proposals concerning gardens and public areas. But at the moment, in Co-City, we are also working on five buildings (Interview with the Co-City Turin project manager, City of Turin, June 9th 2017).

The type of intervention is equally distributed between the four types of intervention that the Regulation foresees: short term cure and long term cure (n. 27) co-management (n. 10) and regeneration (n. 19). When we observe the type of intervention that addresses public buildings and those addressing urban public space, such as green spaces or a blighted public space surrounding a dismissed building, we notice a discreet proportion

of regeneration intervention addressing buildings (n. 18) while the prevalence, when not the whole amount, of short term and long term cure intervention addresses the public urban space (n. 38).
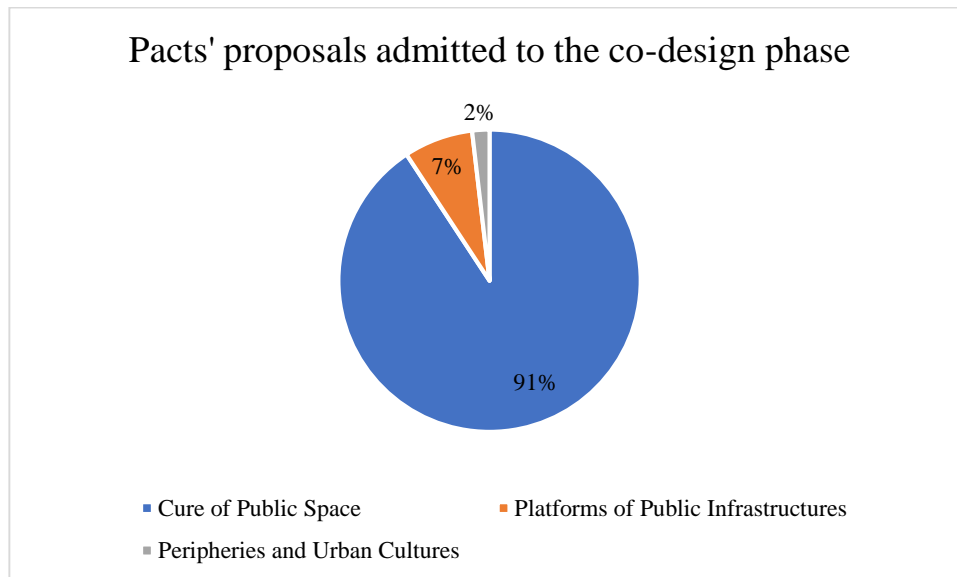

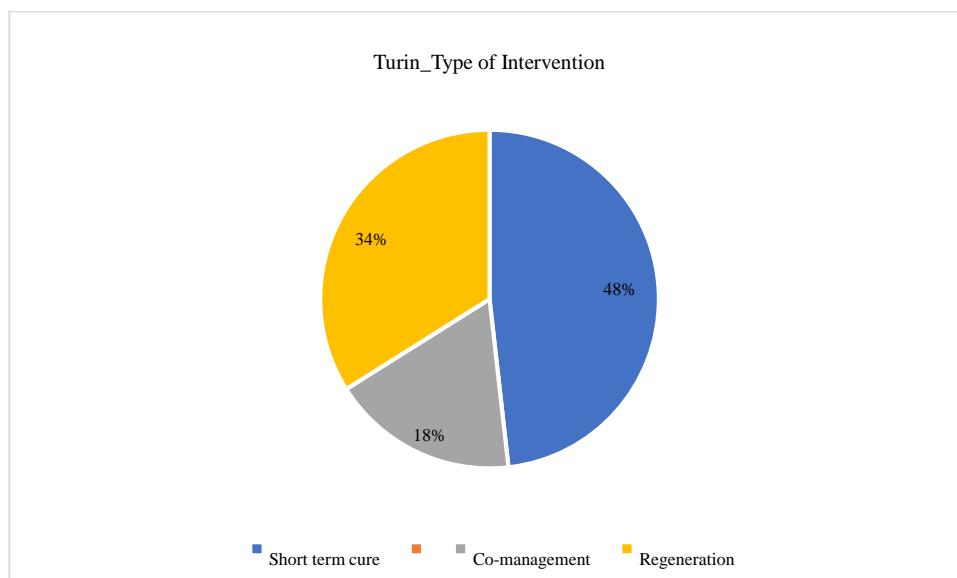*Figure 42 Pacts proposals admitted to the co-design phase_Turin*

Figure 43 Type of intervention (Code frequency calculated on VA 56)
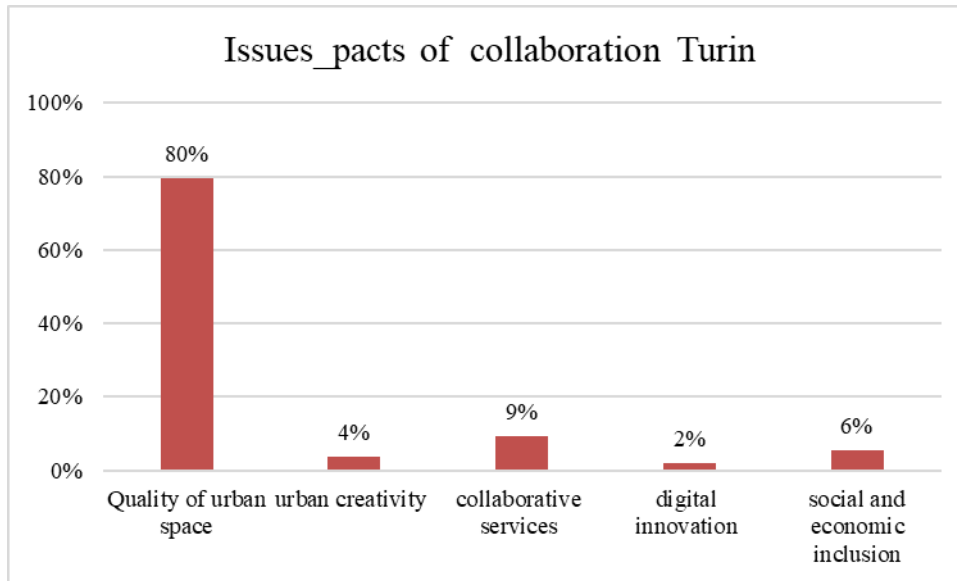
Figure 44 Object of intervention_Turin

The pacts are mainly focused on addressing the goal of improving the quality of urban space, mainly through intervention of cure or co-management of urban green areas or dismissed buildings. Those pacts are quantitatively concentrated in the Category C "Cure of Public Space", but the implementation of the Regulation in Turin also stimulated buildings' regeneration processes of a very high complexity. The projects are aimed at creating good quality jobs for the civic actors involved in the drafting of the projects (social cooperatives involving vulnerable subjects including migrants) and at offering collaborative services to the neighborhoods. The services produced belong to a wide variety of categories: co-housing, social inclusion of cultural and linguistic minorities such as Roma communities; sharing and collaborative economy circuits built around sport activities, bike sharing services, education and cultural/artistic activities and urban gardening in dismissed buildings. None of the pacts addressed issues related to technological or digital innovation because the City did not invite specifically proposals that goes in this direction. Urban creativity is a goal addressed by a small number of proposals that provide the organization of artistic events, creation of co-working focused on artistic creativity and a project aimed at reinforcing urban cultural tradition.

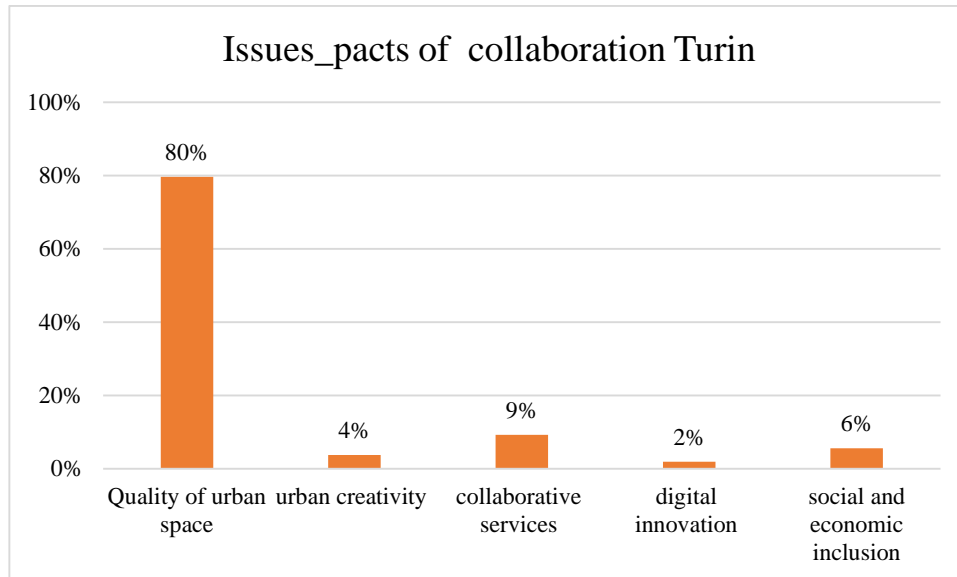**Issues_pacts of collaboration Turin**

Figure 45 Issues pacts of collaboration_Turin

The City of Turin is experimenting with a collaborative way of implementing complex urban regeneration of assets (the total amount of EU UIA funding allocated for the regeneration works is 2.050.000 euros) that involves civic actors or social economy actors since the beginning of the process. This approach entails the sharing of decision making power and grant autonomy while also promoting sustainability of the projects realized and it is aimed at developing a collaborative, instead of a competitive environment between the organized social sector of the city, private and civic actors:

> At the core of our experience is the willingness to experiment a collaborative rather than a competitive approach. The basic idea is that competition, the search for the best offer on the market is not the only tool available to build urban regeneration practices (Interview with the Co-City Turin project manager, City of Turin, June 9th 2017).

Although the project is still in its initial phase of implementation (the co-design process just started), the first evidences seems to suggest that the attempt to build a polycentric governance based not only on the sharing of the duties of management, but also on the sharing of the output produced and the risks associated (Iaione 2018) is going in the right direction:

> The interesting thing is that we have found a third sector available to deal with this type of innovation, to cope with the fact that when we formulate a proposal for collaboration we do not keep it closed in the office to protect fair competition, as would normally happen in a public tender, but we publish it on the City platform, to see if anyone may be interested in collaborating with that proposal. I think this approach can also be grasped as an opportunity for the world of social enterprise, especially in a moment like this one of serious economic crisis. A similar argument concerns the regulatory

mechanism for the granting of public-owned buildings. While the concession, guarantees a wide margin of operational autonomy to the concessionaire, the collaboration pact implies a transfer of sovereignty from both pacts' signatories and a new attitude oriented towards co-management (Interview with the Co-City Turin project manager, City of Turin, June 9th 2017).

5.4.4 Conclusions

The analysis of the case of Turin is an exemplary contribution in the national context of an approach focused on the creation of a policy environment stimulating co-governance of the urban commons as a means to address urban poverty and thus increase equality in the city. Urban regeneration is thus addressed as a platform for achieving greater equality in urban contexts, also stimulating the development of social innovations and civic entrepreneurship as a key trigger for the projects that would be realized under the umbrella of the urban commons policies.

Chapter VI. General Conclusions

An increasing interest in the issue of urban commons generated a literature related to the analysis of strategies for sharing resources (spaces, assets, skills) and co-producing services of general interest in the city. Research efforts are mainly devoted to the understanding of the process behind activation of collective action for the urban commons and the mechanism of self – governance carried out by NGOs or urban social movements. Although we can observe serious research efforts for analyzing and assessing policy strategies for active citizenship, collaborative democracy, and governance of the city commons a comprehensive analytical framework and empirical efforts to describe the phenomenon and his implications for democratic quality and inequality in cities are lacking. Research efforts focused on exemplary cases of commons-oriented policies. This is the case of Barcelona, with the government led by *Barcelona en Comu* that is providing a radical approach toward the urban commons. It is also the case of New York City, where we can observe radical experimentation (both community-led projects and public policies) aimed at promoting an equal access to key urban resources, services, infrastructures that guarantee fundamental rights in the city. Some examples are affordable housing, with the recent Community Land Trust program; permanent affordability of urban land and commercial spaces for low income people with the Real Estate Development Cooperative; good quality green spaces in blighted areas, with the Green Thumb program; access to digital infrastructure in deprived areas, with the Red Hook Wi-Fi initiative or the Silicon Harlem initiative. Italian cities offer a subset of exemplary case studies.

The notable the case of Bologna, where the City issued a specific regulation that achieved a great success and is generating a phenomenon of within-country policy mobility without the intervention of a national or European standardized legal framework. The case of Naples, where the City recognized informal management emerging from illegal occupations of city owned buildings as commons (Mattei & Quarta 2015; Punziano 2016; Iaione 2017; Micciarelly 2017; Masella 2018) and implemented a policy strategy aimed at promoting the collective action for city assets by unorganized city inhabitants and urban social movements/NGOs. Those policies provide attempt of stimulating active citizenship, enabling of self-governance of the commons, configuring forms of co-governance. Given the increasing importance that cities are acquiring at the national and global level from the economic, social and political standpoint one the one hand and the increasing number of cities that are promoting policy and democratic innovations in this direction on the other hand, it is extremely relevant to provide a comprehensive empirical account of these phenomena and understanding how they vary across urban context. This dissertation intends to verify whether these hybrid urban co-governance spaces entails the dimensions of participation and equality and understanding his implications for democratic qualities and/or reduction of inequalities.

This work thus focuses on the analysis of hybrid spaces (Cornwall 2004) of co-governance of urban commons in a set of Italian cities, considering both public policies and innovative institutional-led process promoted at the urban level, where the institutions act as an enabling actor, and community-led practices conceptualized as claimed spaces (Gaventa 2006) where civic actors takes a proactive role. The analysis of the cases in a comparative perspective is focused on highlighting the process of institutional genesis, stressing the features of integration between them, and how those processes have different capacity in terms of qualities of democracy such as participation and equality/solidarity (Morlino 2011).

In the introduction the research question, the methodology and the structure of the work is outlined. In chapter I the concepts, theories and research challenges regarding the commons and collaborative governance are introduced. The first chapter defines the boundaries of the object of study of this work. Chapter II is focused on a review of the literature on cities. The chapter offer a rough and not exhaustive trans-disciplinary overview on the perspectives on cities provided by the most influential 20th century urban theorists and the urban "models" or "visions" that they produced. The chapter II will focus on different "urban model" emerging from a transdisciplinary literature review, in order to position the approach and object of study adopted in this work with similar although distinct research efforts, such as the study of the smart city. The chapter explains how every normative urban model can be used to study and explain the functioning of urban co-governance, although the feature embodied by urban ecology and the right to the city and the Co-City approach are the most appropriate for the purpose of this work. Chapter III introduces and justify with literature the empirical dimensions of urban co-governance and their operationalization, ultimately presenting the Codebook used to analyze the data. The chapter includes a presentation and rough overview on the case studies. Chapter IV and V focus on the analysis of the case studies. The chapters present an analysis of cases in Italian cities selected as exemplary case studies and analyzed from the standpoint of their internal dimension. The chapters provide both a descriptive qualitative analysis of the genesis of the policies/projects and its main features and then present the result of the analysis according to the empirical dimensions of urban co-governance.

Chapter IV analyzes of the Case of Bologna, used as exemplary case study of co-governance of the commons in the Italian context. In the case of Bologna, that is a leading example for the regulation of the urban commons in Italy and generated a phenomenon of within – country policy mobility, we saw the policy path implemented an incremental approach toward the institutionalization of the urban commons aimed at promoting and institutionalizing civic collaboration of the commons. The results are impressive in terms of quantitative participation although it is concentrated in certain cities' areas and object of actions. The goal of achieving social and economic equality through a commons oriented governance of urban assets and infrastructures is less pronounced, while the increase of social capital and the strengthening of the relational capacity of the civic actor

in the city, along with the involvement of private social actors to sustain urban regeneration processes is the main goal pursued.

Chapter V analyzes the other case studies: Milan, Naples, Rome and Turin. The case of Milan and Naples embody three exemplary approaches where the City has a key role of enabler of processes of self-governance. The ecosystem of policies and practices emerged in the City of Naples promotes a form of co-governance of the urban commons representing an empirical manifestation of a rebel city (Harvey 2012). The analysis offers some points of reflection over the way in which such model can help us understand the dynamic and controversial aspects of urban co-governance applied to the urban commons conceptualized as urban public space and urban asset (i.e. buildings or big construction complexes) which makes this case a useful terrain for comparison with the case of Bologna, Milan and Turin and the urban public services (in this case, water) conceptualized as commons. The first observation that we can raise is on the role of formal participatory governance (Deputy Mayor for the commons, Deliberative Laboratory) as a first step toward the facilitation of collective action for the urban commons. What is also relevant is the output of urban co-governance in terms of building a connection between the commons and human rights, absent in the other cases. It emerges a conceptualization of the city the space where the realization of human rights is possible whether resources are governed as commons. There is a proactive role of the city that only intervenes when civic actors already implemented an informal management scheme. This result in granting autonomy to city inhabitants but raises questions of inclusiveness. Formal inclusiveness is warranted by the democratic check of the city but substantially it is left to the social movements to provide substantial warranties for making this spaces inclusive. More research is needed in order to provide a more robust assessment. The case of Milan embodies an approach that stress the capacity of developing social innovation networks and urban collaborative economies around the commons. The case of Naples is an exemplary case of a radical approach toward the commons that resulted in an expansion of the democratic and inclusive capacity of urban communities and an informalization of the public administration. The case of the experimentation of Rome raises the attention on the emerging relevance, in this kind of processes, of the role of social and economic sustainability mechanisms to ensure the activation of co-governance schemes for the commons. The case of Turin ultimately represents examples of the role of an external actor the EU, in shaping urban co-governance in the City. This led to overcoming a strategy centered on a certain legal or policy tools and focus more on building a methodologically robust process to enable a model of co-governance of the commons aimed at fighting against poverty in the City. The different dimensions of co-governance are implemented with different degrees of intensity in the cities under analysis. The dimension of sharing is strong in the case of Bologna; collaboration is strong in all cases, although with different qualities: in Bologna and Turin we can observe the involvement of a wide variety of urban actors including entrepreneurial and private economic actors while in Rome and Naples there is a scope

of improvement regarding the partnership enlargement. In all cases, the implementation of multi-lateral partnerships where different types of actors to achieve complex goals and thus the dimension of polycentrism is an open challenge, although Turin and Naples are experimenting solutions to cope with this issue Although within the framework of bilateral partnership signed primarly with NGOs, the City of Bologna is the city that most expanded its capacity of stimulating the collaboration of different types of urban actors for the commons. All cities addresses issues of social inclusion and economic equality through the urban commons, with direct or indirect means. The City where this approach is more pronounced is that of Turin, where urban commons are used as a platform to fight against poverty in the City. The analysis ultimately allows us to improve the operationalization of urban co-governance as a dimension shaped by the acknowledgement of the proactive features of urban communities and the redistribution and growth capacity of an urban inclusive development based on the commons under conditions of sustainability.

6.1. Future research perspectives

This leads toward the definition of a research hypothesis to be investigated in future research, that the dynamism of the dimension of urban co-governance or enabling state and the impact of this the relevant democratic dimensions depends on two triggering/driving variables: a variable of urban institutional capacity and a variable of urban civic entrepreneurship. This work does not represent an exhaustive assessment and does not provide all the answers to the ambitious research questions it poses. It just aims at laying the foundation for the identification and operationalization of the empirical dimension of urban co- governance applied to the commons and urban services through innovative policies. A comparison between the policy instruments and strategies carried out in the different cities allow the creation of a co-governance gradient, where we situate cities according to the degree of intensity of the dimensions resulting by the different approaches embodied.

The conclusion of this dissertation ultimately raises a set of issues. To address the issues raised by the result of this research path, a new set of research questions must be formulated:

-   what are the main characteristic of urban regulations and community spaces designed to foster forms of active citizenship, collaborative democracy and governance of city commons, and how they vary across cities, including global cities, metropolitan cities and metro-regions, along with functional or institutional agglomeration of cities?

-   is it possible to observe connections and implications of said city governance innovations, through the lenses of democratic quality studies, with the procedural

dimension of the rule of law and the substantive dimension of social and economic equality in cities?

6.2 Four models of urban co-governance emerging by the empirical findings of Italian cities: policy learning within the City and policy mobility within Cities.

The first conclusion of this work emerges from the awareness that there is a high degree of differentiations between the hybrid spaces of urban co-governance analyzed in Italian cities. This very same goal is implemented by cities through different approaches. In a certain way, this can be interpreted as a way of implementing the constitutional principle of differentiation and autonomy. The absence of a national framework or regional laws regulating the phenomenon gave cities (both public administration and city inhabitants) the chance to be creative and adopt governance strategies and policy tools that have the ambition to be adapted to the specific context. This conclusion raises several questions and calls for the need of robust comparative research to identify patterns and common factors between the cases.

The analysis allows us to draw some preliminary conclusion on urban co-governance and to observe different models emerging. The evolution that followed the Regulation in the context of the policy path followed by the city of Bologna consists in the combination of a deliberative process in city Neighborhood to identify the priorities for each area (*Collaborare è Bologna* 2015) the creation of the Office for Civic Imagination (Urban Center Bologna 2017) and finally the participatory budget (City of Bologna 2017) represent a peculiar milestone of the collaborative policy ecosystem implemented by the City since 2014. The City of Bologna started in fact to deliberate about this issue in 2015 in order to access to regional level funds. The participatory budget implemented by the City of Bologna is the last step of the policy path pursued by the City of Bologna toward regulation of the urban commons. This overview on the pat followed by the city allow us to understand the most updated part of what can be analyzed as an incremental model of policy making (Lindblom 1958; Morlino et al. 2017) that implemented processes designed as policy democratic experiments (Ansell 2012; Howlett 2014) through which the Bologna policy makers have experimented with several means to innovate participatory policies, making them converge toward the urban commons and collaborative economy. The first step of this path, the Regulation for the urban commons, was aimed at structuring opportunities for collaboration between the state and civic actors (single citizens, informal groups and NGOs, businesses, cultural and private foundations) in the governance of the urban commons. The analysis of the pacts signed since the approval of the Regulation (2014-2016, n. 280) reveals that, although citizen participation is very high, the promotion of public-private-civic partnership, that aggregate forces and share duties and responsibilities for the co-governance of the commons is still an open challenge.

The analysis of the issues promoted by the pacts shows that the majority of pacts focused on the improvement of the quality and accessibility of urban commons (mainly public space) itself, while the structuring of social and economic opportunity (social innovations, inclusions of vulnerable groups, collaborative services) through the co-management or regeneration of the urban commons is less implemented. The analysis shows that the city aims at providing a structured, affirmative and institutionalized path for supporting civic activities for the commons in close collaboration with the city, that resulted in the realization of a large amount of projects, with a small amount represented by complex intervention that aims at having an impact on equality in the city. Several authors analyzed the case of the Bologna Regulation. The current academic debate on this case study seems to be dominated by legal analysis, in particular public and private law scholars providing different interpretation. For Mattei and Quarta it represents a paternalistic strategy of the public institutions to prevent and control the affirmative action of social movements that struggle against privatization of urban public goods. Foster and Iaione (2016) are instead more interested in analysing the governance structure provided by the Regulation and how it might be possible to imagine other institutional and legal innovations enabling the governance of the whole city as a commons.

The case of Bologna mainly attracted the attention of legal scholars, both at the Italian and international academic level, although it was analyzed also in different disciplines, such as in sociology. Pierre Sauvetre (2015) analyzed the case of Bologna and Naples using a comparative approach from a sociological perspective. A recent contribution by administrative law scholar Fidone (2017) analyzed the Bologna experience investigating the issues of property law that it raises, trying to understand what kind of property can be envisaged for the commons. Administrative law scholars (Arena & Iaione 2012) advanced the theory of shared administration, that provides the design of a model of shared administration of the commons based on the principle of horizontal subsidiarity (Italian Constitution, art. 118, par. 4) that could be replicated in different cities. The Regulation had in fact a great success in the Italian urban policy making arena and is been adopted by more that 112 cities, therefore constituting an interesting case of within – country policy mobility, that will be analyzed in future work of the author of this dissertation, in order to expand the analysis of how this policy and the policy tools were implemented in different urban context in Italy and how the contextual factors (related to the socio-demographic-economic profile of the City and related to the political variable) influence the output, also considering that in 2017 the Regulation was approved also by other metropolitan cities such as Florence and is entering a process of approval also in big cities such as Milan.

It could thus be of a great interest to understand how the contextual factors related to the socio-economic indicators of the City and political indicators influence the policy formulation and implementation and what whether is possible to measure a process of policy learning (Dunlop, 2017) of two types: social learning, involving different types of

actors from inside and outside governments and existing policy subsystem, in this case the different actors involved in an urban co-governance system) and government learning, that involves reviews of program behavior by government actors and is aimed at improving the means by which certain policies are administered (Wu & al. 2018, 132-135). This conclusion seems to mirror one of the main empirical findings of Ostrom research, the importance of institutional diversity (Ostrom 2009; Vitale 2010). Although, the role of the State. But is actually not just the State, more the role of the public administration. Which is why we need to better investigate the rule of law, in order to understand what are the conditions that influence the outcome in terms of institutional capacity.

6.3. Investigating the rule of law.

Research on the urban commons from an institutional perspective (Foster 2011, Iaione 2012, 2015) and on cases such as Bologna or Nales shed light on the role of local government. This approach contributes to transforming citizens' participation (Arnstein 1969) into the design principle of co-governance (Kooiman 2003, 96-112; Ansell & Gah 2008; Bingham 2009) operationalized at the urban level. Urban co-governance might have numerous manifestations (*i.e.* shared, collaborative, cooperative, polycentric governance) and mechanisms (Iaione 2016). A focus on the latter is needed, since there is a lack of theoretical and empirical knowledge. The issue of the connection between this innovative local governance tools and dimensions of democratic qualities, particularly equality/solidarity is in fact an under-developed object of studies (Gelli & Morlino 2011). The city as a commons/co-city framework advanced by Foster and Iaione (2016) also on the basis of the ground-breaking experience of the Bologna regulation proposes a theory on the governance of the urban commons and the city as a commons and how this would envisage a form of collaborative democracy and contribute to more fair and democratic cities. The dimensions of democratic quality (Morlino 2011) from which to start in order to measure an impact of such urban policies are the rule of law (operationalized through indicators that measure the capacity of institutions to produce and implement quality legislation, and the presence of an efficient municipal bureaucracy) and equality/solidarity (measured through the creation of public-private-community partnership around urban commons and the trigger of a community-led development and collaborative/cooperative institutions creating job and economic opportunities). Given the scarsity of data and researches in this issue and the lack of a shared understanding of the operationalization of dimensions of democratic quality at the urban level, the study of this issue would require both descriptive and analytical research efforts.

The complexity and novelty of the research question that this project foresees would require an innovative research approach, aimed at combining a strong conceptual framework with empirical observations coming from applied, action-based research and the use of transdisciplinary analytical tools. The project I wish to develop in order to

contribute to the research objectives that this work poses would start from the operationalization of the framework on the Co-City (Foster & Iaione 2016; Iaione, 2016) and in particular the five design principles for the city as a commons (Foster & Iaione, 2017) which articulate the types of conditions and factors that instantiate the city as a collaborative space in which various forms of urban commons emerge and are sustainable. The aim is to strengthen their operationalization in empirical terms, which will allow them to be measured and tested and to acquire a stronger explanatory power regarding the complex phenomena they are describing. The five design principles are able to measure several dimensions of the policies object of study, including measurement of indicators related to the rule of law and equality, operationalized for the need of this research project. The principles of "Collective governance", which refers to "the presence of a multi-stakeholder governance scheme whereby the community emerges as an actor and partners up with at least three different urban actors" can be conceived as a principle aimed at measuring the design dimension of the co-governance partnership implemented; The Principle 2: "Enabling State" which "expresses the role of the State in facilitating the creation of urban commons and supporting collective action arrangements for the management and sustainability of the urban commons" together with Principle 4: "Experimentalism is the presence of an adaptive and iterative approach to designing the legal processes and institutions that govern urban commons are principles that can be operationalized in order to measure the changes occurred in the city bureaucracy for implementing a collaborative mode of governance and also the institutional and administrative capacity to formulate and implement the policy. The Principle 3 "Social and Economic Pooling" refers to the presence of different forms of resource pooling and cooperation between five possible actors in the urban environment and it can thus be operationalized, together with Principle 5 "Tech Justice" which highlights access to technology, the presence of digital infrastructure, and open data protocols as an enabling driver of collaboration and the creation of urban commons in order to measure equality as an outcome of the policy processes analyzed. Another key aspect of the research program would be the part that requires the development of innovative methodological approaches for action-based research. A literature review, in the first part of the project, will be realized for this purpose and the methodological innovations developed will be tested for the preparation of the case studies, the Co-Cities profiles. The review will be directed at providing a comprehensive account of innovative experimental and field will result in an updating of the methodologies adopted in different disciplinary action-based approaches that study the city (i.e., among the others, innovative ethnographic approaches, Font et al. 2012, urban living lab methodology, infra-labs methodology, design experiment; Bakker & Denters 2012; Stoker & John 2009) and the study of the commons (i.e. participatory action research/community based participatory/action research, Poteete & Ostrom, 2004). This review will be aimed at updating the set of methods already adopted to study policies for the commons in the city or to study the "co-city" and carve forms of participatory observation, action-based research that will be tested and refined.

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