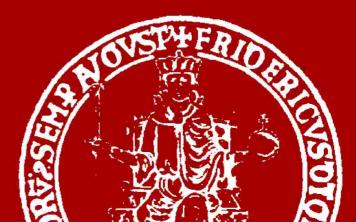


Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II

19 numero 2 anno 2019





19 numero 2 anno 2019

New Green Deal: Towards Ecological and Human-centred Urban Development Strategies





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Direttore responsabile: Luigi Fusco Girard BDC - Bollettino del Centro Calza Bini - Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II Registrazione: Cancelleria del Tribunale di Napoli, n. 5144, 06.09.2000 BDC è pubblicato da FedOAPress (Federico II Open Access Press) e realizzato con Open Journal System

Print ISSN 1121-2918, electronic ISSN 2284-4732

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TOWARDS A CIRCULAR GOVERNANCE FOR THE ADAPTIVE REUSE OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

Martina Bosone, Serena Micheletti, Antonia Gravagnuolo, Cristina Garzillo, Allison Wildman

Abstract

The adaptive reuse of abandoned cultural heritage assets can be seen as a regenerative process, which turns "wastescapes" into attractive places. Processes of urban transformation implemented by citizens represent cultural practices in which individuals are producers, and not only consumers, of cultural meanings. The renewed relationship between people and places through coordinated collective action becomes particularly relevant in the adaptive reuse of cultural heritage. This paper aims to investigate how "circular governance" can be interpreted and implemented in urban regeneration strategies aimed at "human-centred" circular development. Through case studies examples, the role of citizens-led initiatives in cultural heritage adaptive reuse is explored to identify common elements useful to draft a definition of circular governance and provide guidelines for policy makers.

Keywords: common goods, circular governance, Cultural heritage adaptive reuse

VERSO UNA GOVERNANCE CIRCOLARE PER IL RIUSO ADATTIVO DEL PATRIMONIO CULTURALE

Sommario

Il riuso adattivo dei beni culturali abbandonati può essere visto come un processo rigenerativo, che trasforma i "paesaggi di scarto" in luoghi attrattivi. I processi di trasformazione urbana condotti da cittadini rappresentano pratiche culturali in cui gli individui sono produttori, e non solo consumatori, di significati culturali. Il rinnovato rapporto tra persone e luoghi attraverso un'azione collettiva coordinata diventa particolarmente rilevante nel riuso adattivo del patrimonio culturale. Questo documento si propone di indagare come la "governance circolare" possa essere interpretata e attuata nelle strategie di rigenerazione urbana finalizzate ad uno sviluppo circolare "human-centred". Attraverso esempi di casi studio, viene esplorato il ruolo delle iniziative guidate dai cittadini nel riuso adattivo del patrimonio culturale, al fine di individuare elementi comuni utili per elaborare una definizione di governance circolare e fornire linee guida per i decisori politici.

Parole chiave: beni comuni, governance circolare, Riuso adattivo del patrimonio culturale

1. Introduction

In many cities, "common goods" are at the centre of the Urban Agendas. Citizens are taking an active role to regenerate and enhance public spaces, green urban areas and abandoned buildings. The role of public administrations is changing, also driven by "urban regeneration" experts, with the various urban laboratories and networks on common goods created in recent years. Collaboration is a fundamental element of this process. At European level, practices of participatory governance of cultural heritage have been analysed as a result of the "European Year of Cultural Heritage 2018", providing guidelines to policy makers (European Union, 2018). In Italy, collaboration models between public administrations and citizens are encouraged and promoted by Article 118 of the Constitution, which highlights the principle of subsidiarity: it stimulates active citizens to take care of common goods and public authorities to encourage citizens-led initiatives through bottom-up urban regeneration processes.

The processes of urban transformation implemented by citizens can be considered as cultural practices in which individuals are producers, and not only consumers, of cultural meanings that drive change. In this perspective, the "Culture 3.0" approach (Sacco, 2011), in which the border between users and producers of culture becomes increasingly blurred, can be extended to landscape/cultural heritage, whose project is a cultural project characterized by the integration of architecture and landscape in a systemic approach (Onesti and Bosone, 2017). In this process, the recovery of physical spaces through collective actions stimulates the creativity of residents, enhancing their critical thinking, open-mindedness and planning ability, rebuilding their relationships both with other people and with the environment and landscape in which they live (Onesti, 2017).

The need to take care of places recognized as identities actually coincides with the need to fill the cultural void that has progressively driven people away from the places where they live. This is the reason why the physical and social dimensions are closely connected. In the physical dimension, communities develop their convivial dimension in which are enlivened social cohesion and the sharing of values. The physical re-appropriation of a place through 'care' actions based on collaboration and sharing, has a social as well as a physical value as it expresses the will to rebuild the community's sense of identity and belonging, reconstituting itself as a "Heritage Community" (Council of Europe, 2005a; Landry, 2009; Fairclough et al., 2014). In the physical dimension, social cohesion and the sharing of values are renewed. Therefore, the recovery of the built environment seems to be the basis for implementing new models of cooperative management, as a "third way" that overcomes conflicts between public and private interests (Ostrom, 1990; Bertacchini et al., 2012). From the knowledge phase to the design phase, up to implementation and monitoring, the recovery of the built environment becomes an essential action for community involvement (Onesti and Bosone, 2017), as it is a process «that increases the ability of individuals or groups to make decisions and turn these choices into desired actions and effects» (Gibson and Woolcock, 2005, p. 2; Alsop et al., 2005, p.1). In the light of the interaction between the physical system and the social system, it is necessary to recompose a balance between the ability to innovate and build new values and the ability to preserve specific identities, according to an evolutionary continuity (Tagliagambe, 1998).

The key role of heritage in sustainable development (Council of Europe, 2009) becomes one of the element able to activate and spread virtuous processes through the active involvement of local communities. The extension of the responsibility for the protection of this heritage

to all community members, raises an even more important question about the role that each actor should play in these processes (Council of Europe, 2009), highlighting the superiority of the social utility of the heritage over that the individual one (Fairclough *et al.*, 2014).

This renewed relationship between people and places allows to consider cultural heritage as "common good" because it is no longer a place of mere cultural enjoyment but the living space of the community (Council of Europe, 2005a; Fairclough *et al.*, 2014) and the "glue values" of local communities (Turner, 2001).

The understanding of this dynamic becomes important in order to restore quality and identity to degraded landscapes and to stimulate the construction of new belonging connections of communities to their site.

In this perspective, the adaptive reuse of abandoned cultural heritage assets can be seen as a regenerative process, which turns "wastescapes" into new attractive places. It changes the urban landscape generating new aesthetic, social, cultural values, as well as environmental regeneration through, for example, retrofitting, renewable energy upgrades and "nature-based" solutions. The new attractiveness of adaptively reused cultural heritage assets can generate also net positive economic impacts (CHCfE, 2015) through localization choices of new residents, commercial activities, cultural and creative workers and innovative entrepreneurs, driven by the 'liveliness' of the regenerated urban area and its peculiar character linked to the unique cultural heritage.

Making a better use of abandoned and underused cultural heritage assets as key resources for sustainable urban development can be interpreted as an effective "circular city" strategy (Gravagnuolo *et al.*, 2019). Cities are implementing circular economy models to reduce waste of resources, raw materials extraction, fossil-fuel energy and freshwater consumption, using nature-based solutions to make cities more green, liveable and healthy. However, before being urban systems that need to work in a more efficient way, cities are first of all a "cultural project" of their citizens. Therefore, the cultural capital of the city, expressed in its tangible and intangible cultural heritage, should be a central element of circular city regeneration models, introducing the "human-centred" dimension in circular economy strategies. Cultural, social, environmental, and man-made capital are interconnected within this circular "human-centred" city strategy.

Circular cities need a "circular governance" (Partnership Circular Economy of the Urban Agenda for the EU, 2018; World Economic Forum, 2018) which is based on responsible procurement, but also on the effective engagement of stakeholders and citizens to transition towards a sustainable urban future.

This paper aims to investigate how "circular governance" can be interpreted and implemented in cities that aim to regenerate abandoned cultural heritage and landscape as key resources of a circular "human-centred" development. Through different Italian and European case studies examples, the role of citizens-led initiatives in cultural heritage adaptive reuse is explored, in order to identify common elements useful to draft a definition of circular governance and provide guidelines for policy makers.

The following Section 2 describes the state-of-the-art of laws and regulations for the "shared management" of cultural heritage, and explores citizens-led urban initiatives from a "common goods" governance perspective. This Section examines the emerging "Regulations for the Shared Management of Common Goods" and the "Collaboration Pacts" linked to them, with explorative cases in Italy, as well as the potential role of the "Heritage Community" as defined by the "Faro Convention" (Council of Europe, 2005a). Section 3

presents a selection of specific case studies of cultural heritage adaptive reuse in Europe and beyond: New Bazaar, Tirana, Albania; The Young Project, Montreal, Canada; Victoria Baths, Manchester, United Kingdom. In Section 4, a definition of circular governance through a "community custodian model" for cultural heritage adaptive reuse is drafted. Section 5 presents an applicative case study of circular governance for cultural heritage adaptive reuse in Salerno, Italy, focusing on the ongoing participatory process for the adaptive reuse of abandoned cultural heritage, involving citizens and local stakeholders. Finally, Section 6 discusses the results and drafts conclusions for further research.

2. Which instruments for a "circular governance"?

2.1. The "Regulations for the Shared Management of Common Goods" and the "Collaboration Pacts" in Italy

The "Regulations for the Shared Management of Common Goods" have already been adopted in many cities in Italy and many administrations have started the approval process. It represents a new "hybrid" regulatory process pledged by the municipality that enables citizens to "take care" of public and private spaces as "common goods", ensuring places to remain clean, well maintained, liveable and in use leveraging the voluntary efforts of citizens, and thus overcoming the limitation of resources of local public administrations.

Started within the municipal level, the "Regulations for the Shared Management of Common Goods" are more recently crossing the boundaries of its application, opening up to new experiments based on Unions between several municipalities or on an administrative-territorial level of wider area.

Labsus is the association active in Italy that first formalized a "Regulation for the Shared Management of Common Goods". Labsus is the acronym of the "Laboratory for Subsidiarity", a cultural association founded in 2005 by volunteers and civil society, with the aim of promoting the implementation of the principle of subsidiarity (see §2), enshrined in Italian Constitution in art. 118. Labsus constitutes the most complete database existing today in Italy on the issues of subsidiarity, active citizenship, common goods and participatory and deliberative democracy.

One of the most important initiatives carried out by Labsus has been the drafting, together with the Municipality of Bologna, of a standard municipal regulation entitled "Regulation on Collaboration between Citizens and Administration for the Care and Regeneration of Urban Common Goods". On 22 February 2014 the text was officially presented in Bologna, the first Italian municipality that approved it and made it available to all municipalities with the possibility to adapt it to their needs and characteristics. Since then, more than 200 municipalities have adopted the Regulation or are in the process of adopting it, with an estimated total involvement of 800,000 people (Labsus, 2019).

In addition to this important "heritage of experimentation", there are other concrete experiences of participation, collaboration and co-production of public decisions put in place in various Italian cities and regions, with the dissemination of participatory budgets, neighborhood workshops, experiments of civic and collective uses, paths of co-design and social innovation. Thanks to the dense network of collaborations established with public bodies of various kinds (volunteer service centres, numerous companies, territorial representative bodies, universities and third sector subjects) Labsus was able to bring its message and make it concrete on a much wider territorial scope with respect to the initial perspective:

- in September 2019, Milan was the first Metropolitan City that adopted the Regulation;
- in December 2019, it was launched the "Pact between Cities for Civic Imagination and Shared Care of Common Goods", a first national network to encourage collaboration between administrations and citizens, free and associated, through the exchange of practices and skills.

The idea that animated the Labsus initiative from the beginning was to see people as «bearers not only of needs but also of abilities» (Labsus, 2019), which can be made available to the community to realize the general interest.

Labsus therefore promotes an idea of subsidiarity, which, instead of envisaging a "retreat" of public subjects in the presence of citizens' initiatives, reinterprets the role of the public administration and citizens as "allies", protagonists of a collaborative relationship based on mutual trust and the sharing of resources and responsibilities.

The Regulation "elevates" citizens from the condition of administrators to that of "allies": it allows to give a structure and restore dignity to the often underestimated commitment of many citizens, recognizing it also formally.

The Regulations are emblematic of a cultural revolution that has undermined the belief that only institutions could deal with public goods, attributing to the word "commons" the meaning that binds it to communities, an entire community in which citizens, businesses and public administration live together.

While the Regulations represent the normative framework that regulates the forms of intervention for the care and shared management of common goods, the "Collaboration Pacts" are the technical-legal instrument that make concrete the constitutional principle of subsidiarity, in actions of even small scope, and on which the alliance between citizens and administration that gives rise to shared administration is based. They are defined «administrative acts of a non-authoritative nature» (Labsus, 2015, p. 23). The "Collaboration Pacts" can be considered the «engine of the Regulations» (Labsus, 2016, p. 9). They ratify the collaboration between citizens and administrations on a legal base and are the legal instrument that transform citizens' capacities into concrete interventions. Collaboration Pacts are also «producers of law» (Labsus, 2019, p. 7), because the rules laid down in the pact have legal value and give specific responsibilities to those who sign them, setting out the rules that will govern their cooperation in the pursuit of the general interest. Those rules are legal rules by which the subscribers assume responsibilities both reciprocally and towards other citizens. The Pacts are also described as a «place of meeting, socialization, integration» (Labsus, 2019). The care of common goods becomes an opportunity for cultural exchange, nourishing a process of mutual learning that represents not only a way to intervene concretely on the territory but also a way to build community, in which the sense of belonging, the civic attitude and social cohesion are strengthened. All these factors are the elements that constitute a "Heritage Community", a concept that expresses the recognition of the community in a shared value dimension (Council of Europe, 2005a). In these collaborative processes the «value of memory» (Riegl, 1903) has a twofold meaning: first of all it represents the value of "what has been" and, therefore, it implies the respect of each expression (tangible or intangible) of this memory to be preserved and transmitted to future generations (Council of Europe, 2009). Secondly, this value represents the process of recognition of all values connected to the memory as a fundamental element for the awareness and the construction of a community identity.

Active citizens, taking care of common goods, "make community" and this is the real added value of the Pacts. This vision represents a broadening of the concept of "common good", which no longer resides only in the physical dimension, but finds its deepest reason in the act of "doing together".

Finally, the Pacts are a powerful factor of social, cultural and even administrative innovation, because they allow new ways of interaction between "known factors" represented by the resources of administrations and those of active citizens.

In this sense, the Pacts represent a compromise between the involved parties, interpreting it not in a negative sense but as "meeting point", enabling a "circular" process in which each of the actors receive benefits at different level:

- in the absence of financial resources to maintain and manage abandoned/degraded heritage, public administrations have the opportunity to recover part of the built heritage that would otherwise have been destined to deteriorate conservation conditions;
- investing in production, care and regeneration of common goods strengthens the social and human capital which is an essential factor of development, including the economic aspect (Council of Europe, 2009) because it creates new virtuous circles and stimulates the creativity of local people in re-inventing their skills in a new productive perspective.

Participation in these processes means also to recover the lost identity that often resides in the memory of places.

The physical recovery of abandoned and underused spaces has a dual value, acting at the same time not only on the quality of the environment but also on the recovery and enhancement of the "spirit of the place", which includes all those values that substantiate the identity of a community, which recognizes itself in them.

These regulations represent a real innovation compared to the Italian legislative system for two reasons:

- they concern the so-called "common goods", whose legal identification as a hybrid category between public and private goods has led to lengthy reflections and debates among legal experts;
- the flexibility of the regulations offers many advantages, including the possibility of adapting the "standard regulation" to the reality and the specificities of the different contexts in which they are applied.

The flexibility of the regulations instrument has made it possible to reshape and improve their content according to the great variety of situations (from 2014 to date, corrected and increasingly refined "formats" have been proposed). In addition, the easy variation of a municipal regulation, compared to other types of regulations, allows to test them during an experimental period of application, at the end of which it is possible to verify the results achieved with respect to the proposed objectives. The perspective is oriented to a bureaucratic simplification and not to an increase of complexity and entropy. However, the risk is that a misuse of collaboration agreements can bureaucratize even informal relationships that can continue to be managed according to other schemes (Labsus, 2017).

The active participation of local communities, accentuates the problems in the definition of roles and rules for the recovery and management of common heritage; the pursuit of objectives for the conservation and development of this heritage, implies the use of methodologies and tools for the control of valorisation actions, outlining scenarios for intervention. The European challenge is oriented towards approaches of participation and social innovation in culture (European Commission, 2018) and induces a comparison with other new areas of research to broaden the sharing of choices, information and services.

The complexity of the interventions on the physical system, in terms of professional figures involved, human, financial and economic resources required, implies a careful control of the actions on the built environment. This complexity concerns not only the organizational structure of the project, but also includes the multiplicity of needs (expressed or implicit) of the users/community to be taken into account and on which to orient the strategies of action. The "quality" (UNI EN ISO 9000:2015) of the built environment intervention depends on the ability to respond to the expressed or implicit needs of the user and the community and, therefore, on the organizational, management and control capacities of the "directions" (Sinopoli, 1997) which implemented it.

Therefore, the reuse and recovery projects can be defined as an interdisciplinary process of information e decision (Ciribini, 1984), able of reactivating the circular process between people and place, stimulating creativity and strengthens the links between them. The integration of skills, knowledge, needs, values, visions of the different actors involved produces economic, social and environmental impacts that in turn are able to circulate the relationships between people, community and place, promoting the sharing of conservation and transformation choices (Pinto, 2013) and activating a circular economy (Fusco Girard, 2016). Participation in recovery processes implies a process of critical knowledge and awareness that leads to the construction and sharing of values and objectives in the general interest. In this process, social capital increases, as the recognition of common interests helps to overcome particularisms and to consolidate social ties both horizontally (between actors of the same type) and vertically (between actors who traditionally have different roles), increasing social cohesion (Council of Europe, 2014). This means both increasing social relations, which are at the heart of human capital, and nurturing confidence in the future and in institutions. Cultural production, which originates in creative processes, influences the diffusion of knowledge, determining vital connections between cultural, social, environmental and economic systems. These systems are closely connected and each of them produces effects on others in a continuous virtuous circle. The activation of a multi-level network, in which several actors are involved in a process of acquisition of shared competence of doing together, accompanies the community in the acquisition of a shared awareness of cultural heritage as a decisive factor to protect, manage and develop the urban and human environment in which it lives.

The role of "expert knowledge" in the involvement of local communities is increasingly moving towards that of «facilitators of multicultural and multidisciplinary teams» (Pereira Roders and Van Oers, 2014, p. 9), and is becoming fundamental in the processes of "empowerment" of the community. Starting from the observation that both the bottom-up and the top-down approach present elements of fragility (Fusco Girard, 2013), it is necessary to outline a "hybrid" methodology (Onesti e Bosone, 2017) in which expert knowledge supports the local community in the reacquisition of a material culture linked to the place, reactivating environmental and cultural synergies.

2.2. The subsidiarity principle: toward a circular welfare

The topic of cultural heritage enhancement is widely treated in Italian national legislation: the article 2, paragraph 1. of Legislative Decree 155/2006, provides that, among the goods

and services of social utility, there is «the enhancement of cultural heritage respecting the Code of Cultural Heritage and Landscape, pursuant to Legislative Decree n.42 of 22nd January 2004» (Consiglio dei Ministri, 2004, p. 5). And the same Code, in art. 6, paragraph 3, states that «the Republic favours the support for the participation of private subjects, individuals or associates, in the valorisation of cultural heritage» (MIBAC, 2004, p. 13) and in the art. 112, paragraph 8, states that «the interested public subjects may also enter into special agreements with cultural or voluntary associations that carry out activities of production and dissemination of knowledge of cultural heritage» (MIBAC, 2004, p. 50).

In Italy, the constitutional importance of Culture is enshrined in the article 9 of the Constitution.

At the regulatory level, the principle of subsidiarity is at the basis of collaborative governance for the enhancement of cultural heritage. Its complete formulation is in the art.118, last paragraph, of the Constitutional Law n. 3/2001 "Amendments to Title V of Part Two of the Constitution" (Italian Parliament, 2001) that declares «State, Regions, Metropolitan Cities, Provinces and Municipalities favour the autonomous initiative of citizens, individuals and associates, to carry out activities of general interest». This is the "horizontal subsidiarity", which concerns the relations between public administration and citizens, giving the latter the faculty to carry out a public function.

The subsidiarity principle was officially enshrined in the "Treaty of Maastricht" (Council of the European Communities, Commission of the European Communities, 1992), which introduced it into the Treaty that established the European Community. The "Single European Act" (European Union, 1987) had already introduced the principle of subsidiarity in the field of the environment, interpreting it from a strictly legal perspective.

In 1992 the "Edinburgh European Council" declared that «The European Union is based on the principle of subsidiarity» - as expressed also in the Treaty on European Union (Treaty of Maastricht) – and it «contributes to respect the identities of Member States and protects their powers. It is intended to ensure that decisions within the European Union are taken as close to the citizens as possible» (European Council, 1992, p. 13).

The Court of First Instance (First Chamber) of the European Communities ruled, in its judgment of 21 February 1995 (T-29/92)¹, that the principle of subsidiarity didn't constitute, prior to the entry in the Treaty on European Union, a general principle of law. Consequently, it didn't represent a juridical element on which to review the legality of Community acts.

Without changing the wording of the reference to the principle of subsidiarity in the second paragraph of Article 5 - according to the numbering of the "Treaty of Maastricht" - the "Treaty of Amsterdam" (European Communities, 1999) annexed to this a "Protocol on the application of the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality", through which they had become legally binding and controllable.

The "Treaty of Lisbon" (European Council, 2007) added an explicit reference to the regional and local dimension of the subsidiarity principle. Furthermore, the Treaty of Lisbon replaced the 1997 Protocol on the application of the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality by a new Protocol with the same title (Protocol n.2), the main innovation of which concerns the role of national parliaments in monitoring compliance with the principle of subsidiarity.

¹ https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:61992TJ0029&from=IT#I1

«The general meaning and purpose of the principle of subsidiarity lies in the recognition of a certain independence of an authority subordinate to a higher level authority, in particular a local authority in relation to a central authority. It is therefore a question of a division of powers between the various levels of power, a principle which forms the institutional basis of federal states» (European Parliament, 2018, §B).

In the Italian legislation a first step toward the legitimation of the theoretical model of shared administration at the constitutional level was the definition of the principle of subsidiarity in the last paragraph of Article 118 of National Constitution.

The Latin origin of the term subsidiarity includes two complementary meanings: "be ready to act" and "act to support". Both converge in the constitutional principle that, focusing on the activism of active citizens, considers them a real resource, giving particular importance to their voluntary action. In this perspective, the pursuit of the general interest is not the exclusive competence of public institutions, but also concerns citizens, individuals and associates, whose actions are «producers of law» (Labsus, 2019, p. 7). Therefore, the State realizes its public aims in the support it offers to the organizational realities that arise from the citizens' initiative, helping them to express themselves. In this way, subsidiarity represents a new form of exercise of popular sovereignty, which, introducing new forms of participation in public decision-making models, integrates and completes the forms of representative democracy and the traditional forms of political and administrative participation (Patroni Griffi, 2017). In other words, horizontal subsidiarity means that public functions allow, where possible and convenient, activities to be carried out directly by citizens themselves, in particular through their social formations, adequately supported by public administrations. This is why in recent times the definition of "circular subsidiarity" has begun to appear (Zamagni, 2013, 2017).

The ambivalence of subsidiarity, linked both to the individual dimension and to the relational one, is the foundation of a positive anthropology, capable of recognizing in citizens, single and associates, responsible individuals who independently undertake initiatives for the care of the common goods, in agreement with the administrations, giving rise to a new form of freedom, supportive and responsible.

The «feeling responsible for everyone» (Papa Benedetto XVI, 2009)² leads to the convergence of public and private entities for the joint pursuit of general interests. This process creates an alliance whose fundamental objective is the realization of the constitutional principle of substantial equality (art. 3, paragraph 2 of the Constitution), the creation of conditions for full development of the human person and the preservation of his dignity.

The sharing of public and private resources in the general interest is driven by the principle of reciprocity in which all subjects are 'subsidiary' to others, without the establishment of forms of hierarchy and addiction.

This perspective allows the realization of "circular subsidiarity" in which the actors - in particular State, market and civil society - are called upon to act synergistically.

The circular subsidiarity is the starting point for «developing new models of cooperation between the market, the state and civil society» (Papa Francesco, 2017).

² Chapter V "Collaboration of the human family", par. 38.

Therefore, it stands as the constitutional platform on which to build a society of autonomous, responsible and supportive citizens, who ally themselves with the public administration to manage and to care the common good together.

2.3. Collaboration processes in Italian cities

Many Italian cities are involved in collaboration processes for the commons and the number is increasing with the interest in the topic.

Turin is one of the 18 winners of the first "Urban Innovative Actions (UIA)" European call for proposals, in which over 350 European cities participated. This success was made possible thanks to the "Co-City" project, carried out by the administration in partnership with the University of Turin, ANCI and the Cascina Roccafranca Foundation. The starting point was the approval of the new Regulation on common goods, with the aim of stipulating collaboration Pacts for the redevelopment of degraded real estate and public spaces, entrusting them to the management of citizens through forms of active participation. The commons thus become a central element for new development paths aimed at combating poverty and seeking a sense of community in the most difficult areas of the city.

Bologna, a city historically more attentive to the issues of civic participation, was among the first to move towards an extensive implementation of rules for the management of Common Goods. In fact, in May 2014 the Municipality approved the "Regulations for the Shared Management of Common Goods" and many "Collaboration Pacts" have been signed since then between the Municipality and private citizens, enterprises and other stakeholders.

Battipaglia, in Southern Italy – Salerno province, is an experimental site in continuous evolution. Here, LabGov (Laboratorio per la Governance dei beni comuni) born in LUISS Guido Carli in Rome with the aim of experimenting the co-governance of common goods through inclusive and participatory co-design processes, involving the five souls of governance, together with Renzo Piano's G124 Group, born with the aim of responding to the problems of the suburbs, are carrying out collaborative experiments to define the guidelines for the new Municipal Urban Plan.

Rome is experimenting with multiple innovative actions in the area. The attention to commons is in fact fundamental both in terms of national dissemination and concrete implementation of actions. Here Labsus, together with Euricse - European Research Institute on Cooperative and Social Enterprises and the University of Trento, has launched "SIBEC", the first national school for training in the shared management of the commons. In the individual municipalities, commons are in many cases enhanced and regenerated, as for example in Centocelle neighbourhood (V Municipio), where LabGov is helping the local community in the shared management of the Public Park of Centocelle, to achieve concrete results for such an important common good for the neighborhood, providing scientific and practical help.

Finally, Siena was the second Italian municipality to have approved the regulation on common goods, a short distance from the approval of the Bologna City Council. This was done in collaboration with Labsus, assuming as a starting point that taking care of the places where you live is fundamental, since the quality of life depends on the quality of the tangible and intangible common goods.

These are just a few cases of virtuous cities and organizations of active citizens that are increasingly gaining importance in Italian policies. Many others are proceeding along this road. The approach to common goods is dynamic and knowing how to exploit it in a wise way can be the real innovative key for cultural heritage management in the near future.

2.4. The role of the Heritage Community as promoted by the "Faro Convention"

For fifty years, instruments and programmes for the promotion and protection of cultural heritage have been developed at European level; the "Faro Convention", signed in the city of Faro in 2005 (Council of Europe, 2005a) and activated in 2011 after its ratification, is certainly one of the most far-sighted international Conventions on cultural heritage, triggering important transformations. The main changes in perspective concerning cultural heritage are related to the role of local communities in conservation actions. The "Explanatory Report" (Council of Europe, 2005b) of the "Faro Convention" considers cultural heritage conservation not only as a goal in itself, but also as a direct contribution to sustainable development taking into account its benefits in cultural, social, environmental and economic terms (Onesti, 2015). In this perspective, the Council of Europe highlights that education to cultural heritage should be a right of every citizen, including future generations. According to the "Faro Convention", cultural heritage is a source of uniqueness for communities in Europe; it is able to facilitate intercultural dialogue, integration, democracy and to prevent conflicts (Council of Europe, 2005b; Jagielska-Burduk e Stec, 2019). This implies that heritage values should be assessed also in relation to the (sometimes conflicting) meanings and values attributed by local communities. People-place interaction permeates heritage with social values, enhancing people's sense of belonging and the construction of community identity in the face of growing globalisation³ (D'Alessandro, 2015; Onesti, 2015; Montella, 2016). It can be deduced that heritage is to be considered as a common good, consequently a top-down approach or bottom-up activation cannot be applied exclusively. However, despite the emerging trends encouraging bottom-up approaches in the assessment of cultural heritage values, and the participatory co-design of solutions for adaptive reuse and transformations, cultural heritage holds also different degrees of exceptional cultural-historic value that is recognized by heritage experts and authorities, to be conserved in the public interest of present and future generations. Therefore, the values recognized by experts and national and supranational regulations risk to contrast with the values and adaptive reuse solutions identified by the local population and stakeholders' organizations through bottomup approaches. Therefore, a hybridisation of top-down (community based) and bottom-up (expert based) approaches is necessary both for the purposes of conservation and for the adaptive reuse and enhancement of cultural heritage, acting in the public interest. Innovative forms of public-private partnerships characterised by shared responsibility are thus promoted, in which active participation initiatives are encouraged to complement the role of public authorities and heritage conservation experts (Carmosino, 2013).

The essential point of the "Faro Convention" is a proactive role of "heritage communities" that become co-responsible for heritage management and decision-making. Heritage communities are identified as a group of people - not necessarily united by the usual

³ https://www.coe.int/en/web/culture-and-heritage/-/the-new-faro-convention-brochure-the-way-forward-with-heritage

parameters of commonality, but rather united by interests and objectives - who enhance specific aspects of cultural heritage and safeguard its identity to be shared with present and future generations (Dolff-Bonekämper, 2009; Zagato, 2015).

The role of communities in the conservation and adaptive reuse of cultural heritage, as proposed by the "Faro Convention", is further discussed in the following section based on case studies.

3. Communities as "custodians" of local cultural heritage. Case studies and a definition of "circular governance" through citizens-led initiatives

Many studies have provided valuable insights and a wealth of information on local governance processes across Europe and beyond, but they have not investigated governance processes that specifically address adaptive reuse of cultural heritage. In particular, these studies did not investigate the relationship between adaptive reuse processes (which tend to be linear) and the process of circular governance. In the framework of the Horizon 2020 CLIC project "Circular models Leveraging Investments in Cultural heritage adaptive reuse" (www.clicproject.eu) the Circular Governance Approach is defined as a «values-based, principled approach for valorising, protecting, and sustaining cultural heritage assets as a process to encourage high-quality adaptive reuse cultural heritage projects as a common good for society».

Applying a Circular Governance approach to cultural heritage adaptive reuse projects not only reduces waste, raw material consumption and energy use, but it also reuses knowledge, preserves tangible and intangible heritage elements (like traditional construction methods, materials, and processes), engages a wider support community for long-term custodianship, ensures higher-quality interventions, and fosters new synergistic business, finance and governance partnership models. The main question in the CLIC Report "Circular Governance Models for Adaptive Reuse of Cultural Heritage"⁴ is if and how a Circular Governance approach to adaptive reuse of cultural heritage is being used in selected cities and regions, and which cooperation models and tools can best help communities continuously re-invent and revive the functions/use of cultural heritage sites. Which values can help to move in the direction of the circular model?

The starting point for the research was the fundamental assumption that «circular governance is a necessary precondition for sustainable adaptive reuse of cultural heritage». Together with new communication means and social innovation processes, the Circular Governance principles can provide the framework for a unique process that identifies and fosters new cultural heritage management, business, financing and governance models - through both top-down and bottom-up initiatives while respecting international cultural heritage documents and charters. These principles were considered in developing the methodology, largely based on an illustrative case study analysis of existing shared governance arrangements for cultural heritage adaptive reuse projects in 16 international cities.

In an effort to better understand and analyse the diverse array of information from the 16 case studies, a typology cluster analysis was developed to map stakeholder roles and relationships, identify process patterns, and catalogue governance similarities between the cases. The case studies analysis revealed a variety of ownership/management governance relationships

⁴ https://www.clicproject.eu/files/D3-4.pdf

between public, third-sector (namely civil society organisations) and private actors. The cases are clustered and organized by "custodianship" – that is, the ownership-management structure and relationship that defines the entities responsible for the heritage asset and its long-term physical, economic and cultural sustainability. Nearly all of the case study examples were publicly owned heritage assets, but many cases used a variety of multi-actor governance models to realise the project. The majority of the cases fell into one of three self-defined custodian governance models: "Public Custodian", "Community Custodian", or "Private Custodian for the Common Good".

In this Section, three case studies are highlighted here to further illustrate the diversity of governance models within community-led initiatives, and how the principles of circular governance could be integrated to help the cultural heritage asset and its associated institutions/Heritage Communities be more resilient and sustainable over the long-term.

3.1. New Bazaar, Tirana, Albania

The "New Bazaar" project (2017) is an award-winning 11.000 m2, pedestrianized public area with two newly reconstructed permanent market halls in Tirana's city centre. Formerly an informally-managed and sometimes ad hoc marketplace for local produce, fish and meat, the New Bazaar of today is both a modernized hub for regional fresh groceries and a multi-functional "24-hour" public space that reflects Tirana's ambitions to democratically modernize, support local business development and tourism, and celebrate the region's rich cultural heritage. The New Bazaar was originally constructed in 1931 and became Tirana's central marketplace after the Old Bazaar was demolished in 1959. But, in spite of its day-to-day use by local residents, the site was neglected and never modernized to accommodate contemporary practices for handling fresh consumables.

The New Bazaar restoration/adaptation was co-developed and co-financed by the Municipality of Tirana, the State of Albania (Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Urban Development), and the Albanian-American Development Foundation (AADF), a not-forprofit corporation whose mission is to facilitate the development of a sustainable private sector economy and a democratic society in Albania. In addition to the \$5.5 million contributions from these institutions, the AADF estimated that private investments by business and property owners has exceeded an additional \$4 million. Approximately 15 cultural heritage sites (primarily buildings/facades) were restored during the project.

The New Bazaar employs a Tourism/Business Improvement District (T/BID) as a governance and financing mechanism to help ensure the site's long-term sustainability and financial success. While the T/BID is a relatively common sub-municipal governance tool in the United Kingdom, USA, and Canada, it has been rarely implemented in Europe; the New Bazaar T/BID is the first of its kind in Tirana and only the eighth in Albania. Time will reveal its ultimate success, as the district tests the effectiveness of the T/BID model to fund and maintain the reconstruction investments, promote the district, and continue to attract new investment without radically changing the character of the neighbourhood.

Albania's turbulent political history, economic isolation, and subsequent challenges have resulted in a culture of distrust between its citizens and government, which has made it particularly challenging to implement a T/BID governance model. However, this history also presents a propitious opportunity for the New Bazaar T/BID to integrate components of the circular governance model to support and strengthen the T/BID process, with particular regard to public involvement in the T/BID processes, building trust and cooperation

networks, and elevating the role of cultural heritage in the district to foster a Heritage Community for long-term support.

3.2. The Young Project, Montreal, Canada

The "Young Project" is a multi-actor building pilot project that aspires to «[connect] spaces without people to people without spaces» by temporarily adapting vacant or underutilized buildings in Montreal to create accessible and affordable "innovation spaces". Different from conventional co-working or pop-up spaces, the "Young Project" is a social innovation project that aims to offer a wide range of temporary spaces to community-oriented users. While the "Young Project" itself is not an explicit example of how a cultural heritage building or site can be adaptively reused (the building in use is not listed as cultural heritage and will ultimately be demolished), instead this contemporary development project illustrates how an innovative multi-actor governance process could be used as a model to adaptively-reuse cultural heritage sites, particularly in urban areas with a surplus of vacant buildings. This model - called "Transitory Urbanism" - is also the inspiration for and fundament of "Montreal's Cultural Heritage Action Plan 2017-2022".

"Transitory Urbanism", whose roots lie in Europe, is defined as any initiative on vacant land or buildings that aims to revitalise local life before development occurs. It is a multi-actor governance model that enables initiatives to legally take possession of vacant real estate to create below market-rate opportunities for local needs. The stakeholders of a "Transitory Urbanism" project typically include the property owner(s)/landlord(s), the local authority, and the temporary occupant(s). In recent years, a fourth stakeholder (the Facilitator) has started to play a key role to actively work within a broader stakeholder community (e.g., financers/funders, urban entrepreneurs, makers, social organisations, etc.) to proactively connect the other three actors and catalyse projects.

In the "Young Project" case, the Facilitator role was played by a Montreal-based initiative, "Entremise", who introduced a social project that could be scaled. The initiative "Laboratoire Transitoire" (Transition Laboratory), a multi-actor, public-private-philanthropic partnership between the City of Montreal, the "McConnell Foundation's Cities for All" program, the "Maison de l'innovation sociale (MIS)" and "Entremise", announced its intention to realize three pilot projects of a minimum length of six months. "MIS" and "Entremise" also received support from the Government of Quebec through its Initiative and Outreach of the Metropolis Fund. The "Transition Laboratory" is one of the frameworks in which the City and its various partners can test how "Transitory Urbanism" can be implemented throughout Montreal.

The City of Montreal engaged in the "Young Project" as both the local authority and property owner, which streamlined the process, but also highlighted some of the institutional challenges of using an open, "transversal" approach to planning: difficulty traversing expertise silos, limited information sharing, and the sluggish nature of making organisational change in a large institution. The process can also be vulnerable to political administration changes because it has not been institutionalised by the municipality, limiting staff and resources to execute the program.

The "Young Project" is an experimental work-in-progress, but the key stakeholders (including the City of Montreal) have adopted the "Transitory Urbanism" governance model as one that can help both conserve and revitalize threatened built heritage in the city. Even if "Transitory Urbanism" is focused on temporary uses, its governance model need not be temporary. Applying circular governance principles to the "Transitory Urbanism" framework

could help permanently revitalize cultural heritage sites or other areas as various Heritage Community actors come together with other stakeholders to bring new uses and energy to forgotten spaces.

3.3. Victoria Baths, Manchester, United Kingdom

The Victoria Baths complex, once the City of Manchester's heralded public bathing house, is an emerging arts and cultural centre in the heart of the city. Though the swimming pools and baths are currently non-functioning, the goal is to rehabilitate the complex so that it can be used again as a multi-functional community space and modern swimming pool/Turkish bathing house. When the building opened in 1906, it was described as "the most splendid municipal bathing institution in the country" and "a water palace of which every citizen of Manchester can be proud". Despite its neglect, the complex is still widely recognized as one of the most intact and exceptional examples of municipal swimming pool architecture in England. Indeed, it was one of Manchester's most popular destinations until the 1980s, when the operation and maintenance costs overwhelmed the city's capacity to adequately maintain the complex; the Baths were permanently closed in 1993.

That same year, local supporters came together to form the "Friends of Victoria Baths" and the "Victoria Baths Trust" ("the Trust") to save the building, and re-open the Turkish Baths and at least one of the swimming pools. In 2001, the Manchester City Council entered into a formal management agreement with the Trust to improve site security and raise money for repairs. In Common Law countries such as the UK, the Trust concerns the creation and protection of assets, which are usually held by one party for another's benefit. Using the framework of the Trust, the Council granted management powers to the "Friends of Victoria Baths", who were then responsible for managing the heritage asset and raising funds for its restoration.

The Trust is a useful mechanism to solicit and receive funds that are independent from the Council, which may not have the same capacities or competencies as a trustee to obtain outside funds. The Trust garners funding through its "Friends" program, whereby individuals or groups receive exclusive membership benefits linked to an annual financial contribution, and by hosting special awareness and fundraising events at the complex. Like similar charity organisations, the Trust also relies on volunteer labour and in-kind donations from its Heritage Community.

The "Victoria Baths Trust" is a good example of a partnership model in which the public authority and owner (City of Manchester) does not need to be the sole custodian of the heritage asset. The Heritage Community ("Victoria Baths Trust" and "Friends" group) is willing to act as a partner on an equal or even a leading basis to manage and operate the asset with a high degree of autonomy and self-sufficiency, whilst the Council provides support, direction and specialist advice to ensure that the historic building is both well retained and put to productive use. The "Victoria Baths Trust" has provided a framework for many people to be involved in the restoration process over a long period of time, and has successfully prevented the building from being demolished or converted into a commercial property.

4. Community Custodian model: an opportunity to implement the Circular Governance model

Based on the experiences and studies described in Sections 2 and 3, the Circular Governance approach is defined. This approach builds on a foundation from the "Five Principles of Good

Governance" (Graham *et al.*, 2003) and UNESCO's governance of cultural heritage definition (UNESCO, 2013), "ICOMOS's Quality Principles" (ICOMOS, 2019), as well as the "Circular Economy principles of reuse/conservation and circularity" (Byström, 2018).

The governance approach is examined explicitly in the context of how cultural heritage adaptive reuse projects can be co-created, appropriately designed and developed, and sustained over time, and how they can engage and embed Heritage Communities in the process.

The following values and principles define the CLIC Circular Governance approach:

- Participatory: the process is open to all members of society so that they can contribute a legitimate voice. Participation enables the spaces (physical and virtual) and conditions for all interested community members to engage in open dialogues about community cultural heritage assets.
- Inclusive: a wide variety of public and private actors engage with diverse experiences and expertise, and not just those in the cultural heritage field.
- Transparent: governance processes and decision-making processes should be transparent so that they are easier to understand from the outside, can be held accountable, and enable new actors to better participate in the long term.
- Accountable: the process is accountable to the public (including future generations) and communicates clear, concise, and sufficient information about decisions, and accepts responsibility for its actions. Together with Transparency, these principles provide a foundation for delivering high-quality authentic adaptive reuse projects, and fostering mutual trust and long-term organisational resiliency.
- Collaborative: the process encourages partnerships between different actors to share in the "ownership" of the processes, programs, and projects through collaborative ideation, development, execution, evaluation, and management, while reinforcing the concept of Heritage Communities.
- Circular (Focused and Iterative): the focus is on concrete, knowledge-based objectives through an inclusionary process that includes visioning, design development, long-term goal setting, and built-in feedback loops, such as 5-year plan updates, quality control monitoring, or annual performance reporting. The governance processes need to balance long-term goals (e.g., physical preservation, cultural storytelling, safeguarding cultural values) with the evolving needs of a modern society in crisis.
- Fair and Just: this principle intends to reset historical imbalances and provide an opportunity for underrepresented, marginalised, or voiceless entities, as future generations, to be considered in the cultural heritage adaptive reuse process.

It is highly significant here to focus on the Community Custodian governance model, which builds on a close cooperation between the public entity owning the heritage asset, and one or more Heritage Community actors responsible for the management and long-term success of the asset. This multi-actor governance arrangement is largely defined by the owner-manager relationship and the degree of autonomy and support (financial and administrative) given to the Heritage Community actor(s) by the public entity. As such, the Community Custodian governance model is a spectrum, with many governance variations arrayed on its axis.

To illustrate, on one end of the spectrum, there are Community Custodian models in which the public entity plays a very prominent background role with strong financial, administrative and governance support, and the public-facing Heritage Community actor(s) have limited autonomy or decision-making power as individual organisations (e.g., Salerno described in section 5). On the opposite end of the spectrum are Community Custodian governance models where the public entity is the "paper owner" of the asset and has almost no role in the governance arrangement; the Heritage Community actor(s) are entirely responsible for the asset through contractual agreements/pacts/partnerships, legal precedence, or other means (e.g., Manchester).

Governance variations fall between these two rather extreme points on the Community Custodian spectrum and they can manifest in a variety of ways. However, the primary assumption of the Community Custodian model is that public entity owns the asset and continues to play some role - no matter how small - in a shared multi-actor governance arrangement.

The next section presents an ongoing experimentation of circular governance in the city of Salerno, Italy, which is partner of the Horizon 2020 "CLIC" project.

5. Experimenting circular governance in cultural heritage adaptive reuse: the case of Salerno

In the framework of the Horizon 2020 CLIC project, the Municipality of Salerno, in Southern Italy, has started in 2018 a participatory process for the development of a "Local Action Plan" for the adaptive reuse of cultural heritage, in the perspective of the circular economy and circular city model. More than 50 civic society organizations, enterprises, public bodies and activists were involved in a series of meetings aimed at mapping the relevant cultural heritage of the city, both in abandonment and reuse state, and to identify objectives and viable strategies to adaptively reuse the abandoned and underused heritage assets, creating "Heritage Innovation Partnerships" able to carry out the agreed actions beyond the timeframe of the research project.

The "Local Action Plan" represents the strategic planning document which identifies the objectives for the sustainability of the territory and the individual actions (short, medium and long term) that the various actors, public and private, commit to implement to achieve the shared objectives.

The "Heritage Innovation Partnerships" and the "Local Action Plan", both promoted by the Municipality, are two ways to create and stimulate a Heritage Community. Within the "Local Action Plan", two actions have been identified as more relevant and implementable in the short term: the development of a "Regulation for the shared management of cultural heritage as common good", and the organization of a "Heritage Walk" based on the experiences held in other European cities involved in the pilot experimentations of the "Faro Convention" (Council of Europe, 2005a). These two experiences are described in the next paragraphs as an ongoing experimentation of circular governance through the Heritage Community engagement in cultural heritage adaptive reuse processes in the city of Salerno.

5.1. The experimentation on a "Regulation for the shared management of cultural heritage as common good" in Salerno

The "Heritage Innovation Partnerships" experimented the elaboration of a Regulation for the Shared Management of Common Goods as one of the actions foreseen within the "Local Action Plan".

The Regulation defines a tool to guide the actions that make operational the objectives of the "Local Action Plan", offering a concrete opportunity to ensure transparency and impartiality of the shared administration, considering the adaptive reuse of built environment as a

«restorative, regenerative and a sustainable form of conservation that extends the life of our cherished heritage, stimulate civic pride and responsibility, and preserve cultural values for future generations» (Gravagnuolo *et al.*, 2017). It triggers interventions for the recovery and transformation of abandoned/degraded/underused cultural heritage in a vital and attractive place for residents, businesses and cultural tourism.

Through the flexible instrument of the Regulation, the activities of care, shared management and regeneration of urban common goods are defined according to different levels of complexity, identifying appropriate intervention methods proportionate to the different nature of the common goods.

The steps towards a classification of Salerno cultural heritage were:

- a preliminary phase of mapping of cultural heritage distinguishing reused, underused and abandoned cultural heritage;
- identification of specific sheets of identified assets;
- a stakeholders' mapping;
- mapping of urban planning tools and programs (Strategic Orientation Document, Municipal Urban Plan, European Structural Development Funds interventions, Action Plan for Sustainable Energy, etc.)

Based on this overview, the administration has identified three types of assets, which would need differentiated procedures:

- 1. small urban "commons" (small squares, urban gardens, small spaces, etc.);
- 2. medium-sized assets with high potential social impact and low market attractiveness;
- 3. large cultural heritage assets with high market attractiveness that need large financial and technical capacity.

In the general frame of the "Local Action Plan", the Regulation constitutes a specific outcome in terms of theoretical and normative reference but also in terms of operational tool to realize the shared administration.

It ensures the collective use of public spaces or buildings not included in municipal maintenance programs, offering an opportunity to enhance social pluralism and equal opportunities as elements of civil, cultural and social wealth.

5.2. Heritage Community building through a Heritage Walk in Salerno

Through case studies on the ground in Marseille, a pilot city of the "Faro Convention", it has become clear that activating bottom-up actions that strengthen social cohesion and the community's sense of responsibility is a way of improving the environment and the quality of life of the inhabitants themselves, guaranteeing support for public administration action (D'Alessandro, 2015). It has also emerged that some initiatives are effective for the implementation of the convention, including the "Heritage Walk", which has also been replicated in Venice, another pilot area of the convention. Heritage Walks promote the knowledge of the *genius loci* of a territory and aim at knowledge through interaction and rediscovery of the areas of the city less affected by tourist flows, entering into relationships with parts of communities that have marked the territory (e.g. artisans, artists, etc.). It is activated through three fundamental elements: the topic, the witnesses and the places (Tasso, 2017). The latter, in an itinerary of this kind, are usually closed to the public to emphasize the great heritage of the territory still abandoned and unexplored by the tourist circuits, in order to reintegrate the abandoned in the processes of knowledge, reuse and enhancement, passing from a "refusal" to an opportunity. Usually, such walks do not require guided tours

by professionals, but the testimonies of those who live the place and possess its historical memory are preferred. Heritage thus becomes an instrument of aggregation, knowledge, sharing and cultural participation, which stimulates and enriches the user through the transmission of values and emotions⁵.

In this perspective, the "Faro Convention" emphasizes the value and potential of heritage as a resource for sustainable development and quality of life in a society in continuous evolution, in which the community is the protagonist of a cultural and economic process, for which heritage is also relaunched as a productive factor.

As part of the "CLIC" project, a participatory process has been launched in the Municipality of Salerno to strengthen the Heritage Community. In addition to the methodologies and tools used for the activation of participatory processes – Historic Urban Landscape methodology, meetings, "Heritage Innovation Partnerships" meetings and working tables - the "Permanent Laboratory" animated by the CNR-IRISS research centre and the Municipality with the specific objective of co-working on the "Local Action Plan" has been added for about a year. With this aim, among the actions identified are those of cultural animation, knowledge and communication of the values of cultural heritage responding to the macro-objective of achieving a "Human-centred city" (European Commission, 2019).

Awareness raising actions include the Heritage Walks experimented under the "Faro Convention". The "Heritage Walk" will be a first experimentation activated on the territory to promote awareness raising, for the strengthening of heritage communities, and also to build the market demand necessary to ensure the economic self-sustainability of adaptive reuse projects to be implemented.

In collaboration with local associations and companies, the first "Heritage Walk" will be organized as part of the "Luci d'Artista 2019/2020" event in Salerno, as a citizens-led initiative; the event "Re.LIGHT | Patrimonio Culturale in Luce" provides for the rediscovery of the historical-cultural places of the old town in neglect and underutilization, for long years obscured in the consciousness of citizens. The route also includes some places in a state of reuse to highlight the virtuous experiences of adaptive reuse (often bottom-up) and enhancement of tangible and intangible cultural heritage that have given rise to 'culture-led' urban regeneration processes. The initiative aims at enhancing the knowledge of the territory especially by the citizens, as in the "Heritage Walk" the transfer of knowledge through the witnesses of the territory is preferred to the professionalism of the tourist guide; the preferred logic in this process is in fact that of meeting, sharing emotions, experiences and common stories. This approach allows a rediscovery of degraded and abandoned places underlining the critical issues that led to their abandonment and the potential of the good in a context of urban regeneration, as in the cases of Palazzo San Massimo or Santa Maria de Alimundo Church.

⁵ https://farovenezia.org/azioni/le-passeggiate-patrimoniali



Fig. 1 – Example of table designed to present the abandoned heritage in Salerno

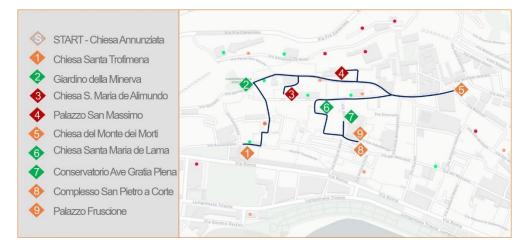
BDC, print ISSN 1121-2918, electronic ISSN 2284-4732

Identity places that have already been widely reused are instead examined as local "best practices", such as the Minerva Garden, Santa Maria de Lama, the Ave Gratia Plena Hostel, or the community involvement initiatives that take place at the Church of "Monte dei Morti"; the experiences of adaptive reuse are highlighted to show how participatory governance can activate processes of regeneration and enhancement that can be transferred, with appropriate adaptations and reflections, also to other abandoned and underused assets.

In the specific case of the Re.LIGHT event, the historical-cultural values, successful experiences and ongoing projects to transform abandoned places into new pulsating centres of cultural and social life in the Salerno area will be told through the experience of local associations and organizations that work daily to enhance the city's heritage.

The initiative was planned with the fundamental collaboration of many local stakeholders: the association Erchemperto that led the group; the innovative startup with social vocation Tripmetoo, which supported the social inclusion of people with hearing disabilities who, thanks to the collaboration of the National Deaf Association, will benefit from the free LIS translation. Moreover, the association II Centro Storico, the BLAM collective, the Club di Territorio Salerno, the Pro Loco Salerno Città Visibile, the Hostel Ave Gratia Plena - Stargate srl, the association ARCAN and the Archaeological Group of Salerno have actively collaborated - allowing the extraordinary opening of the reused goods.

Fig. 1 – The Heritage Walk planned itinerary



In order to support the Heritage Walk and further disseminate the initiative to the community, panels have been drawn up, affixed to each property included in the itinerary. The information reported in panels concern the localization, time of construction, managing body, current owner, state of use, management process and type of cultural heritage (religious, civic building, etc.).

The itinerary includes an architectural description, as well as the story of the process of abandonment of the closed assets, and a description by the managers of the assets being reused, paying particular attention to the process of reuse itself, the cultural values of the asset, the impact on the territory and the mission of the organization.

6. Discussion and conclusions

The Horizon 2020 "CLIC" project promoted the "Heritage Innovation Partnerships" as a means to achieve higher participation of citizens and stakeholders in cultural heritage valorisation, appreciation and adaptive reuse. The experiences carried out in Salerno show how participatory governance can activate processes of regeneration and enhancement of the identity of heritage assets that can be transferred, with appropriate adaptations and reflections, also to other abandoned and underused cultural heritage, showing how the reuse of cultural heritage in the perspective of the circular economy can stimulate the Heritage Community, and in turn be enhanced by its activity, in a "circular" process.

The impacts generated by these types of processes configure the preconditions for a local sustainable development, which is based on the involvement of local communities and their ability to produce and innovate, based on actions taken on the environmental system. In fact, the experience of cooperative and collaborative work improves people's well-being, because it is also connected to the attribution of meaning and the satisfaction of identity needs. At the same time, these actions develop an attitude of respect and care extended to the built environment, because in 'doing together' people develop a sense of common belonging that opens the way to the reconstruction of a "Heritage Community" (Council of Europe, 2005a). Thus, the importance of proximity between individuals emerges: the awareness of belonging to a community in which there is sharing and exchange of knowledge creates a virtuous circle in which the cultural background of one individual has an effect on that of another, stimulating progress. In this way the productive system is positively influenced because the improvement concerns not only individuals working in the same sector, but also individuals from different and sometimes apparently distant sectors, determining a cross-fertilization process (Sacco and Segre, 2009). These approaches contribute to make the connection between creativity, innovation and local development operational (UNCTAD, 2008; Fusco Girard et al. 2012; Sacco, 2011) through the improvement of landscape quality and the improvement of people's creativity in a single regeneration process.

This paper developed a definition of "circular governance" in cultural heritage adaptive reuse, analysing different experiences and defining a "Community Custodian" model of public bodies and citizens' collaboration. The experiences carried out in Salerno, currently ongoing, seek to implement the principles of circular governance applying the methodologies and tools observed in success cases, with the appropriate adaptations to the local context.

The "heritage walks" experimented in Salerno are in line with what is proposed by the Action Plan of the "Faro Convention" and could be proposed again in the next implementation of the project, with a more specific reference to the design and evaluation dimension of the adaptive reuse interventions, and with a more active involvement of the local community as experimented in other realities (Marseille, Venice).

Final conclusions of the participatory process in Salerno can be developed in a later stage, however it can be already observed that a high participation is taking place in Salerno, with interesting level of engagement and commitment of local stakeholders, driven by the "emotional" value that cultural heritage is able to motivate, since heritage assets are felt as a part of everyone's identity.

The "circular governance" models explored by the Horizon 2020 "CLIC" project for cultural heritage adaptive reuse represents one of the main findings of the research. Circular financing schemes and business models should be investigated to complete the framework of circular "human-centred" cultural heritage adaptive reuse, making circular governance adaptable and up-scalable in different contexts through further research and innovation actions.

Funding: This research has been developed under the framework of Horizon 2020 research project CLIC: Circular models Leveraging Investments in Cultural heritage adaptive reuse. This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 776758.

Acknowledgments: The article is the result of the joint work of all authors. Within this collaboration, we acknowledge the overall organization and supervision of the research by Antonia Gravagnuolo, as well as the organization and supervision of this paper and the writing of Section 1 introduction and Section 6 discussion and conclusions. We also acknowledge the writing of Section 2 by Martina Bosone, Sections 3 and 4 by Cristina Garzillo and Allison Wildman, and Section 5 by Serena Micheletti.

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BDC, print ISSN 1121-2918, electronic ISSN 2284-4732

