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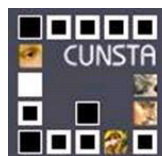
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The management of cultural heritage and landscape in inner areas

edited by Mara Cerquetti, Leonardo J.
Sánchez-Mesa Martínez, Carmen Vitale

Guardo le canoe che fendono l'acqua, le barche che sfiorano il campanile, i bagnanti che si stendono a prendere il sole. Li osservo e mi sforzo di comprendere. Nessuno può capire cosa c'è sotto le cose. Non c'è tempo per fermarsi a dolersi di quello che è stato quando non c'eravamo. Andare avanti, come diceva Ma', è l'unica direzione concessa. Altrimenti Dio ci avrebbe messo gli occhi di lato. Come i pesci¹.

Quando cammino nei prati attorno al Santuario, quasi sempre solo, ripenso a nonno Venanzio che, da giovane biscino, pascolava il gregge negli stessi terreni. Mi affascina il fatto che in questo luogo la cui cifra, agli occhi di chi guarda adesso la mia scelta di vita, è la solitudine, nei secoli addietro abitassero oltre duecento persone. Ancora negli anni Cinquanta, ricorda mio nonno, erano quasi un centinaio gli abitanti di Casette di Macereto tra contadini, mezzadri, mogli, pastori e un nugolo di bambini che costringeva il maestro a salire ogni giorno da Visso per fare lezione a domicilio.

Era una comunità compatta, coordinata come lo può essere quella delle società operose degli insetti: api, formiche, termiti, ma cosa più sorprendente che mai, una comunità niente affatto statica o chiusa².

¹ Balzano M. (2018), *Resto qui*, Torino: Einaudi, p. 175.

² Scolastici M. (2018), *Una yurta sull'Appennino*, Torino: Einaudi, p. 50.

Community heritage and heritage community. Participatory models of cultural and natural heritage management in some inner areas of the Abruzzo region (Italy)

Annalisa Colecchia*

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to analyze how research projects involving communities and stakeholders can achieve a deeper understanding of natural and cultural landscapes and provide key elements for self-sustainable territorial development. These strategies find a fertile field for action in the fragile areas, which require restoration works in order to be reconverted into resources, within the framework of a global territorial development plan. This paper focuses on some inner Abruzzo areas that are disadvantaged by marginalization and depopulation. The strong naturalistic imprint of the region has led to the establishment of many parks and ecomuseums; some of them are included within national and European networks and act in partnership with institutions and foundations on a regular basis. This entrepreneurship does not exclude, but rather encourages the contribution of local communities. Inhabitants and other stakeholders cooperate with institutions and play a proactive role in the enhancement of the territory and in the production of social wealth.

Lo scopo di questo studio è analizzare come i progetti di ricerca che coinvolgono comunità e *stakeholders* possano raggiungere una comprensione più profonda dei paesaggi naturali e culturali e possano fornire elementi chiave per lo sviluppo autosostenibile

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del territorio. Queste strategie trovano un fertile campo d'azione nelle aree fragili, che richiedono interventi di ripristino e valorizzazione delle risorse nell'ambito di un piano di sviluppo globale del territorio. L'articolo si focalizza su alcune aree dell'Abruzzo interno, penalizzate dalla marginalizzazione e dall'abbandono. La forte impronta naturalistica della regione ha determinato l'istituzione di numerosi parchi ed ecomusei, alcuni dei quali sono inseriti in *networks* nazionali ed europei e operano in partenariato con istituzioni e fondazioni. Questa imprenditorialità non esclude, anzi stimola, il contributo delle comunità locali che cooperano con le istituzioni e svolgono un ruolo propulsivo per la valorizzazione del territorio e per la produzione di ricchezza sociale.

1. *Cultural heritage and sustainable development. Integration between the local and the global*

The publication of *Un paese* dates to 1955¹. This report, by the American photographer Paul Strand, was accompanied by a commentary by Cesare Zavattini, who was already an established writer and screenwriter. The volume, which should have been the first in a series, was created in a period of cultural fervour and interest in the immediate reality of social life, in line with the poetics formulated by Zavattini, one of the main exponents of the Italian Neorealism. On the dust jacket of the book you can read:

I hope that when a tourist travels to our beautiful country, he will take a look at the books of *My Italy* series. He will find few monuments, but many men, women and children; and it would be a good outcome if the tourist passing through a place illustrated by the series looks more closely at the people who live there and, remembering a sentence spoken by somebody, he tries to track him down to exchange a few words with him. I hope, in short, that we will be able to build a library where every village, every city is represented by the largest possible number of voices and faces².

Zavattini's words show how, in non-institutional environments, respect for and interest in the inhabitants were regarded as indispensable aspects for achieving the true understanding and correct promotion of the historical heritage and of the local peculiarities.

The "professionals of culture" had not yet discussed and elaborated on the concepts of sustainable development, community maps, identity and local awareness, community heritage and heritage communities, systemic approach to the territory and participatory management. According to Law No. 1089 (1 June 1939), the promotion and protection were still limited to only "things": «movable and immovable things of artistic, historic, archaeological or

¹ Strand, Zavattini 1955.

² *Ibidem*. Translation by this paper's author.

ethnographic interest»³. The Code of Cultural Heritage and Landscape enacted in 2004 incorporates the restrictive approach of L. 1089 and continues to identify heritage in “things”⁴.

In the last twenty years, local initiatives have been multiplying, and projects aimed at re-evaluating traditional knowledge have been formulated. At the same time, the spread of the “territorialist philosophy” has supported the idea of the interdependence between socio-cultural environment and community heritage; consequently, development processes are supposed to be based on local priorities and needs⁵. This widening of perspective has also been reinforced by the European Union funding and by the stipulation of international conventions, such as the European Landscape Convention of the Council of Europe (2000) and the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005). The central role of “heritage communities” is explicitly underlined in the Faro Convention (Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, Faro, 27 October 2005): this is a recognition of an evolving situation, which at the same time acts as a stimulus for the participatory management of cultural and natural assets, integrating top-down and bottom-up approaches.

The first section of the Faro Convention establishes the aims, definitions and principles. Article no. 2 clarifies the concepts of “community heritage” and “heritage community”:

For the purposes of this Convention, cultural heritage is a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time; a heritage community consists of people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations⁶.

These statements lead to a rethinking of the relationships between cultural heritage and sustainable development, and between protection and planning. They also envisage a total reversal of the traditional idea of protection and move the focus from the value in itself to the value in use, from the museification to the valorization⁷.

³ L. 1089/1939, art. 1.

⁴ Leg. Decr. 22 January 2004, No. 42, art. 2, clauses 1-3.

⁵ The Territorialists’ Society, founded in 2011, welcomes scholars of various training and promotes the global and multidisciplinary approach to the territory, seen as the result of long standing coevolutionary processes between the human settlements and the environment. It also encourages the self-sustainable development, the increase of the welfare economy and the search for social well-being. See <www.societadeiterritorialisti.it>, 12.10.2018.

⁶ Faro Convention, section I, art. 2.

⁷ Montella, in Montella *et al.* 2016.

In order to analyze the concept of sustainable local development and to define its concrete applications, one cannot ignore the considerations of Giuseppe Dematteis and Alberto Magnaghi. Dematteis seeks a systemic model of approach to the territory and its application to certain “local milieu”⁸. By the expression “local milieu”, the scholar means a set of socio-cultural characteristics stratified through the historical evolution of intersubjective relationships and through the connections between communities and environmental resources. The current structure of the lived spaces is, therefore, the result of permanencies and transformations. Moreover, Dematteis’s observations focus on the opposition between “local” and “global”, on the role of social actors in the building of landscapes and networks, and on the close interrelations between the past, present and future.

The systemic vision, as well as the attention to place identity and to social value, forms the basis of Magnaghi’s views: he illustrates the connections between development, sustainability and “milieu”. He also argues that economic globalization should be subordinate to the growth of local society and its ability for self-government. These are the foundations for producing individual and collective well-being; thus, the concept of “sustainability” has to be configured as “self-sustainability” and has to involve the political, social, environmental and educational fields⁹.

In the Fordist economy, the “local” was synonymous with “marginal”; but it is currently becoming the focus of production policies, because the appropriation and management of resources generate heritage and wealth. The global market requires the differentiation of goods and the enhancement of niche and local products; thus, the local development project translates into a top-down approach and local competitiveness increases within the global economic system. Local communities, on the other hand, are becoming aware of their patrimonial resources (cultural, social, productive, territorial, environmental, artistic) and are self-organizing bottom-up processes. These development strategies guarantee inclusion, sharing, environmental protection and economic well-being; they also allow for the reactivation of the local resources, and for building a balance between nature and culture.

The adoption of territory-oriented strategies promotes local identities and transforms resources into assets. These identities are not closed, but interact with each other and share experiences, knowledge and values: they are complex identities¹⁰. In accordance with the Faro Convention, they should be involved in the management of the cultural heritage, and in improving human development and the quality of life¹¹. In fact, heritage is a complex living ecosystem that

⁸ Dematteis, *Governa* 2009, with bibliographic references.

⁹ Magnaghi 2010; Becattini 2015.

¹⁰ Tosco 2014, pp. 177-179.

¹¹ Faro Convention, section I, art. 1.

must be safeguarded in its historical dimension; thus, it requires knowledge, maintenance and care¹². In order to achieve these objectives, it is necessary to consolidate non-hierarchical networks and involve different disciplines that ensure effective evaluation of the numerous variables that outline the “history of the territory”.

«Heritage is too important a field of enquiry to be left to “experts” who wish to fix it»¹³. This provocative statement is an indication of the still lively discussion on the ways and times of community engagement in heritage management projects and on the relationships between experts and external actors.

It is a widely shared opinion that heritage is «the meeting ground of many disciplines»¹⁴ and that it is concerned first and foremost with people. Indeed, in heritage studies the physical, historical, and social components of lived spaces have become ever more central¹⁵. These traits link the Italian Territorialists’ Society¹⁶ to the network of French Territorialists¹⁷, and they are in line with the European and extra-European developments. Nevertheless, in the literature on heritage and participatory planning, critical and dissonant positions have recently been expressed. Some scholars have pointed out the tendency towards the “misrecognition” of community heritage as a result of dominant political and academic practices¹⁸. In the best cases, community-based projects «tend to involve things that are done *for* communities, rather than *with* them. Moreover, the sorts of projects that dominate the sector best apply to the white middle classes»¹⁹. The exponents of these social classes have economic means, Western schooling, access to a specific range of skills, and the freedom not only to get involved, but also to choose or change identities²⁰. Other scholars have even interpreted the nature of heritage not as an inheritance, but as a cultural construct. This assumption is exemplified by a cultural tourism initiative designed in Shetland: the tourism authority proposed a heritage narrative that is clearly disassociated from and un-experienced by the very people for whom it is devised and presented²¹.

In summary, the multiple experiences and case studies have allowed us to outline different models of communities, such as resilient communities, multicultural communities, multiethnic communities, and so on. Therefore,

¹² Magnaghi 2010, pp. 96-99.

¹³ Sørensen, Carman 2009, p. 12.

¹⁴ Uzzel 2009, p. 327.

¹⁵ Hubbard, Kitchin 2010.

¹⁶ <www.societadeiterritorialisti.it>, 12.10.2018.

¹⁷ <www.reseau-territorialistes.fr>, 12.10.2018.

¹⁸ Waterton, Smith 2013.

¹⁹ Waterton, Smith 2013, p. 15.

²⁰ Hodges, Watson 2000.

²¹ Grydehøj 2013.

they are encouraging other fields of investigation to better connect the abstract to the concrete, and to the realities of our current times.

2. Understanding and identifying communities in cross-cultural contexts: new questions and new challenges

2.1 Revising the notions of heritage, communities and identities: consonant and dissonant perspectives

In the last ten years, an international debate has opened up on the concept of heritage and on the theme of community engagement. The concept of heritage eludes a univocal and static definition. Heritage is more than a collection of objects or a set of aesthetic judgements: it is a continuous cultural process, within which the human/nature interaction plays a central role²².

In 1994, Samuel had already identified heritage as a social phenomenon in progress, and suggested that scholars should pay more attention to the use of heritage by non-experts²³. The work of some geographers contributed to articulate the idea of heritage, highlighting its political and economic aspects, as well as the social ones²⁴. The research on cultural and natural heritage has gradually included other disciplines and has drawn considerable inspiration from studies of environmental psychology: they presuppose the communities' involvement and investigate how the inhabitants perceive space and time, people and things, past experiences and future aspirations²⁵. Currently, most heritage studies tend to focus on the local dimension and to highlight complex dynamics and social conflicts. Consequently, heritage is understood as a dissonant concept: it needs, therefore, a multidisciplinary approach and a cross-sector dialogue; it also requires a democratic discussion and an openness to the community of non-experts. The theoretical and methodological debate has given rise to a new disciplinary academic branch, and it also influences non-academic areas related to politics and marketing management.

In a fundamental publication, Sørensen and Carman explicitly note that heritage studies are a branch of emerging research, in which different disciplinary contributions flow together²⁶. These studies boast a rich and complex background, and have as their "source of inspiration" anthropological and sociological researches that date back to the first half of the twentieth century. Over the years, they have incorporated new stimuli, and they have

²² Smith 2006.

²³ Samuel 1994.

²⁴ Graham *et al.* 2000; Tunbridge *et al.* 2013.

²⁵ Uzzel 2009.

²⁶ Sørensen, Carman 2009.

investigated rapidly changing contexts. By considering the breadth and variety of this field of studies, the two authors point out the difficulty (and even the usefulness) of looking for a “once and for all definition” of heritage. This difficulty is heightened by the status of interdisciplinarity, which does not allow standardized methods of investigation to be adopted, and does not permit predetermined approaches and terminologies to be fossilized on. Critical factors could, however, translate into values, because they welcome and integrate different tools, methods and techniques, to develop awareness of the problems related to heritage classification and community engagement. In order to achieve effective management and a truly inclusive policy, scholars and communities should recognize that heritage interventions are actions in progress. They should also pay attention to the feedback, analyze changes, and prepare flexible strategies to deal with them adequately.

In the current globalized society, the acceleration of economic processes and the international geopolitical conjunctures are causing deep territorial transformations, the disintegration of the social fabric, and the development of multi-ethnic and multicultural communities. In this historical context of crisis, it makes no sense to try to recover an indefinable lost identity. Nevertheless, from the perspective of complexity, it is necessary to study the past in order to understand the present and to construct the future; not an abstract and static past, but a historical dynamic process²⁷. The territorial dimension and the stratigraphic approach allow identification of the socio-economic features and the values that have contributed to forming not only one but different place identities.

In order to arouse the interest of the current communities and involve them in the research and development of “their” places, it is necessary to experiment with new communication strategies and propose new values and concrete objectives that have positive consequences on “their” territory. According to the guidelines of the aforementioned “territorialist school”, the creation of a place consciousness is achieved through the reconstruction of cognitive, cultural and productive relationships between active citizenship and territorial heritage. This is facilitated through the establishment of supportive and non-hierarchical relationships between producers and local societies. Therefore, knowledge of the territories’ ecosystem evolution is a priority (§ 1). It would be useful to study the critical issues and the success of the ecosystems by correlating different research paths, in order to create a knowledge base in progress and to clarify the causes of the success and failure of the previous ecosystems²⁸. In particular ecosystems, the agricultural techniques used in pre-industrial societies are still more productive and sustainable than today’s ones, and they guarantee the

²⁷ Brogiolo, Colecchia 2017

²⁸ Brogiolo 2014.

conservation of both cultural heritage and biodiversity²⁹. When a return to the land and its specialized cultures is possible, heritage enhancement can be integrated with a sustainable agricultural economy, according to the guidelines of the Faro Convention.

The notion of community, as well as the notions of heritage and identity, should undergo a critical revision and a rethinking. Emma Waterton and Laurajane Smith highlight an uncritical use of the term by some scholars engaged in community heritage projects. They denounce the “conservative nostalgia” and condescension implied when the term is used by heritage experts to elevate themselves above the communities that they study. The authors also point out the spread of a “rhetoric of community”, related to comforting ideas of social cohesion, sharing of interests, common values and collective experiences: these predetermined ideas are often imposed onto groups of people, and consequently cause a lack of self-esteem, self-worth and self-identity³⁰. In short, community heritage is not recognized, but misrecognized.

On the contrary, Waterton and Smith propose a less comforting and less harmonious vision of community, in which there are conflicts and social, economic and political rivalries. Thus, it is necessary to develop a more complex understanding of “community”: one that is «run through with divergent interests, anger, boredom, fear, happiness, loneliness, frustration, envy, wonder and a range of either motivating or disruptive energies. [...] In these terms, community becomes something that is (re)constructed through ongoing experiences, engagements and relations, and not all these need be consensual»³¹. The existence of conflictual aspects within the local communities has been found in many case studies and has been focused on by various scholars, among them Peter G. Gould, author of a recent publication on empowering communities through archaeology and heritage³².

2.2 A focus on “community resilience” and “resilient community”

The previous considerations reiterate the complex and multivocal character of communities, which escape from an abstract definition and a univocal approach. For the purposes of this paper, it is interesting to focus on the notion of “resilient community”, and to illustrate the process of “community resilience” by presenting the post-disaster case of Pescomaggiore (AQ). According to Fois and Forno, community resilience is a «grassroots and spontaneous reaction to an external shock»³³. A resilient community can be understood as a group of

²⁹ Guttman-Bond 2010; Barthel-Buchier 2013.

³⁰ Howarth 2001, p. 233.

³¹ Waterton, Smith 2013, p. 16.

³² Gould 2018.

³³ Fois, Forino 2014, p. 723.

«people at a local level who are not organised by emergency services but have skills, resources and an organisational capacity or structure that allows them to provide services to people at risk or actually affected by disasters»³⁴.

The EVA project (*Eco Villaggio Austocostruito*) was established in Pescomaggiore (AQ), a small municipality included in the Gran Sasso Monti della Laga National Park. On 6 April 2009, an earthquake with a magnitude of 6.3 on the Richter scale strongly affected this area, specifically L'Aquila city and its fourteen outlying villages. After the disaster, a group of residents refused to accept the housing recovery solutions proposed by the government (CASE project) and opted for autonomous recovery. They developed a housing project in the form of a self-built ecovillage, characterized by earthquake-proof buildings made of straw and wood. The EVA project is a sustainable, bio-architecture project, which responds to the needs of the reconstruction and preservation of a socio-cultural heritage that is at risk of disappearing. The project is also a paradigmatic example of a community-based response to an external shock.

The village consists of small houses, built according to the criteria of minimal environmental impact, and in compliance with the anti-seismic and building standards. The housing units utilize traditional construction methods using wood as a load-bearing structure and straw as a padding material. Local and operational knowledge is complemented by innovative and biosustainable techniques: thermal panels ensure water heating; photovoltaic systems provide the energy needed for buildings. The choice of straw as a building material, in line with initiatives already experimented with in European and extra-European regions, entails considerable advantages for safety, economy and quality of life. The straw buildings, due to the flexibility of the material, are more resistant to earthquakes than those made of brick or reinforced concrete, as they absorb vibrations without any structural failure. A thatched house is simple to make, as it adapts to self-construction and can allow for active collaboration and voluntary involvement by various social actors.

Further interventions on the environment, agriculture, handicrafts and tourism are among the activities addressed in the parallel ALMA project (*Abitare-Lavoro-Memoria-Ambiente*). Its main objective is the cultivation of indigenous agricultural species, in order to preserve agronomic biodiversity: it also aims to trigger economic activity, including not only the export of products, but also the promotion of the need to “return to the land”. Harvesting and processing products follow seasonal rhythms. They are accompanied by festivities and educational moments.

The local community, by becoming actively engaged in the experience, has gained ever greater awareness of its territorial, cultural and environmental heritage. The movement of society towards place consciousness has therefore

³⁴ Coles, Buckle 2004, p. 7.

been remarkable. It has been expressed in the realization of buildings and collective spaces, in the practice of volunteering, in the recovering and sharing of knowledge, and last but not least, in the creation of a “time bank”. Further prospects for self-sustainable economic development have been created, going beyond the local area. The village of Pescomaggiore was also included in the project Active Villages³⁵, which promoted, through a participatory planning process, the elaboration of a “places statute” and the drafting of guidelines for the development and aesthetics of Pescomaggiore. The community has been involved in a one-year journey consisting of meetings, assemblies, questionnaires and collective discussions, all aimed at the development of place identity, and focused on the requests and needs to guide the future growth of the village. These requests, neatly collected in a summary document, are available to the administration, and contain information on the reconstruction progress.

3. Natural parks and territorial systems as key elements in heritage management and development programmes

3.1 Environmental and cultural heritage management and social value development in Natural Parks

Parks and protected areas help to construct and sustain cultural identities, as they highlight the connections between communities, landscapes and places.

Natural parks are mainly constituted to preserve fragile ecosystems, through the definition of protected areas and the creation of borders between inner and outer spaces. However, in order to properly protect and enhance the environmental heritage, it is necessary to overcome this self-referential vision and to adopt a systems perspective, such as the Viable Systems Approach (VSA): this is an Italian research stream that applies the principles of systems thinking to the study of business management issues³⁶. Indeed, natural parks are viable economic systems: they build symbiotic relationships with the surrounding context, because they are both the result of men and nature having lived closely together³⁷. Furthermore, they are both subjected to the socio-economic changes of the territory over a long period of time. Heritage value is not intrinsic, and it does not exclusively affect the natural component: rather, it derives from the dynamic interaction between different agents, and, within the framework of a broader cultural perspective, it can only be assigned by people.

³⁵ <www.borghiattivi.it>, 28.09.2018.

³⁶ Among the many references, see Golinelli 2010.

³⁷ Barile *et al.* 2015.

The search for the role of parks in the local context opens itself to many possibilities for development, and it defines effective scenarios of sustainable management and community engagement. While the park maintains its viable system configuration and its protection purpose, it also contributes to the enrichment of the territory and to the creation of new values, both for the territory and beyond it. It does this through the establishment of national and international networks. The construction of networks is a possible model of park governance, and it has frequently been applied in Italy. The Italian tradition of protected area management dates back to the early twentieth century. It never conceived parks as enclosed spaces or wildlife sanctuaries, but as part of a complex ecological and cultural fabric³⁸. This tradition is related to the strong cultural character of Italian Parks, in contrast, for instance, to the naturalist-functionalist American school of thought. In some areas, it has led to the elaboration of landscape plans as part of a territorial planning process, and it has promoted the constitution of park networks, such as the Val di Cornia Cultural and Environmental Parks System (Tuscany). Furthermore, the Italian experience stands out in its management of large archaeological sites, which has influenced the development of similar experiences in other countries³⁹.

The focus on enhancement extends the purposes of the parks and changes the concept of protection. Parks are organizations managed by professionals and designed to preserve ecosystems threatened with extinction, but they are also areas located in a wider territory, and as such, they should contribute to promoting environmental sustainability, economic sustainability and social sustainability. To achieve these objectives, they must develop a long-term management vision and assume a “Service-Dominant Logic”⁴⁰ based on the market demands and needs. Furthermore, they must understand which values have to be promoted, and must ensure the active participation of users in the co-creation of these values. The application of sustainable marketing strategies does not compromise the educational goals; on the contrary, it could give the community at large an awareness of the cultural needs, the sustainable behaviours, and the opportunities for the socio-economic development of the whole territory⁴¹.

3.2 The territorial viable system as a cultural heritage governance model

Within the methodological framework of the viable systems approach, the territory could be defined as a «cohesive and organized entity, capable of a unified and coherent address, with a compelling link between potential growth,

³⁸ González 2013, p. 27.

³⁹ González 2013, with bibliographic references.

⁴⁰ Lusch, Vargo 2006.

⁴¹ Chhabra 2015.

competitiveness, attractiveness and identity preservation»⁴². It could provide a cultural heritage governance model: the territorial viable system⁴³. This model is useful for supporting government decisions, as it allows the evaluation of project proposals for the enhancement of the geographical area, the development of a territorial vocation and the growth of competitive territorial systems, to improve their chances of survival⁴⁴. However, there are many factors to be taken into consideration, and there are still many critical elements relating to the definition of the “corporate product offering”: this expression indicates the set of tangible and intangible features which constitute the offering benefits that include services, products and meaningful aspects connected to ethical, social and cultural values⁴⁵.

A territory exists as a set of qualified resources that make it recognizable and that are essential for its competitiveness, as well as for the legitimacy of its governing body. In order to characterize the operative structure of the territorial viable system, it is necessary to distinguish between resource components (natural, artistic, cultural, structural, urban, infrastructural, etc.), which must belong to the geographical area, and systemic components (firms, social organizations, institutions, and individuals), which have an independent capacity to generate value based on the pursuit of greater chances of their survival⁴⁶. In such a framework, it is possible to overcome the paradox detected by Emma Waterton, who could not find a distinct role for the “public” within the management process of “public heritage”, and who remarked that, more often than not, this role lies at the end of the process, in the form of educational or informational criteria⁴⁷.

By adopting the above-mentioned perspective of service-dominant logic and assimilating the territorial system with the service system model, the resource components of the territory take on an “operand” role, to render the resources operative in the process of fruition. Conversely, the systemic components (decision makers and operators) play the role of “operant” resources: they interact dynamically with the cultural heritage, bringing their own experiences, knowledge and skills⁴⁸.

The engagement of all the stakeholders (§ 5) involves the innovation of the park’s offerings and supports the co-creation of value: the “pre-packaged

⁴² Golinelli 2002, p. 87.

⁴³ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁴ Golinelli 2002; Barile, Saviano 2012, p. 123, with bibliographic references.

⁴⁵ Golinelli, Sfodera 2015, pp. 149-155.

⁴⁶ Barile, Saviano 2012, p. 124; Barile *et al.* 2015, pp. 90-91.

⁴⁷ «The paradox [...] is that we have the label “public heritage”, but there is no distinct role for the “public” within the management process [...] the public is largely removed from the equation by a process that enables archaeological and other heritage experts consistently to apply hegemonic understandings of the past by allocating exclusive priority to monumental and scientific values» (Waterton 2005, p. 319).

⁴⁸ Barile, Saviano 2012, p. 125; Barile *et al.* 2015, pp. 99-101, with bibliographic references.

value” is replaced with a “value proposition”, which allows users access to a service platform, and makes it possible to co-produce a variety of experiences.

Marketing oriented to the stakeholders’ needs creates awareness of the specific features of the territory, and helps to ensure the conservation of biodiversity and the sustainable use of resources⁴⁹. A further step is co-management, which implies the participation of local actors in decision-making and governance. According to Carlsson and Berkes, «co-management is a continuous problem-solving process, rather than a fixed state, involving extensive deliberation, negotiation and joint learning within problem-solving networks»⁵⁰.

4. *Towards a global approach to natural and cultural heritage: the network strategy*

The construction of non-hierarchical collaborative networks is an effective tool for the management of museums and ecomuseums, because it highlights the link with the territory as a whole and emphasizes the social value of private participation in the integrated enhancement of public properties⁵¹. Thus, these networks increase the informational potentiality of local institutions and advance their economic competitiveness.

In addition to supporting the management of individual areas, the networks encourage shared strategies and action plans, promote the economic and social resources, and stimulate the exchange of information and skills. Therefore, global and local networks can provide an effective model of governance for cultural and natural parks⁵², which are viable economic systems and build synergistic relationships with the surrounding context⁵³. The factors that determine the success of a parks network include the integration of historical-cultural and naturalistic resources, the cooperation between different institutional levels, the innovation of communication strategies, and the ways in which communities and stakeholders are involved. Due the combination of many contrasting elements, network governance is a difficult process and requires constant attention, particularly when it involves cultural and natural heritage: potential

⁴⁹ Meade 2004.

⁵⁰ Carlsson, Berkes 2005.

⁵¹ The available bibliography on the subject is broad and ranges from the theoretical perspectives to the field experiences. See Seddio 2013.

⁵² To manage cultural and environmental parks and archaeological sites, different types of governance models can be applied: for instance, models concerning the devolution of national policy-making and management to regional and local governments, public-private partnerships, non-profit institutions and common pool resources management. For an overview and some case studies, see Gould 2018.

⁵³ Barile *et al.* 2015. See §§ 3.1 and 3.2.

factors of crisis are the relationship between the public and private sectors, and the delicate balance between commodification, protection and enhancement.

The Val di Cornia Cultural and Environmental Parks System (Tuscany) is a meaningful example of bottom-up governance that has pioneered a close collaboration between different municipalities and between the public and the private, since its establishment in 1993⁵⁴. When in 2007 it became a fully public shareholding structure, according to the “in house providing” model, it continued to experiment with joint management forms in order to deliver cultural and commercial services. Currently, however, the Val Cornia system, as well as other park networks, is going through a phase of weakness⁵⁵. Among the crisis factors are an increasing attention to heritage protection and enhancement by the public administrations, and a growing focus on the financial aspects. Local communities are often excluded from management policies, while entrepreneurs and private companies tend to reduce their investments.

The strong naturalistic imprint of the Abruzzo region has led to the establishment of numerous parks and reserves that live in close symbiosis with the ecomuseums and with a network of thematic museums spread throughout the territory. They are often linked to archaeological sites and hosted in historical buildings. The goal is to reach beyond the concept of “widespread heritage”, and to develop the aspect of “synergy”. The “productive synergies” have shaped the territory and must be studied, recovered and valued in the same way as the “landscape synergies”, because they are both testimonies of the local communities’ stories, and also the elements on which the place identities are founded.

The inclusion of parks, museums and ecomuseums in national and European networks brings visibility and reputation. The Majella National Park belongs to a European network of wild protected areas (PAN Parks) that has been awarded Official Certification by the International Protected Area Network Foundation. It has become the eighth park in Europe and the first of the Mediterranean area to obtain such recognition, which is reserved for protected areas of considerable naturalistic value and high management standards, both for the quality of the initiatives and for the strategies of sustainable tourism⁵⁶.

A growing phenomenon is the organization of “neo-rural networks”. The local associations and the producers’ consortia that belong to the “neo-rural world” are an evolving reality. This new model of rural economy is spreading widely in Abruzzo, and awareness of the networks’ existence is progressively increasing. The meeting opportunities, workshops, conferences, and fairs favour the creation of a network culture, which does not limit, but rather stimulates the territorial specificities and the vocations of the “neo-rural group”. In Abruzzo,

⁵⁴ <www.parchivaldicornia.it>, 26.09.2018.

⁵⁵ Cerquetti 2012, with bibliographic references; Brogiolo 2014.

⁵⁶ <www.parcomajella.it>, 16.06.2018.

social farming projects have also been recently implemented. Social agriculture is a particular and innovative form of neo-rurality. It supports medical therapies and social assistance services, allowing the inclusion of disadvantaged workers and people with disabilities. The phenomenon still tends to develop through bottom-up initiatives and spontaneous collaborations between social workers and agricultural entrepreneurs. But the protagonists of these experiences are engaged in coordinating the different territorial realities, in order to build a supra-territorial body that promotes and manages networking projects.

By creating global and local networks, communication strategies have a considerable weight; this is also the case for the crowdsourcing process.

The term “crowdsourcing” defines an economic model of collective participation. It is based on the sharing of knowledge on a large scale, for the conception, realization and development of work projects. In order to collect opinions and sponsor new ideas, it makes extensive use of the tools and resources made available by the Web. The evolution of digital communication and new technologies allows the creation of Web-based social knowledge, thereby influencing the market dynamics in the heritage industry and the decision-making processes, as well as improving the interaction between individuals, companies and organizations⁵⁷.

To communicate heritage, experts should adopt a multi-vocal approach and calibrate the languages and tools according to the different social groups to be achieved and included. Furthermore, classic media, such as paper catalogues, should be complemented by more modern ones, such as websites, online browsing and smart applications. These communication strategies are spreading, and are involving different categories of tangible and intangible heritage⁵⁸.

A further aspect not to be overlooked is tourist commodification. This issue has currently become a focus item in Italy, mostly as an aspect of public archaeology⁵⁹. The degree of commodification for tourist purposes involves the definition of inheritance, and also concerns the discussion on the limits not to be overcome. The question also affects the governance and the communication of assets, and the relationships of power between institutions, communities and other stakeholders.

⁵⁷ Papaluca 2016, with bibliographic references.

⁵⁸ Brogiolo 2014; Russo Spina *et al.* 2016; Pallecchi 2017; Chavarria *et al.* 2018.

⁵⁹ Merriman 2004; Brogiolo 2014; Chavarria *et al.* 2018; Valenti 2018, with bibliographic references.

5. Stakeholder involvement in cultural heritage management and territorial planning

The current attitude to cultural heritage is to overcome the opposition between the public and the private sectors, and to encourage citizens' participation in the enhancement of public property⁶⁰. According to the Faro Convention, the participation of local communities, within the framework of public action, is an essential factor in valuing the specific aspects of cultural heritage to be safeguarded and passed on to future generations. Moreover, the involvement of interested parties, both in the nomination process and in the management of UNESCO's World Heritage properties, is explicitly required in the Operational Guidelines. Also, it is (or should be) systematically monitored, to ensure the spread of community-based initiatives and the preservation of local identities that might otherwise disappear⁶¹.

Dealing with stakeholders allows the experts to identify all kinds of discourses in order to better understand our past, and consequently to project present and future actions. There are several points of view and different opinions concerning the content and meaning of natural and cultural heritage for each person or group of people. Recognizing the multiple options implies accepting "multi-vocality" and developing measures to improve communication among stakeholders⁶². "Multi-vocality" is a key concept in tackling heritage issues, particularly in post-crisis scenarios. Indeed, the socially innovative, open and inclusive, multi-vocal and communal character of heritage is the starting point for new political and economic scenarios and for promoting social change and sustainability. Consequently, the experts need to renew their vision of the horizon, as well as to negotiate in a positive manner the rising conflicts that affect heritage and that condition attitudes towards it, in increasingly multi-vocal and multicultural environments⁶³. According to the Stakeholder Theory, business scholars have also contributed to this debate by highlighting not only the multi-dimensional nature of the value of cultural heritage, but also the multi-subjectivity that complicates the governance and management process, given the diverging interests of actors⁶⁴.

A critical issue is how to select the stakeholders. Alicia Castillo underlines the necessity to review the ways in which the "professionals of culture" identify the stakeholders and the social actors that should be involved in heritage management⁶⁵. According to the traditional view, these are mainly the "direct

⁶⁰ For a review of recent government initiatives and for a comparison with the European directives on participatory management of cultural heritage, see Volpe 2016.

⁶¹ Díaz-Andreu 2016.

⁶² Castillo 2015, pp. 64-65.

⁶³ Criado-Boado *et al.* 2015, pp. 58-59.

⁶⁴ Saviano, Montella 2017, p. 151, with bibliographic references.

⁶⁵ Castillo 2015, pp. 65-66.

agents”, such as scholars and organizations that work with cultural heritage (experts, research teams, landscape managers, administration agents with competence for the archaeological sites, civil associations, and so on). Less frequently, cultural heritage management plans include the “indirect agents” as well: these are organizations or persons who in different ways have to act, or are affected by heritage enhancement initiatives (property owners, environmental agencies, patrons and sponsors, urban planning enterprises, municipalities and so on). In order to plan a successful project and to facilitate the research works and the management proposals, the experts must also consider the “negative actors or organizations” that might boycott the project, should it fail to meet their needs or if it spreads diseases. This negative attitude frequently occurs towards urban archaeological excavations or towards overly restrictive measures of protection in natural areas. In such cases, the heritage articulations and the wishes of local communities have been ignored, and hegemonic strategies have been imposed. In order to avoid this negative feedback, it is essential to replace the academic and linear concept of “heritagization” with a participative and collaborative one, by integrating other values in the production of knowledge, such as emotions, experiences and creativity⁶⁶.

Stakeholder participation and informal planning have proved to be indispensable tools for better understanding of cultural landscapes; they have also provided key elements for self-sustainable territorial development and for creating a bond of trust between institutions and communities.

A recent contribution, dedicated to three archaeological sites in northern Europe, shows how the self-organization processes have had positive effects on the economy of the territory and on the recovery of collective memory⁶⁷. Residents focus on the relationships between place awareness and the enhancement of the local resources on which they have traditionally subsisted; thus, they accept the presence of legislative restrictions, perceiving them not as annoyances, but as elements that protect their identity⁶⁸. On the contrary, resource conservation strategies, mainly characterized by top-down approaches, may lead to communities’ resentment of any restriction attempt. The consequence is a growing sense of detachment between the communities and “their” places, which can also result in acts of vandalism. The arson-induced fires that hit the Majella and Morrone massif in the summer of 2017 are still an open wound, and require restoration and reconversion interventions within a spatial development plan. In the natural reserves, farmers and breeders protest against the limitations imposed for the conservation of the floristic and faunistic

⁶⁶ Criado-Boado *et al.* 2015, p. 58.

⁶⁷ Maluck 2016.

⁶⁸ The case study of Daming Palace (China) is particularly meaningful. The UNESCO World Heritage nomination and the consequent development of tourism have remarkably changed the relationship between the communities and the archaeological heritage. The international interest has therefore increased the social value assigned by the local groups to “their” heritage (Gao 2016).

biodiversity. Therefore, this situation needs a transition from preservationist and state-driven strategies of natural and cultural resources management to a collaborative management approach. Institutions are becoming more sensitive to these issues and more flexible towards communities' requirements.

The Majella Park, in agreement with the local municipalities and with agro-zootechnical companies, implements active protection policies, adopts the eco-economic development model, and promotes projects for the functional recovery of the territory. In paragraph 6.3 I will present the positive experience of Saint Anthony's Wood (Pescocostanzo), a wood pasture nationally and internationally recognized as a biotope of high environmental and historical value. These experiences teach that the socio-cultural environment and community heritage are interdependent, and that even traditional practices are an essential part of the place social value⁶⁹. Furthermore, they demonstrate that the implementation of an inclusive policy and the recognition of the stakeholders' role can help to resolve conflicts between different social actors competing over land use; they also assist in harmonizing the different needs and requirements, such as development, protection and inhabitants' well-being.

There is an increasing demand for public participation, because people and communities are becoming more self-confident in claiming their rights to manage their heritage and to participate in developments that are impacting their lives. Institutions tend to respond positively and to involve stakeholders in spatial planning processes. Such social conciliation could solve or prevent conflict, and the experts should restate their role as mediators of the social actors' demands regarding the use of heritage in their daily lives. This strategy ensures the flexible control of community-based initiatives, the promotion of the balance between economic and social needs, and the protection of ecosystems and historical-cultural assets. Therefore, it is important to establish effective communication among the stakeholders, and to create connections between their different values and wishes. The success of a community-involved heritage management project depends on the relationships with all the social actors, and on the awareness of their differences. In order to keep in contact with them and provide them with regular updates about the project's activities and results, institutions and professionals need to integrate different channels and communication strategies, such as implementing social networks, creating e-mail newsletters and organizing meetings. An effective solution is to construct a dynamic map of stakeholders, articulating their different discourses, needs and possibilities⁷⁰.

Institutional bodies frequently welcome participation and funding from entrepreneurs and businesses that are interested in gaining visibility and promoting their brand. The advantages are undeniable, in terms of the

⁶⁹ UNESCO 2013, p. 12.

⁷⁰ Castillo 2015, p. 67.

maintenance of properties, the communication of knowledge and the common well-being. The Majella Park, for instance, takes part in research activities and encourages long-term collaborative partnerships between different stakeholders, such as businesses, universities, municipalities, government agencies, landowners, local associations and groups of volunteers. In this way, the Park provides a variety of educational offerings and a wide range of high-quality tourism opportunities.

Sharing knowledge and objectives stimulates research, innovation and growth. Historical-archaeological awareness is particularly valuable, both in spatial planning and in heritage management. Planners can recover the anthropic activities that have shaped the landscapes, and can apply historical-archaeological views to define and develop environments for high quality of life.

6. *Inner areas of the Abruzzo region: future scenarios built on the past*

From a long-term perspective, many of Abruzzo's inner areas – which have been affected by earthquakes and hydrogeological hazards, and disadvantaged by marginalization and depopulation – have demonstrated their resilient capacity, and have been able to retain their own identities by rediscovering a cultural heritage that it is worth preserving and promoting. These fragile areas require restoration works to be reconverted into resources, within the framework of a global territorial development plan. Abruzzo is marked by a great geodiversity, a high percentage of mountain areas, and a rich fauna and flora: features which have led to the establishment of numerous natural parks and reserves throughout the region.

I focus on the Majella National Park, which is located in the most inaccessible and wildest area of the central Apennine. The Park's territory consists of carbonate mountains, separated by valleys and karst plateaus (fig. 1). Its landscapes are impressive and have found expression in artistic and literary works. In the play *L'avventura di un povero Cristiano*, Ignazio Silone, attentive to the historical and social events that marked the inland Abruzzo, identifies in the Majella landscapes a sort of *genius loci*⁷¹:

Its spurs, its caves, its passes are laden with memories. In the same places where once upon a time, as in a Thebaid, innumerable hermits lived, in more recent times hundreds and hundreds of outlaws, of escaped prisoners of war, of partisans, were hidden, assisted by a large part of the population [...] events so disparate [...] bring to light some constant traits of the character of these mountaineers. Among these, there has never been a lack of bizarre individuals attracted to the religious or political utopia, and others (like everywhere,

⁷¹ Silone 1968, pp. 18-19.

the majority) who are completely ordinary, common, closed, and even rough and narrow-minded; but, if necessary, both capable of exceptional acts of generosity and courage⁷².

At present, the Majella National Park boasts remarkable natural and cultural heritage, such as archaeological sites, historical monuments, dry-stone tholos huts and walls, and abandoned mines. It preserves different types of cultural landscapes shaped by traditional economic activities and perceived as testimonies of the communities' history, including agro-forestry-pastoral landscapes, mining and industrial districts, cave and karst landscapes, and religious sites. The holistic reading of landscapes is expressed in thematic projects, and requires an interdisciplinary approach, in order to define the relationships between the past and the present. The good practices evidenced through my study lead to envisaging future scenarios that improve (even on a legislative level) the integration between research, innovation, participatory management and sustainability.

6.1 Mining landscape and participatory management

In the northern Majella, asphalt has been mined from prehistory until recent periods. The mining deposits are mostly located in the municipalities of Abbateggio, Manoppello, Lettomanoppello, Roccamorice, San Valentino and Scafa (fig. 1). The river Lavino, a right-hand tributary of the Pescara, is the hub of the innermost mining districts, and the valleys of Santo Spirito, San Bartolomeo, Fosso Sant'Angelo and Fosso Cusano flow into its riverbed. For centuries the inhabitants used asphalt to waterproof buildings; shepherds used it to light fires around the sheep pens ("stazzi") and to mark the animals. The mining industries grew in the last two centuries, when English, French and German companies opened new mines, or took over and expanded existing ones. They also provided the territory with infrastructures (narrow-gauge railway lines, cableways) in order to connect the extraction sites with the refining factories and the transport routes of the bottom valley.

These activities have left traces that may be identified using remote sensing, and by applying regressive analysis and an ethnoarchaeological approach⁷³.

The abandoned mining landscape is relatively well preserved. The open-air quarries are located where the slope is less accentuated, and the bitumen veins are on the surface. They have produced macroscopic features (landfills, residues of the extraction and refining processes, traces/fragments of infrastructures) that delineate a "third landscape" (according to Gilles Clément's definition⁷⁴), which is easily identifiable on the orthophotos. In the most heavily exploited

⁷² Translation by this paper's author.

⁷³ Colecchia, Agostini 2014, with bibliographic references.

⁷⁴ Clément 2014.

sites, the quarry fronts are clearly visible, and the different height levels in the excavation areas can be perceived through 3D modelling.

The geomorphological and environmental characteristics have determined the great number of tunnel mines. The survey via the Global Position System has allowed the identification and positioning of numerous entries, mostly located along the rocky ridges and covered by shrub vegetation (fig. 2).

The research carried out by the institutional bodies effectively supports the systematic activities of the GRAIM (Majella Industrial Archaeology Research Group). In June 2015 the exploration of the tunnel mines along the Santo Spirito valley, near the medieval hermitage, led to the discovery of the “Grotta della Lupa” (“Cave of She-wolf”, 1075 m a.s.l.), a karst formation of considerable speleological and scientific value, in which osteological and fossil findings have been identified (fig. 3). The Speleo Club, the Archaeological Superintendence of Fine Arts and Landscape, and the Majella National Park were involved in the surveys. Furthermore, the Majella Park initiated and coordinated a multidisciplinary study aimed at investigating the geomorphological, palaeontological and historical-anthropological aspects of the geosite (fig. 4). More recently (summer 2017), a tunnel was discovered in the Orta valley in the municipality of San Valentino in Abruzzo Citeriore. The existence of this tunnel, which was part of the whole mining system, has been reported to the Archaeological Superintendence, and the site has been detected and documented.

Due to the consistency of the archeominerary district that is partly to be investigated, and given the importance of the geological heritage, the Park has submitted to the National Commission its candidacy to become a UNESCO Geopark. A complex dossier was therefore drawn up and the most significant geosites were selected; some of them have been already declared of international importance and of scientific interest, and have been protected by the MiBACT.

This participatory process was triggered from the bottom (bottom-up processing) and has stimulated initiatives from the top (top-down processing). It has solicited direct institutional interventions, creating an effective collaboration between different stakeholders. As further step, a Memorandum of Understanding has been established between different bodies, including the State Property Administration, the Archaeological Superintendence, the Abruzzo Region, and the Majella National Park. Subsequently, these partners will be joined by the interested municipalities, the GRAIM association, and the “D’Annunzio” University, in order to protect and enhance the underground mines and the industrial archaeology structures. The purpose is to develop a Mining Park including mines open to the public, a museum, a documentation centre for the conservation of artefacts and archival documents, and intangible heritage, which consists of the memories and testimonies of the miners and their families⁷⁵. This is the result of participatory planning, which is presently being

⁷⁵ An interesting example of an archeominerary park is located in the Val-de-Travers (canton of

used in study meetings sponsored by the Majella Park and the Superintendence, and in workshops involving the volunteers of the GRAIM, who are engaged in their research and in the distribution of their experiences through videos, photos, articles and the use of social networks (figs. 5-6). On special occasions the Park, together with the Superintendence and the GRAIM, plans geological and historical-cultural excursions to the complex of bituminous mines. On a regular basis, local cooperatives organize walking tours in and around the safest and most accessible mining sites.

6.2 Agro-forestry-pastoral landscapes: a key point for sustainable development

The signs of agro-pastoral activity are one of the strong points of the touristic opportunities provided by the Majella Park. Pastoralism, associated with forms of “marginal” agriculture, has been one of the cornerstones of the Abruzzo economy since Neolithic times, and has marked the landscape, culture and lifestyles of local communities. The stone huts, used by both shepherds and farmers, are the most evident marker of the Abruzzo agro-pastoral landscape. There are also traces of seasonal agricultural practices: the land to be cultivated was obtained along the slopes, appropriately terraced; the stones were removed from the fields and piled up in “macere” or were used for the construction of huts and walls; the huts served as temporary shelter and storage for tools (fig. 7). The project *Paesaggio Agrario Costruito* (Built Agricultural Landscape), funded by the Abruzzo region, aims to recover dry-stone artefacts, to understand and file them. In order to restore them properly, traditional techniques are employed, and the workers are re-educated on the ancient construction methods. The Park provides detailed information by using classic media such as paper catalogues, educational brochures and conferences, as well as more modern media such as websites, GPS tracking, online browsing and smart applications. Visitors can utilize them to organize a physical or a virtual tour.

Recent research has shown a further factor to be highlighted in the creation of valorization projects and in the articulation of touristic itineraries. The coincidence between the mining sites and the structures linked to pastoralism, already verified in the Neolithic, can also be found in the last two centuries in various places. These include Acquafredda, San Giorgio, Fosso Sant’Angelo, Stalle del Papa, Fonticelle and Decontra di Caramanico. The Acquafredda site (900-1000 m in altitude) is an interesting example of continuity of attendance: it is occupied by an extensive open-air cave, mined until the end of the last

century. Today it is covered by wild vegetation and collapsed layers, as well as traces of pastoral usage (fig. 8).

The project *Coltiviamo la diversità* (Cultivating Diversity) directly involves the communities that have conserved a cultural *substratum* which is still linked to traditions and ancient knowledge. The Park Custodian Farmers Network recovers, grows and markets indigenous varieties, supplying restaurants and agritourisms that offer dishes of the local food. To avoid the risk of extinction of the local cultivars, the Majella Germplasm Bank and botanical gardens were created, where the varieties are grown in the showcase fields.

From the activities described so far, it has become clear that in planning future scenarios combining research, innovation and sustainability, we must not neglect forms of bottom-up planning, and must recognize the driving role played by local communities in the revitalization and management of fragile areas.

6.3 *Towards the development of an active and participatory protection culture: the management of Saint Anthony's Wood (Pescocostanzo, AQ)*

In south-eastern Majella, the territory of Pescocostanzo (AQ) preserves notable features of the landscape system known as *difesa*. The *difesa* is a land-use system similar to the *dehesa* in Spain⁷⁶, and is characterized by the combination of forestry and grazing components interrelating with each other in the same area⁷⁷. The *difese* (Spanish *dehesas*) were state or feudal wood pastures for collective use. They were south-facing and generally located near the settlements, and they allowed seasonal agriculture and the breeding of farm animals to coexist harmoniously. During the summer, the herd had access to the *difese*, while in the valley the pastures were moved to produce hay. In the early nineteenth century, due to the subversive laws of feudalism and the crisis of transhumance, the *difese* lost their function and their identifying characteristics: many wood pastures were divided into lots to be allocated to farmers for private use.

The Bosco di Sant'Antonio (Saint Anthony's Wood) is still well preserved; thus, it is one of the most valuable Italian historical landscapes⁷⁸. The wood pasture (*defesa*) is spread over three hills and covers about 710 hectares in the northern part of the Pescocostanzo basin. It has been included in the Majella

⁷⁶ San Miguel Ayanz 1994.

⁷⁷ At present, the wood pasture system is widespread in the Alpine regions of Austria and Switzerland, in the Vosges and in the central French Massif, in the Iberian Peninsula (the Spanish *dehesa*, the Portuguese *montado*), as well as in Hungary, in England and in Germany (Emanueli, Agnoletti 2016, pp. 142-143). In Italy, the wood pastures are currently concentrated in Sardinia, in the Apennine area and in some regions of the South (Grove, Rackham 2003).

⁷⁸ Bevilacqua 2013, pp. 405-407.

National Park as a high protection territory (Zone A: “integral reserve”) since 1991. The most peculiar characteristic of the *difesa* system is its savanna-like physiognomy, with changing densities along a continuous tree cover, and livestock grazing in the undercover (fig. 9). The trees (beeches, turkey oaks, apple trees and wild pear trees) are of considerable size. They provide livestock with shade, and they also guarantee seeds, fruit, and above all, branches. The “candelabra shape” of the most ancient trees derives from the “capitozzatura”, which is a peculiar type of pruning practised to supply livestock with branches and wood essences, to improve the growth of the plants and to defend them from the attacks of pathogens (fig. 10). There are clearings between the trees⁷⁹.

In recent decades, the system has been threatened, and the resulting landscape has undergone a notable reduction. In fact, overly conservative protection has been causing the advance of the forest, the uncontrolled development of the undergrowth, and consequently the reduction of the clearings; thus, new trees have been growing near the old ones. The involvement of local communities in the maintenance and re-use of the *difesa* system would limit this phenomenon and promote self-sustainable development. Furthermore, the restoration of collective and multifunctional land use could reduce the progressive depopulation of these mountain areas.

In Spain, for instance, the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development and the Biodiversity Foundation launched the Somos Dehesa project⁸⁰. This project, started in 2008, aims to promote the extensive breeding of cattle in the wild state and to avoid the degradation and destruction of its original habitat (the *dehesas* of Extremadura). It also encourages the local economic development, enhances the historical and ethnographic heritage of the *dehesas*, and creates self-sustainable tourism circuits. These goals have been achieved through participatory planning initiatives.

Recently, even in the Pescocostanzo basin, interventions for functional community recovery have been started. In this area, animal husbandry still plays a fundamental role. Despite having undergone modernization, the zootechnical activity is still practised in compliance with the traditions and customs that regulate land access breeding, the mowing of meadows, and the use of wood pasture for feeding cattle. In the marginal areas of the protected reserve of Saint Anthony’s Wood, around forty small and medium-sized farms are operating, raising livestock to a semi-wild state, and grazing cattle and sheep in places still subject to the common lands management⁸¹. The emergence of cooperative organizations among farms and local producers fuels the self-sustainable development, complements the touristic opportunities, and enriches the potential of the Majella National Park.

⁷⁹ Manzi 2012.

⁸⁰ <www.rurex.juntaextremadura.es/somosdehesa>, 16.06.2018.

⁸¹ Di Renzo 2013.

In this way, the active and participatory protection of the local assets has been realized by implementing the management skills of all the actors within the territorial system. In addition to ensuring the rational use of environmental resources, the rules of common land guarantee the maintenance of an agro-forestry-pastoral landscape of extraordinary beauty. It is a strong attraction for a qualified and demanding tourism and a valuable ecological reserve for floristic and faunistic biodiversity. It would be ideal to adopt a more flexible approach and to authorize, even within the most protected reserve (Zone A), interventions to restore natural resources by allowing the grazing of animals and the traditional pruning of trees (“capitozzatura”), as well as by reconnecting rural to urban areas and contributing to the well-being of the entire population.

7. Conclusions

This paper has provided an overview of cultural properties’ protection laws; it has also underlined a reversal of perspective and a development of an increasingly active and participatory protection culture: top-down and bottom-up projects are being carried out both in Italy and in other countries. A fundamental goal to reach is the enhancement of local resources by promoting place identities and by creating self-sustainable tourism circuits. In the last twenty years, many scholars from different disciplines have been discussing self-sustainable development, community maps, place identity, community heritage and heritage communities, as well as a systemic approach to the territory, top-down and bottom-up planning, and network strategies. At the same time, local initiatives have been multiplying in order to re-evaluate traditional knowledge and environmental resources.

Having reviewed the most meaningful contributions on these subjects, this paper has focused on some inner Abruzzo areas, where natural parks assume a fundamental driving role in the management of heritage. By encouraging stakeholder participation and involving local communities, the parks give them the opportunity to develop cohesive partnerships and to create innovative local enterprises and new sources of revenue.

It is worth asking what marginality is, and when a territory becomes marginal. All the spaces where agriculture cannot impose itself as the prevalent productive activity are usually defined “marginal”, as is the case of mountainous areas, marshes and humid areas. These spaces are marginal due to their location, the infertility of the soil, and the climate that make them unsuitable for the main activities of agricultural transformation and production; they are marginal because they are not involved within an efficient and developed system of communication, and they are not easily reachable from a political, religious or

economic hegemonic centre⁸². In many inner areas, however, the environmental conditions and the balanced exploitation of resources have allowed forms of adaptation, which have proved to be positive for the territories' development. The gradual depopulation of the mountains in the last century has given rise to an increasing economic crisis; nevertheless, the initiatives to re-appropriate mountain areas and to activate a sustainable development plan are key in curbing this phenomenon and promoting the recovery of the local tangible and intangible heritage, as well as of the place identities.

Within this substantially positive framework, elements of criticality and dissonance have emerged regarding the definition of some key concepts, such as heritage, community and identity. In some cases, community-based projects keep communities in a subordinate position, mainly with regard to decision-making. In the current globalized society, the disintegration of the social fabric has led to the development of resilient communities, multicultural communities and multi-ethnic communities. Therefore, a truly inclusive policy requires flexible management strategies to be adopted; but scholars and institutions are not always ready to face difficulties and to implement effective territorial marketing policies. The relationship between the public and private sectors and the balance between commodification, protection and enhancement are still hot debate topics, as is the establishment of institutional mechanisms that enable the complex realities of living communities to be resolved in favour of a successful collaborative action.

The case studies illustrate the integration of top-down and bottom-up approaches, but they do not fit into a systemic scenario: they rather result from fortuitous coincidence and common interests. The survey on mining landscapes of the Majella and the establishment of a mining park are, for example, the result of joint actions between public and private actors; the prospects are promising, but the developments have yet to be evaluated. The active and participatory protection realized in the reserve of Saint Anthony's Wood (Pescocostanzo) has solid foundations, but does not yet extend beyond the local area.

These and similar experiences are, however, a decisive response to the global economic and geopolitical crisis, passing through social inclusion, the growth of a sustainable market and the promotion of social well-being.

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Appendix

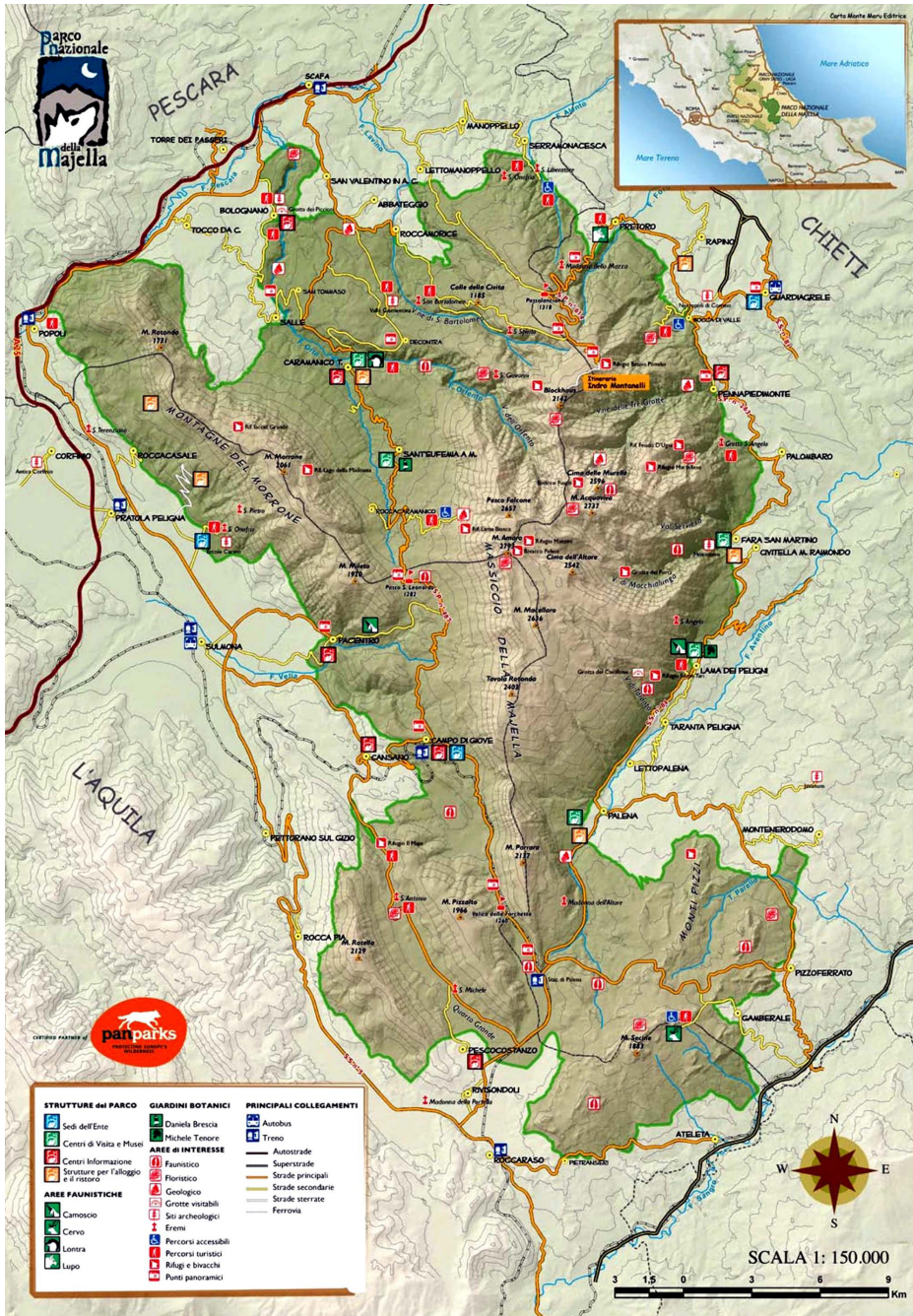


Fig. 1. Majella National Park. Map of the protected area (source: www.parks.it)



Fig. 2. Acquafredda (Roccamorice). Mine's entry (photo by Silvano Agostini)



Fig. 3. The so called “Grotta della Lupa” (Roccamorice). The cave was discovered in 2015. It is accessible from the Santo Spirito mine (m 1075 a.s.l.) (photo by Alessandro Di Cicco)



Fig. 4. The so called “Grotta della Lupa” (Roccamorice). The cave is a karst formation of considerable geological and paleontological value (photo by Matteo D’Alessandro)



Fig. 5. Acquafredda mine (Roccamorice). The inside of the abandoned mine (photo by Gabriele La Rovere)



Fig. 6. Pilon mine (Roccamorice). The inside of the abandoned mine (photo by Matteo D'Alessandro)



Fig. 7. Agro-pastoral landscape in the area of Roccamorice. The most remarkable features of this landscape are the dry-stone masonry, the tholos huts used by both shepherds and farmers, and the piles of stones removed from the fields



Fig. 8. Excursion to the mining complex of Acquafredda (Roccamorice). The picture shows one of the quarry fronts and dry-stone masonry



Fig. 9. Wood pasture known as Bosco di Sant'Antonio (Pescocostanzo). The most peculiar characteristic of the *difesa* system is its savanna-like physiognomy, with changing densities along a continuous tree cover and clearings between the trees (photo by Luciano De Martino)



Fig. 10. Wood pasture known as Bosco di Sant'Antonio (Pescocostanzo). The most ancient trees are 'candelabra shaped', due to the traditional pruning technique called "capitozzatura" (photo by Luciano De Martino)

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