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# The management of cultural heritage and landscape in inner areas

edited by Mara Cerquetti, Leonardo J.  
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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 pesci<sup>1</sup>.

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 chiusa<sup>2</sup>.

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

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

# *Vingt ans après*. Do museum networks really work? A focus on the inland areas of the Marche Region's "seismic crater" (Italy)\*

Mara Cerquetti\*\*

## *Abstract*

The *National Strategy for Inner Areas* defines inner areas as marginal and fragile territories, but also as characterised by unique natural and cultural resources. In order to overcome their weaknesses and ensure that place-specific assets effectively contribute to

\* Developing the work and teachings of Massimo Montella (1948-2019) who dedicated his professional and academic activity to the identification of strategies to improve the conditions and performance of traditional Italian museums. His commitment to the definition of minimum levels for the enhancement of public cultural heritage was tireless and, lastly, led to his involvement in the Joint CSBCP-CUN Committee (Higher Council for Cultural Heritage and Landscape and National University Council) for the definition of professional profiles in the field of cultural heritage. It would have been helpful to have had the opportunity to discuss this paper with him.

*Vingt ans après* is the name Alexandre Dumas gives to the sequel to his *Les Trois Mousquetaires*. This paper discusses the situation twenty years after the establishment of the museum networks set up in the Marche Region's "seismic crater" after the 1997 earthquake.

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local development, the *Strategy* argues the need to develop networks which involve actors and organisations from the cultural and tourism industries. Starting from this premise, the present article uses a case study to explore the current state of affairs and possible development of museum networks set up in the inland areas of central Italy. In the first part, the Italian context is examined, pointing out the main strengths and weaknesses of the cultural tourism offer. Then, relying on suggestions arising from the scientific literature on this matter, the main advantages of strategic networks are set up. In the second part, a qualitative research method is adopted to analyse the museum networks created in the Marche Region's "seismic crater" since the end of the 1990s. The research goes over the key steps of the networking process and identifies its main gaps in terms of strategic planning and professional skills. Finally, the paper highlights the need to implement a multi-level approach involving the state, the Regions and municipalities for the promotion of long-lasting and effective networks.

La *Strategia Nazionale per le Aree Interne* definisce le aree interne come territori fragili e marginali, ma anche caratterizzati da risorse naturali e culturali uniche. Al fine di superare le debolezze di tali aree e garantire un efficace contributo delle risorse *place-specific* allo sviluppo locale, la *Strategia* sostiene la necessità di implementare reti che coinvolgano attori e organizzazioni del settore culturale e turistico. Partendo da questi assunti, il presente lavoro adotta un caso di studio per esplorare lo stato dell'arte e il possibile sviluppo delle reti museali avviate nelle aree interne del centro Italia. Nella prima parte viene esaminato il contesto italiano, mettendo in evidenza i punti di forza e di debolezza dell'offerta culturale e turistica. Successivamente, basandosi sui suggerimenti provenienti dalla letteratura scientifica su quest'argomento, vengono delineati i principali vantaggi delle reti strategiche. Nella seconda parte si analizzano le reti museali costituite nel "cratere sismico" della regione Marche dalla fine degli anni '90 del Novecento avvalendosi di un approccio qualitativo. La ricerca ripercorre i passaggi chiave del processo di networking e identifica le sue principali lacune nella mancanza di pianificazione strategica e competenze professionali. In ultimo, viene messa in luce la necessità di implementare un approccio multi-livello che coinvolga lo Stato, le Regioni e i Comuni nella promozione di reti efficaci e durature.

## 1. Introduction

According to the report edited by Barca *et al.* in 2014, inner areas can be defined as «areas at some considerable distance from hubs providing essential services (education, health and mobility), with a wealth of key environmental and cultural resources of many different kinds, which have been subject to anthropisation for centuries»<sup>1</sup>. This definition highlights both the strengths and the weaknesses of the inland areas which cover 60% of the Italian territory and involve over 4,000 municipalities. On the one hand, they are being abandoned by young people and therefore have an ageing population, as well as low levels of employment and scant industrialisation resulting from the process of persistent marginalisation and depopulation which began after the Second World War.

<sup>1</sup> Barca *et al.* 2014, p. 7.

On the other hand, they feature unique and inimitable natural and cultural resources which can be leveraged to counteract the demographic decline and relaunch the local economy<sup>2</sup>.

Acknowledging the uniqueness of this dual diversity (biodiversity and cultural diversity) and its paramount importance for the sustainable future of Italy, in 2018 the Italian pavilion at the Venice “Biennale” focused on inland areas. Eight itineraries covering the entire peninsula and set out as large books, metaphorically representing a printed guide, were offered, to enable visitors to «discover possible links among a sampling of contemporary architecture, historical villages, excursions, and other initiatives»<sup>3</sup>.

In the current glocal context, this richness is a great opportunity which can attract a new and increasing, but as-yet-unsatisfied, demand for authenticity in tourism consumption<sup>4</sup>, thus contributing to the development of tourism in inland areas<sup>5</sup>. Following the resource-based approach<sup>6</sup>, in order to reach this goal, an integrated system is required to effectively enhance place-specific assets<sup>7</sup>. For this reason, when defining actions aimed at curbing depopulation and relaunching the economies of inland areas, the *National Strategy for Inner Areas* not only considers the enhancement of cultural and natural heritage to be an essential activity for keeping the young population *in situ* as «repositories of territorial historic and cultural heritage»<sup>8</sup>, but also identifies the establishment of local systems and networks as a prerequisite for achieving it. This approach is confirmation that even in fragile and marginal areas, such as vulnerable mountain areas, it is not orography, but rather public policies that can change future development<sup>9</sup>.

Starting from these assumptions, after pointing out the main features of the Italian cultural and tourism offer, this paper examines the scientific literature on cultural and museum networks, suggesting the main advantages of a strategic approach to enhancing local distinctive resources and overcoming the weaknesses of small and as-yet-unknown potential destinations. Then, a case study is discussed, analysing the museum networks developed in the Marche Region’s “seismic crater”<sup>10</sup> since the late 1990s. The research goes over the key

<sup>2</sup> Toscano 2011; Lucatelli 2016; Marchetti *et al.* 2017; De Rossi 2018.

<sup>3</sup> <<https://www.labiennale.org/en/architecture/2018/national-participations/italy>>, 12.02.2019. See also: Cucinella 2018.

<sup>4</sup> Grayson, Martinec 2004; Pine, Gilmore 2007; Baverland, Farrelly 2010.

<sup>5</sup> Pezzi 2017.

<sup>6</sup> Barney 1991; Grant 1991.

<sup>7</sup> Mizzau, Montanari 2008; Lorenzini 2011; Becattini 2015.

<sup>8</sup> Barca *et al.* 2014, p. 44.

<sup>9</sup> Cerea, Marcantoni 2016.

<sup>10</sup> This definition, provided by Law No. 229/2016, identifies the area affected by the earthquakes that hit Central Italy between August 2016 and January 2017. Eighty-seven of the 140 municipalities in the crater are in the Marche Region. See also: Banca d’Italia 2017.

steps of the networking process through a qualitative research method in order to identify:

1. the characteristics of the approaches used over the twenty-year period between the central Italy earthquakes of 1997 and 2016-2017;
2. the main hindrances to the innovation of the museum offer;
3. possible strategies to promote long-lasting and effective networks.

Finally, in order to reverse a long-standing shortage of planning and professional skills, a multi-level framework involving the state, the Regions and municipalities is mapped out.

## *2. Rationale*

### *2.1 Emerging opportunities from the glocal context*

In Italy, tourism is a growing sector with a high potential for development that is still partially untapped.

According to the Italian National Institute of Statistics, from 2010 to 2017, arrivals increased by 53.9%. Owing to the progressive reduction in the length of trips, the overall number of overnight stays increased more modestly (+24.1%)<sup>11</sup>. Nevertheless, in 2017 the tourism sector registered an increase in overnight stays (+5.9%) and achieved results higher than those obtained by other European countries, with 50% of overnight stays of foreign tourists, compared with 31% registered by France and 21% by Germany<sup>12</sup>.

When considering the profitability of tourism, in 2017 Italy registered an increase in the spending of foreign tourists (+7.2%)<sup>13</sup>. According to the estimates by the World Trade and Tourism Council on national tourism, thanks to the increase in tourist arrivals, the contribution of tourism to GDP and employment has grown, too<sup>14</sup>. Between 2010 and 2017, it experienced a continuous and constant increase, in contrast with the contraction in the number of workers registered in the national economy. In 2017, the estimated contribution of tourism to GDP was 5.5% and that of employment was 6.5%, in both cases above the OECD average. If the indirect and induced effects are also considered, these estimates rise respectively to 13% and 15%<sup>15</sup>.

As recently argued by Becheri, the main key to the development of Italian tourism is culture. Ignoring the sterile debate between protection and

<sup>11</sup> Banca d'Italia 2018, p. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Palumbo 2018, p. 91.

<sup>13</sup> Palumbo 2018, p. 92.

<sup>14</sup> WTTC 2018a and 2018b.

<sup>15</sup> Banca d'Italia 2018, p. 19.

enhancement of cultural heritage, cultural tourism has undergone a process of structured and differentiated growth, driven by social change, a wider search for beauty, a greater need for culture, the increasingly ageing population and the growing importance of ICT<sup>16</sup>.

From 2000 to 2016, in relative terms, arrivals in art cities increased by 55.9%, while the number of overnight stays went up by 39.8%, a result which is higher than that recorded for other kinds of tourism, such as seaside tourism, mountain tourism and rural tourism<sup>17</sup>. Moreover, when comparing different kinds of tourism, cultural tourism has a lower level of seasonality, meaning that the rate at which accommodation facilities are used remains more or less steady throughout the year. Finally, cultural tourists have a greater propensity to spend<sup>18</sup>: the estimated average daily expenditure on art and cultural tourism is 136.8 euros, second only to congress tourism with an average daily expenditure of 164.8 euros, while for seaside tourism and lake tourism average daily expenditures of 90.4 euros and 85.9 euros are estimated respectively<sup>19</sup>.

In short, not only does Italy continue to occupy the top position for culture and tourism on FutureBrand's Country Brand Index 2014-2015, but further growth in cultural tourism is also more likely in terms of both flows and profits. Given this trend, the *Strategic Plan for Tourism (SPT) 2017-2022* recognised culture as the main strength of the national tourism offer<sup>20</sup>.

When analysing the potential of cultural tourism, at least three other aspects should be taken into consideration. First, cultural tourism generates flows to many "satellite places", which are not cultural destinations, but benefit from their vicinity to art cities<sup>21</sup>. Second, the notion of "cultural tourism" has been changing for many years. Cultural tourism no longer refers exclusively to the traditional Grand Tour destinations, but has been extended to the multiple components that characterise the material culture of a place: a mix of elements that certainly include art, monuments and cities, but also small towns, food and wine, crafts, antiques, nature and landscape, bike and horse trails<sup>22</sup>. These factors are a great opportunity for the development of tourism in emerging destinations that are still relatively unknown. Owing to the multidimensionality of the cultural experience, some scholars have recently started to talk about "cultural landscape tourism"<sup>23</sup>, characterised by the integration of the different elements that make up the identity of a territory. Finally, if the hybridisation of multiple motivations is found in every kind of tourism, culture is the second

<sup>16</sup> Becheri 2018, p. 485.

<sup>17</sup> Becheri 2018, p. 487.

<sup>18</sup> Dubini 2018, p. 50.

<sup>19</sup> Becheri 2018, p. 499.

<sup>20</sup> MiBACT 2017. See also: Splendiani 2017.

<sup>21</sup> Becheri 2018, p. 499.

<sup>22</sup> Montaguti, Meneghello 2018, p. 667.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*.

most common motivation in rural and seaside tourism with a significant increase between 2010 and 2017 (from 8.7% to 23.7% in the case of rural tourism and from 15% to 23.6% for seaside tourism)<sup>24</sup>.

## *2.2 The need for innovation in the Italian cultural offer*

In addition to the strengths and opportunities for cultural tourism, consideration must be given to the threats concerning the loss of market shares and the weaknesses related to the concentration of tourist flows in a limited number of destinations.

From 1982 to 2017, as a result of the success of new international travel destinations, Italy's impact on world tourism spending fell from 8% to 3.4%<sup>25</sup>. Moreover, as already highlighted by the SPT 2017-2022, despite the actions undertaken to date, tourist flows continue to be directed to the main national destinations, with more than 60% of international arrivals in 2014 concentrated in only 4 regions – namely, Veneto, Lombardy, Tuscany and Lazio<sup>26</sup>, with negative and non-negligible effects. On the one hand, some art cities such as Venice run the risk of overtourism<sup>27</sup>; on the other, large areas of the country are not yet able to fully exploit their potential, which lies in the wealth and dissemination of cultural heritage and could be an important pull factor for the tourism demand in Italy<sup>28</sup>.

In the 2013-2017 period, although visitor numbers to national museums and heritage sites increased significantly<sup>29</sup>, the most visited attractions were still the top blockbuster sites such as the Colosseum and Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome, the Uffizi Gallery and the Accademia Gallery in Florence, and Pompeii. Moreover, national institutions «account for less than 9% of Italian heritage sites and museums»<sup>30</sup>, while local museums, «which make up the majority of Italian cultural institutions, spread all over the country and not just in the most important art cities»<sup>31</sup>, experienced a completely different situation. These small, but not minor, cultural gems are still unknown, thus suggesting that there are margins for improvement in their management and network organisation

<sup>24</sup> Banca d'Italia 2018, pp. 7 and 40.

<sup>25</sup> Banca d'Italia 2018, p. 27.

<sup>26</sup> MiBACT 2017, p. 27.

<sup>27</sup> See threats for: tourism sustainability, quality of life, quality of tourism experience and destination reputation.

<sup>28</sup> Banca d'Italia 2018, p. 10.

<sup>29</sup> See: <[http://www.beniculturali.it/mibac/export/MiBAC/sito-MiBAC/Contenuti/visualizza\\_asset.html\\_249254064.html](http://www.beniculturali.it/mibac/export/MiBAC/sito-MiBAC/Contenuti/visualizza_asset.html_249254064.html)>, 12.02.2019.

<sup>30</sup> Cerquetti, Ferrara 2018, p. 2.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*.

to give continuity to the process started with the reorganisation of the Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage<sup>32</sup>.

As noted in a recent report published by the Bank of Italy, both the offer and characteristics of small museums are often not well known to potential visitors and the cultural packages involving several sites are still poor<sup>33</sup>. For example, the deep cultural and historical relationship between museum collections and the local context – i.e. the landscape, piazzas, roads, monuments, and works of art preserved beyond museum doors, in churches, convents, monasteries, and other historical buildings and open spaces – is a valuable, unique and inimitable resource for meeting the increasing demand for cultural landscape, but it is still not well organised.

In order to overcome these critical issues, sustainable innovation of the offer is required, based on the integration of local resources and the diversification of cultural tourism products, capable of distributing tourist flows to new destinations by adopting a place-based approach.

At the European level, while pursuing this method, policy makers and regional DMOs have rediscovered in the village system a form of eco-sustainable tourism and social well-being linked to “diffuse-micro-centralities” (*micro-centralità-diffuse*)<sup>34</sup>. Accordingly, in Italy, the SPT 2017-2020 highlights the need to support and strengthen emerging destinations, such as inland mountain and rural areas, through the integrated enhancement of landscape, natural and cultural heritage and food and wine products and cooperation among the environmental, cultural and agri-food industries. Various initiatives have been promoted to support the increased demand for authentic experiences in small villages<sup>35</sup>, such as “Roads of Italy” (*Cammini d’Italia*, 2016), “Villages” (*Borghi*, 2017) and “Italian Food” (*Cibo Italiano*, 2018), launched by the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Tourism over the last three years, and the nationwide “Italian Villages” project<sup>36</sup> started by Airbnb in collaboration with the National Association of Italian Municipalities and the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Tourism<sup>37</sup>.

The effective implementation of these strategies in inland areas could lead to the qualification of the cultural and tourism offer to meet the growing demand for “cultural landscape” and thus contribute to the revival and diversification of the economy, especially in areas that have seen the decline of agriculture<sup>38</sup>. In the inner areas of the “seismic crater” a key role may be played by local

<sup>32</sup> Marzano, Castellini 2018.

<sup>33</sup> Banca d’Italia 2018, p. 8.

<sup>34</sup> Battaglia 2018, p. 20.

<sup>35</sup> Santoro, Cavallo 2018.

<sup>36</sup> See: <<https://www.airbnbcitizen.com/it/borghi-italiani/>>, 12.02.2019.

<sup>37</sup> Valeri 2018, p. 30.

<sup>38</sup> World Tourism Organization 2018, p. 79.

museums, provided they are well connected in terms of the integration and qualification of their offer.

### 3. *Museum networks as strategic networks: from theory to practice*

Since the second half of the 1990s, museum networks have been studied in Italy as an effective tool both to enhance the specific *cultural strengths* of local museums and to overcome their intrinsic *economic weaknesses*<sup>39</sup>. On the one hand, networks are an effective marketing tool to valorise the distinctive features of Italian cultural heritage, by linking local museums to their context and to other neighbouring museums, and providing more information about the territory as a whole. On the other hand, they allow museums to achieve the efficient boundaries of their various activities, thus solving the dimensional problems which affect small institutions. In particular, thanks to their involvement in networks, museums could achieve better results in the three areas identified in Moore's Strategic Triangle<sup>40</sup>: (1) *operational capacity*, achieving economies of scale, scope and learning, exchanging information and equipment, and saturating the productive capacity of resources, thanks to the allocation of fixed costs and the reduction of transaction costs; (2) *public value creation*, building more qualified projects, widening the range of museum services and attaining high levels of quality, thus achieving the museums' mission; and (3) *legitimacy and support*, getting a better competitive position and image to ensure more external resources and authority<sup>41</sup>. Therefore, activating a virtuous cycle, museums may create long-term, multi-dimensional and multi-stakeholder value and contribute to sustainable development<sup>42</sup>.

Following this approach and paraphrasing what Gulati *et al.* say about interfirm strategic networks, we can argue that strategic museum networks are organisations which «potentially provide a [museum] with access to information, resources, markets, and technologies; with advantages from learning, scale, and scope economies; and allow [museums] to achieve strategic objectives, such as sharing risks and outsourcing value-chain stages and organizational functions»<sup>43</sup>.

As already argued, «research on networks has mainly focused on network formation»<sup>44</sup>, but «little attention has been paid to the issue of network

<sup>39</sup> See: Bianchi 1996; Zan 1999; TCI 2000; Bagdadli 2001; Montella 2003; Golinelli 2008.

<sup>40</sup> Moore 1995, 2000; Moore, Moore 2005; Hinna, Minuti 2009.

<sup>41</sup> Weinberg, Lewis 2009.

<sup>42</sup> Pencarelli *et al.* 2016; Pop *et al.* 2019.

<sup>43</sup> Gulati *et al.* 2000, p. 203.

<sup>44</sup> Vecco, Konrad 2018, p. 40. See also: Turrini *et al.* 2010.

effectiveness and its determinants»<sup>45</sup>. However, «if we are to “treat networks seriously”, we must understand whether they work. To do this, it is first necessary to understand what network effectiveness means and what issues must be considered in its evaluation»<sup>46</sup>. As confirmed by the scientific literature on public networks, resource munificence is «a necessary but not sufficient part of causal paths leading to network success»<sup>47</sup>, and only a meaningful combination of network governance structures, formalised coordination mechanisms and network management can lead to high network performance<sup>48</sup>.

When investigating museum networks set up in Italy, the first experiences were established at the beginning of the 21st century, when Italian Regions promoted policies to create more or less formalised and institutionalised regional and sub-regional museum networks or systems<sup>49</sup>. Although access to European funding programmes was the main incentive for setting up networks<sup>50</sup>, other motivations have to be mentioned, such as economic efficiency, isomorphism, legitimacy, visibility and the complementariness of resources<sup>51</sup>. Moving from their origins to their performance, according to Alberti<sup>52</sup>, with a few rare exceptions, fifteen years ago these networks could be considered at the first stage in their evolution, where cooperation – promoted by local administrations – was a tool for achieving a sufficient standard of quality in the main public services provided by small museums.

Currently, as confirmed by recent data published by the Italian National Institute of Statistics, 42.5% of Italian museums are involved in museum networks or systems, in order to share human, technological and financial resources<sup>53</sup>. Given the large number of public museums involved in networks (72.6%), it is increasingly important to understand their capacity for dealing organisational difficulties and implementing a proactive approach. From an accountability perspective, it could allow to measure and evaluate the quality and effectiveness of public management.

<sup>45</sup> Vecco, Konrad 2018, p. 41.

<sup>46</sup> Provan, Milward 2001, p. 415.

<sup>47</sup> Cristofoli, Markovic 2016, p. 106.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>49</sup> Alberti 2005; Montella 2014.

<sup>50</sup> La Monica, Pellegrini 2007.

<sup>51</sup> Bagdadli 2001; IULM 2013.

<sup>52</sup> Alberti 2005.

<sup>53</sup> ISTAT 2019, p. 7.

#### 4. *A case study*

With the aim of providing a contribution to the study of the current state of affairs and possible development of museum networks in inland areas in Italy, the field research focuses on a case study<sup>54</sup>. The networks and systems set up in the Marche Region's "seismic crater" since the end of the 1990s are analysed, with an investigation of their evolutionary or involutory paths and a look at the conditions which affected their creation, their development over time, the current gaps in their management and the results.

##### 4.1 *Research design*

After a review of previous studies on museum networks in the Marche Region<sup>55</sup>, the research conducts a thorough examination of regional laws, policy documents, regulations and web resources, in order to establish the main characteristics of the Regional Museum System. The analysis is supported by in-depth interviews of the managers of some museum networks in the "seismic crater", with the aim of shedding light on a number of important organisational issues, such as the level of internal and external cooperation. The interviews adopted closed and open questions and Likert scales. The field research took place between September and December 2017, after the earthquakes that hit central Italy between 2016 and 2017<sup>56</sup>. For this reason, the reaction to the earthquake, difficulties, critical issues and medium- and long-term perspectives suggested by the crater's museum networks were also investigated<sup>57</sup>. As an exogenous shock, the earthquake can be considered as a "natural experiment" which helps to gauge the resilience of museum networks.

<sup>54</sup> Eisenhardt 1989; Yin 2003.

<sup>55</sup> See: Cerquetti 2008, 2017; Pencarelli, Splendiani 2011; Cerquetti, Montella 2015; Capriotti, Cerquetti 2016.

<sup>56</sup> The field research is part of a wider project on the experiences of cooperation aimed at enhancing and promoting tourism activities carried out between 2017 and 2018 within the interdisciplinary research framework *Nuovi sentieri di sviluppo per le aree interne dell'Appennino Marchigiano: rapporti tra politiche, piani, programmi e azioni per l'emergenza, la gestione della ricostruzione e le strategie di sviluppo delle aree interne; valorizzazione dei beni culturali e sviluppo turistico* (New development paths for inner areas in the Marche Apennines: relationships between policies, plans, programmes and actions for emergencies, reconstruction management, and development strategies for the inner areas; enhancement of cultural heritage and tourism development). The project was promoted and financed by the Regional Assembly of the Marche Region, and developed by the Universities of the Marche Region. The first results of the research were published in: NSSAM 2017. A scholarship was allocated for the interviews. Grateful thanks go to Concetta Ferrara for her cooperation.

<sup>57</sup> The interviews focused on different dimensions. Only some of them are considered for the purpose of this article.

The website of the Marche Region Museum System devotes a specific section to museum networks<sup>58</sup>. Twelve museum networks and systems are registered in the regional territory. Eight of them are totally or mainly located in the “seismic crater” (tab. 1).

<i>Name</i>	<i>Website</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Location</i>
<i>Provincia di Ancona: rete dei musei aderenti all'Associazione Sistema museale provinciale</i>	www.musan.it	Provincial museum network	Extra-crater
<i>Provincia di Macerata: rete dei musei aderenti all'Associazione Sistema museale provinciale</i>	www.sistemamuseale-mc.it	Provincial museum network	Crater
<i>Provincia di Pesaro Urbino: rete etnoantropologica dei musei partecipati</i>	/	Provincial museum network	Extra-crater
<i>Museipiceni.it: rete dei musei di Offida, Ripatransone, Montefiore dell'Aso e Monterubbiano</i>	www.museipiceni.it	Inter-municipal museum network	Crater
<i>Rete Museale dei Sibillini</i>	www.retemusealedeisibillini.it	Inter-municipal museum network	Crater
<i>Rete dei Musei Civici e Diocesani del territorio di Camerino, Castelraimondo e Visso</i>	/	Public-private museum network	Crater
<i>Rete dei Musei Scientifici della Provincia di Macerata</i>	/	Public-private museum network	Crater
<i>Rete Museale Civica Macerata Musei</i>	www.maceratamusei.it/	Multi-unit civic network	Crater
<i>SPAC Sistema provinciale arte contemporanea</i>	www.spac.pu.it	Provincial museum network	Extra-crater
<i>Musei in Rete Valle del Metauro</i>	/	Inter-municipal museum network	Extra-crater
<i>Musei Sistini</i>	www.museisistini.it	Multi-unit ecclesiastic network	Crater
<i>Provincia di Fermo: Rete Museale provinciale "Musei Comuni"</i>	www.museicomuni.it	Provincial museum network	Crater

Tab. 1. Museum networks and systems in the Marche Region (Source: own elaboration on regional data, <<http://www.regione.marche.it/Regione-Utile/Cultura/Musei#Reti-e-Sistemi>>, 12.02.2019)

A wider list of networks set up in the Region is available on the portal created by the “Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa” to analyse regional policies

<sup>58</sup> See: <<http://www.regione.marche.it/Regione-Utile/Cultura/Musei#Reti-e-Sistemi>>, 12.02. 2019.

for museum networks and updated until 2007<sup>59</sup>. The portal records a higher number of networks in the Marche Region, many of which are no longer operating.

When analysing the museum networks of the “seismic crater” registered on the Marche Region’s website, as shown in table 1, two can be classified as provincial systems (*Rete dei musei aderenti all’Associazione Sistema museale provinciale – Provincia di Macerata* and *Rete Museale provinciale “Musei Comuni” – Provincia di Fermo*), two as inter-municipal networks (*Rete dei musei di Offida, Ripatransone, Montefiore dell’Aso e Monterubbiano* and *Rete Museale dei Sibillini*), two as multi-unit networks (of which one is civic – *Rete Museale Civica Macerata Musei* – and one is ecclesiastic – *Musei Sistini del Piceno*), two as public-private museum networks (*Rete dei Musei Scientifici della Provincia di Macerata*<sup>60</sup> and *Rete dei Musei Civici e Diocesani del territorio di Camerino, Castelraimondo e Visso*<sup>61</sup>). Since no online information is available for the last two networks, we can infer that they have not been implemented. This gap also confirms the difficulty in implementing networks among entities of different types and ownership categories – namely, public and private<sup>62</sup>. Owing to the lack of information about them, these two networks can be mentioned but not investigated in depth for the purposes of the following research.

The interviews were conducted with the managers of three networks in the “seismic crater”: a provincial museum network (Museum System of Macerata Province), an inter-municipal network (Sibillini Museum Network) and a multi-unit network (Sistini Museums of the Piceno region).

## 4.2 Research results

### 4.2.1 Looking for long-lasting networks in the “seismic crater”

The large number of networks mainly or totally located in the “seismic crater” confirms that networks have been identified as an effective tool for overcoming the weaknesses of small museum organisations in this area. However, the number of networks is not an indicator of their effectiveness.

By analysing in depth their origin, aims and current situation, we can identify four different clusters of networks:

<sup>59</sup> See: <<http://sistemimuseali.sns.it/regione.php?idEn=20>>, 12.02.2019.

<sup>60</sup> Museums involved in this network belong to Municipalities, a University, a Foundation and another private organisation.

<sup>61</sup> Museums involved in this network belong to Municipalities, a Diocese and a University.

<sup>62</sup> Bagdadli 2001.

1. networks set up to access European Funding within the framework of the European Regional Development Fund 2000-2006;
2. provincial systems or networks which support local museums by providing shared services;
3. multi-unit networks which connect the different hubs within an organisation;
4. bottom-up networks established within the framework of the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development 2007-2013.

A fifth group may include thematic networks, but no information is available on the implementation of this kind of organisation.

The first cluster includes networks created at the beginning of the 21st century to access European funding, after the earthquake that affected the Marche and Umbria Regions in 1997 and according to principles established by Regional Law No. 6/1998, “New rules on the preservation and enhancement of the cultural heritage of Marche Region and the organisation of the diffuse museum into a system”. As already argued<sup>63</sup>, in line with strategies which aim to enhance the specific features of Italian cultural heritage, the main purpose of this law was the organisation of a *Sistema Museo Diffuso* (Diffuse Museum System) including museums, collections, storerooms and laboratories, historic houses and eco-museums, archaeological parks and areas, monuments and diffuse cultural heritage, and to guarantee its public use. In conjunction with the law, European Community funds, available through a single planning document, the “Doc.u.p. Marche 2000-2006”<sup>64</sup>, accelerated the creation of network experiences, aimed at obtaining funding for the structural restoration and functional adjustment of local cultural heritage, and enhancing the diffuse museum system. The actions directed at museums supported the improvement of museum facilities, and also promoted the capacity for “network building”. However, this was only in the initial stages, to reduce installation costs (for infrastructure projects), and not to decrease ordinary management costs<sup>65</sup>. Museipiceni.it and the civic and diocesan museum network of the territory of Camerino, Castelraimondo and Visso belong to this group. The former, set up in 2003, has started joint communication and has shared some projects in addition to restoring and re-designing its museums, however an analysis of the contents of its website suggests its activities have ceased since 2015<sup>66</sup>. The latter

<sup>63</sup> See: Cerquetti 2008, 2017; Cerquetti, Montella 2015.

<sup>64</sup> See: Doc.u.p. Marche 2000-2006 – Axis 3 – Measure 3.2 “Recovering, enhancing and promoting the historical and cultural heritage” – Sub-measure 1 “Diffuse Museum System: Integrated projects on a territorial scale” and Measure 3.4 – “Sub-measure 3.4 Digital services to support cultural itineraries”.

<sup>65</sup> Given these limitations, the next planning document, the “Por Fesr Marche 2007-2013”, shifted the focus of cultural actions from conservation to enhancement, from single institutions to territories (Priority 5), paying more attention to the productive vision of a cultural system, its enhancement for social development and integrated cultural actions.

<sup>66</sup> For further information see also: <<http://sistemimuseali.sns.it/content.php?idSC=48&cel=12&>

was set up solely for the restoration of museums, and nothing further has been implemented<sup>67</sup>.

The second cluster includes provincial systems as institutional networks whose purpose is to provide local museums with external support for the management of certain activities and projects (e.g. cataloguing, events organisation, website, guides and brochures, etc.). In the “seismic crater” there are two networks belonging to this group, the Museum System of Macerata Province<sup>68</sup> (2002) and the more recent Museum Network of Fermo Province (*Musei Comuni*)<sup>69</sup> set up in 2013. An analysis of their websites reveals that the activities carried out by these networks have been at a standstill since 2014, after the re-organisation of local administrative functions set in motion by Law No. 56/2014, “Provisions on metropolitan cities, provinces, municipal unions and merged municipalities”. As confirmed during the interview, the municipalities involved in the Museum System of Macerata Province were not asked to pay the membership fee for the years 2016 and 2017.

The third cluster includes multi-unit networks. It is inaccurate to consider these networks to be based on inter-organisational cooperation. Rather, they are internal or intra-organisational networks, not characterised by non-competitive relationships among autonomous entities, but by relationships among different hubs within the same organisation. In the cases investigated here, all the museums belong to the same Municipality (*Macerata Musei*) or the same Diocese (*Musei Sistani*). *Musei Sistani* was set up in 1998 and is one of the first network organisations created in the Region<sup>70</sup>.

The fourth type of network located in the “seismic crater” is represented by the Sibillini Museum Network, established through a bottom-up process in 2013. This project was co-financed by the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development, available through the Regional Rural Development Programme 2007-2013 and the “Gal Fermano Leader” Plan for Local Development<sup>71</sup>. Within the new Regional framework aimed at enhancing the quality of museums, municipalities had the opportunity to share resources to ensure minimum standards and accessibility for their museums and to provide joint cultural services. A shared director responsible for museum collections

c=21&cids=3&cidEn=20&co=sistemiCulturali\_dataInizioInterna>, 12.02.2019.

<sup>67</sup> For further information see also: <[http://sistemimuseali.sns.it/content.php?idSC=51&el=8&c=8&cids=3&cidEn=20&co=sistemiCulturali\\_dataInizioInterna](http://sistemimuseali.sns.it/content.php?idSC=51&el=8&c=8&cids=3&cidEn=20&co=sistemiCulturali_dataInizioInterna)>, 12.02.2019.

<sup>68</sup> See: <[http://sistemimuseali.sns.it/content.php?idSC=47&el=3&c=8&cids=3&cidEn=20&co=sistemiCulturali\\_dataInizioInterna](http://sistemimuseali.sns.it/content.php?idSC=47&el=3&c=8&cids=3&cidEn=20&co=sistemiCulturali_dataInizioInterna)>, 12.02.2019.

<sup>69</sup> The network is presented on Fermo Province as a project that is yet to be developed. See: <<http://www.provincia.fermo.it/musei-comuni>>, 12.02.2019. However, the network’s website domain has expired. See: <<http://www.museicomuni.it/>>, 12.02.2019.

<sup>70</sup> See: <[http://sistemimuseali.sns.it/content.php?idSC=4&el=5&c=21&cids=3&cidEn=20&co=sistemiCulturali\\_dataInizioInterna](http://sistemimuseali.sns.it/content.php?idSC=4&el=5&c=21&cids=3&cidEn=20&co=sistemiCulturali_dataInizioInterna)>, 12.02.2019.

<sup>71</sup> See: “Gal Fermano Leader” Plan for Local Development – Sub-measure 4.1.3.7 “Territorial promotion and area certification”.

and activities was also identified as a priority. As we can gather from an analysis of the website, the activities of this network came at a standstill after the earthquake. Although it can be considered an evolution of previous networks, some critical areas still persist. Major concerns relate to museum staffing. The low levels of financial contributions from the local authorities for ordinary management mean that museum staff are unable to have stable employment, and receive low salaries, despite being highly skilled<sup>72</sup>.

As confirmed by the interviews with the managers of three museum networks investigated here, the experiences initiated in the “seismic crater” of the Marche Region have achieved an initial level of advancement to meet minimum standards, but do not yet provide steady or permanent employment for qualified staff. Therefore, the innovation process which began twenty years ago cannot be considered complete, and requires further implementation.

More specifically, public financing, especially from the European Union, emerges as a key thread running through many network experiences over the twenty-year period. However, European funding supports investment spending, not current spending. It means that, since the 1997 earthquake, museums have been restored, refurbished and provided with a network logo and website, but continue to suffer from a lack of competences for ordinary management. Even when there is a network coordinator or a director, it is not uncommon for this role to be voluntary and unpaid. Volunteers are one of the main problems of museum management, particularly if we consider that they «are less likely to possess any management qualifications (unless specifically recruited because of their particular skills) (Rhoden *et al.* 2009) and tend to be less willing to undertake training, are more resistant to change and are reluctant to implement new practices (Jabbour, Santos 2009)»<sup>73</sup>. Moreover, where museums in the same network cooperate, including by hiring skilled professionals, it is on the basis of specific temporary projects (e.g. an exhibition), rather than for the permanent running of museum activities. With regard to this, the failure to update websites could, for many of the networks, be interpreted as a shortage of skilled personnel for this kind of activity or a lack of shared activities to communicate – as if these networks were on a road to nowhere. Either way, this is a significant hindrance for the development and innovation of museums with a contribution to make to the enhancement of the territory and its resources, as confirmed by the corporate visual identity of many of the museum networks investigated here.

We can conclude that networks created in the “seismic crater” have been a useful tool for optimising resources for museum restoration and refurbishment and, in some cases, for launching joint promotion activities or running temporary projects. However, they have not boosted local employment levels and are

<sup>72</sup> Cerquetti 2017a.

<sup>73</sup> Darlow *et al.* 2012, pp. 228-229.

still unable to achieve the internal and external economies that can ensure the survival and development of the museums, as well as their contribution to the sustainable innovation of local tourism. At the moment, they are uncertain and short-lived organisations and point to a need for new criteria for their management, particularly when it comes to the recruitment of personnel.

#### *4.2.2 Light and shade in regional cultural planning 2017-2019*

An analysis of the current state of affairs in regional planning provides valuable insights into the role the Marche Region assigns to culture and museum networks. Resolution of the Regional Assembly No. 50 of 14 March 2017, containing the three-year Cultural Plan 2017-2019<sup>74</sup>, is based on four general principles: 1) culture as a factor of local development; 2) culture as a source of new qualified employment; 3) the role of culture in education and training; 4) culture and tourism as the potential new driver of regional economic development. These principles underpin three challenging goals: 1) earthquake emergency; 2) culture as a growth factor; 3) big events for relaunching the cultural offer. The Marche Region's approach is in line with the national strategies to innovate the cultural and tourism offer in Italy and relaunch the economies of inland areas.

Within this context networks play a central role:

The worsening of an already critical financial situation, along with a lack of funds for the ordinary and extraordinary management of the structures, growing staff shortages for essential services (opening, caretaking, conservation of museum heritage, scientific management, etc.) and the decline in the functions of the Provinces have today led to the need to reformulate the approach to the entire museum system in the Marche Region, with the primary objective of guiding museum institutions towards flexible models of aggregation and methods of cooperation and sharing, including by extending participation to other cultural institutes and sites (libraries, archives, etc.)<sup>75</sup>.

The promotion of these aggregative forms is not new in the Region's legal framework, but was already set out in Regional Law No. 6/1998, which placed great responsibility on the provincial administrations to design networks and forms of organisational support. It was also the basis for Regional Law N. 4/2010, which repealed the existing legislation and introduced the concept of a "single system for enhancing cultural institutions and sites", understood as a regional centralised service, which so far has only been partially implemented.

<sup>74</sup> <[http://www.consiglio.marche.gov.it/banche\\_dati\\_e\\_documentazione/iter\\_degli\\_atti/paa/pdf/d\\_am35\\_10.pdf](http://www.consiglio.marche.gov.it/banche_dati_e_documentazione/iter_degli_atti/paa/pdf/d_am35_10.pdf)>, 12.02.2019.

<sup>75</sup> Cultural Plan 2017-2019, Resolution of the Regional Assembly No. 50 of 14 March 2017, p. 23 (own translation).

Starting from this approach, the Region aims to steer network and aggregation dynamics, through financial incentives, according to the following models:

- a) Local Museum Hub (*Polo Museale Locale*), consisting of museums (and/or other cultural institutions and sites) of different types and legal status (public and private), located in the same urban area;
- b) Territorial or Thematic Museum Network (*Rete Museale Territoriale o Tematica*), a model for aggregation between museums (and/or other cultural institutions and sites) belonging to different urban areas, but culturally similar in terms of history and traditions, or homogeneous by type and thematic area, which can define integrated enhancement strategies, develop single-focus projects, or even play a leading role for a wider number of contiguous small urban areas according to a flexible systemic approach;
- c) Integrated Territorial System (*Sistema Territoriale Integrato*), an innovative model for aggregation that builds territorial/thematic networks based on close synergies with local economic, artisanal, production and tourist activities, and centred around cultural institutions and sites<sup>76</sup>.

These principles have guided the following regional decisions concerning the allocation of resources for the museum sector. Museums were provided with a boost to create new networks to offer education, communication, accessibility and promotional services<sup>77</sup>. Thirty-five applications were submitted by museums: 26 for Local Museum Hubs, 7 for Territorial or Thematic Museum Networks and 2 for Integrated Territorial Systems. On the basis of the criteria defined in the tender, 6 proposals were considered inadmissible<sup>78</sup>. In the final step, 10 network proposals were financed for a total amount of 100,000 euros: 5 Local Museum Hubs, 4 Territorial or Thematic Museum Networks and 1 Integrated Territorial System. Four of them are located in the “seismic crater”. Only in one case did the proposal coincide with one of the previous networks (Sibillini Museum Network). It should also be mentioned that the Ecomuseum of the Aso Valley was not considered in the previous analysis. The others are new museum networks.

We can conclude that the Region continues to support network organisations, recognising their role in achieving minimum standards and improving both the quality and the range of museum services. The different types of networks also suggest an open and dynamic approach, which tries to improve synergies with other sectors, as in the case of the Integrated Territorial Systems. However, the reward criterion is not enough to overcome the critical aspects identified in

<sup>76</sup> Cultural Plan 2017-2019, pp. 24-25.

<sup>77</sup> See: Resolution of the Regional Executive Board No. 708/2017, and following Decrees of the Director of “Cultural Assets and Activities” No. 147/20017 and No. 14/2018. See: <[http://www.norme.marche.it/01\\_pagina.asp](http://www.norme.marche.it/01_pagina.asp)>, 12.02.2019.

<sup>78</sup> See also: <[http://www.regione.marche.it/Portals/0/Users/043/43/43/Report\\_RETI\\_SISTEMI.pdf?ver=2018-09-04-151647-763](http://www.regione.marche.it/Portals/0/Users/043/43/43/Report_RETI_SISTEMI.pdf?ver=2018-09-04-151647-763)>, 12.02.2019.

our analysis of the museum networks in the “seismic crater” and concerning the long-term employment of qualified personnel to ensure the longevity of the services.

### *5. Towards a multi-level framework to promote long-lasting museum networks*

An analysis of the twenty-year museum networking process in the Marche Region’s “seismic crater” highlights certain gaps related to a lack of strategic planning that we can find in many of the Region’s networks. The reward criterion which continues to drive regional cultural interventions can promote important projects and joint marketing activities, but does not affect the structural constraints of small museum institutions. The main weaknesses are not only related to a lack of qualified personnel, but also to a failure to provide them with steady employment, which could otherwise ensure the inner stability of the network: «the length of management tenure facilitates trust building, knowledge diffusion in the network, and continuity in relationships, all factors that are likely to be conducive to a higher level of integration and therefore to network effectiveness»<sup>79</sup>.

In order to achieve inner stability, a multi-level approach is required, which involves museums, the Region and the state and combines top-down and bottom-up methods.

First of all, the state should identify criteria for recruiting qualified personnel in museums, namely in terms of the level and type of education, professional profiles, and pay levels. In 2018, the Joint CSBCP-CUN Committee (Higher Council for Cultural Heritage and Landscape and National University Council) for the definition of professional profiles in the field of cultural heritage<sup>80</sup> identified 9 job profiles for museums: 1) director; 2) curator; 3) administrative manager; 4) registrar; 5) educational services manager; 6) security manager; 7) head of museum assistance and reception services; 8) museum assistant and receptionist; 9) expert in marketing and communications<sup>81</sup>. In line with Ministerial Decree No. 113 of 21 February 2018 concerning the “Adoption of minimum uniform quality standards for public museums and cultural sites and the activation of the National Museum System”, the Joint Committee also

<sup>79</sup> Turrini *et al.* 2010, p. 542.

<sup>80</sup> See: <[http://www.beniculturali.it/mibac/multimedia/MiBAC/documents/1522755766034\\_Relazione\\_CSBCP-CUN.pdf](http://www.beniculturali.it/mibac/multimedia/MiBAC/documents/1522755766034_Relazione_CSBCP-CUN.pdf)> and <[https://www.cun.it/uploads/6791/Relazione\\_CSBCP-CUN.pdf?v=>](https://www.cun.it/uploads/6791/Relazione_CSBCP-CUN.pdf?v=>), 12.02.2019.

<sup>81</sup> See: Report of the Joint Committee CSBCP-CUN, Attachment 2.8, <[http://www.conscienze.it/public/\[NEWS\]/346/file//CUN\\_Corsi\\_Beni\\_culturali/I\\_profili\\_professionali\\_del\\_patrimonio\\_culturale.pdf](http://www.conscienze.it/public/[NEWS]/346/file//CUN_Corsi_Beni_culturali/I_profili_professionali_del_patrimonio_culturale.pdf)>, 12.02.2019.

established that the following profiles are essential in public museums and can also be made available through network organisations: a) director; b) educational services manager; c) security manager; d) administrative manager; e) head of museum assistance and reception services; f) museum assistant and receptionist. Moreover, the Committee also suggested that in the smallest museums, one person can fill different roles: director, curator, educational services manager and head of museum assistance and reception services. Unfortunately, the report of the Joint Commission has not yet been placed into law<sup>82</sup>.

While the state should identify homogeneous standards and criteria for managing Italian museums, the Region could provide support for defining the efficiency of museum networks and the proper professional profiles and personnel to ensure minimum quality standards and set up a long-lasting system for the management and development of museums<sup>83</sup>. The funding of museum networks cannot ignore the need to provide museums with qualified and stable personnel, by following the principle of co-financing and matching different sources of financing. Moreover, the Region could provide significant support by studying and implementing preventive and programmed conservation plans that guarantee the survival of cultural heritage, including the provision of *in situ* storerooms. This is particularly important for the museums in the seismic inland areas of the Marche Region that have been affected by major earthquakes over the last twenty years (1997, 2016-2017).

Finally, at a third level, museums and museum networks have to plan and develop projects and activities to continuously improve the number and quality of their services, in order to attract younger generations and new tourism flows, and thus guarantee the real revitalisation of areas that risk of further depopulation. In line with the SPT 2017-2020, neighbouring museums should provide an integrated offer to promote all place-specific assets, through collaboration with universities and interconnection with the tourism and agri-food industries<sup>84</sup> (fig. 1).

In short, when focusing on the regional situation, an innovative strategic approach cannot be implemented without long-term planning.

<sup>82</sup> The Ministerial Decree No. 244 of 20 May 2019, which contains regulations for setting up national lists of professionals in the field of cultural heritage, does not include the above-mentioned museum professional profiles.

<sup>83</sup> Cerquetti 2017b.

<sup>84</sup> Montella 2009.

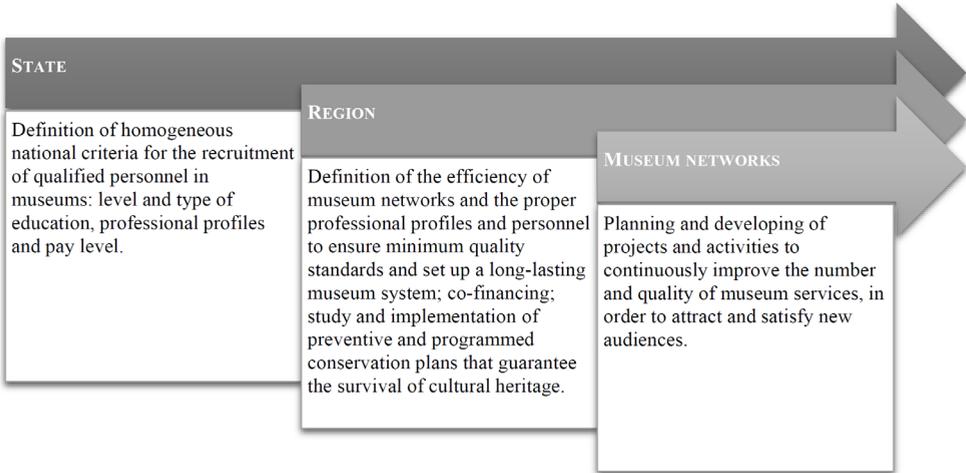


Fig. 1. A multi-level framework to promote long-lasting museum networks (Source: own elaboration)

## 6. Conclusions

Aiming to explore the role of networks in promoting cultural tourism and sustainable development in inland areas, the present paper analysed the museum networks developed in the Marche Region's "seismic crater", focusing on the current state of their management at regional level. The research went over the key steps of the networking process and identified its main gaps in terms of planning and strategic approach, which have caused many experiences to fail. Specifically, the shortage of professional skills was highlighted. In order to overcome these gaps and ensure long-lasting networks, a possible solution was found in the implementation of a multi-level framework involving the state, the Region and museum networks. For this reason, it would be of paramount importance for the results of the Joint Committee for the definition of professional profiles in the field of museums to be placed into law<sup>85</sup>. If the criteria and requisites identified by the Joint Committee were shared at national level, a new legal and management framework would be set out for the effective development of museums. Moreover, public financial support should be aimed at the recruitment of long-term professional skills to ensure long-lasting museum services, not just for temporary projects.

Although the research focuses on a case study, its relevance and the possible generalisation of its conclusions derive from the possibility of extending the

<sup>85</sup> See note No. 82.

same approach and operational guidelines to other similar cases<sup>86</sup>. Indeed, the situation discussed here for the Marche Region's "seismic crater" is similar to the situation experienced by other museums in the region and in other Italian Regions, because Italian museums are mainly small institutions owned and run by municipalities. As highlighted by the Joint Committee, an organic and united vision is required, based on integrated cooperation between the Ministry of Cultural Heritage, the Ministry of Education, University and Research, the Regions and Local Authorities.

The implementation of this approach could improve the quality of museum services, even in marginal and mountain areas, thereby promoting their contribution to regional resilience<sup>87</sup> and the development of cultural tourism in new emerging destinations.

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<sup>86</sup> Mitchell 1983.

<sup>87</sup> Luthe *et al.* 2012.

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