

Dipartimento di / Department of

.....SOCIOLOGIA

Dottorato di Ricerca in / PhD program URBEUR-STUDI URBANI Ciclo / Cycle.....XXXIV

Curriculum in (se presente / if it is)

TITOLO TESI / THESIS TITLE

SOCIAL INNOVATION BASED ON TERRITORIAL PRACTICES: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Cognome / Surname Cutuli Nome / Name Rosario
Matricola / Registration number ... 847568

Tutore / Tutor: Lavinia Bifulco

Cotutore / Co-tutor:
(se presente / if there is one)

Supervisor:Lavinia Bifulco.....
(se presente / if there is one)

Coordinatore / Coordinator: Bifulco Lavinia

ANNO ACCADEMICO / ACADEMIC YEAR 2020/2021

Summary

Introduction.....	pag.3
CHAPTER 1	
1. The logics of social innovation: history of a pseudo- concept	pag. 7
1.1 SI Quebec Model: Community Economic Development Corporation	pag.12
CHAPTER 2	
2. The "grounded city" and the Foundational Economy	pag. 16
2.2 Foundational Economy and performative citizenship.....	pag.22
Case analysis.....	pag.26
CHAPTER 3	
3.The Microaree Habitat Program of Trieste and Muggia.....	pag.28
3.1 Microaree of Muggia: Fonderia and Zindis	pag.31
3.2 The "What if you become a Butterfly" project	pag.41
3.2 Microaree in the epidemic emergency	pag.43
3.3 Preparedness Transformative and Microarea.....	pag.49
CHAPTER 4	
4. Zorgzame Buurten.....	pag.55
4.2 Organization of a primary care area	pag.59
4.3 What is a Zorgzame Buurten? Constitutive elements and principles, different frameworks.....	pag.61
4.4 Literature Analyses	pag.71
4.5 Belgian healthcare and "Zorgzame Buurten" from the point of view of the Foundational Economy.....	pag.74
CHAPTER 5	
5. Olinda.....	pag.79
5.1 Care on the boundaries of institutions: The project "Le mani in pasta"	pag.81
5.2 Olinda: Contradictions, Social Innovation and heterarchic enterprises	pag.83
5.3 "Seminatori di Urbanità" and performative citizenship	pag.86
5.4 Olinda and Culture	pag.93
5.5 Special Public Private Partnership	pag. 102
5.6 "Mosso" former boarding school Trotter	pag.106
5.7 Ostelloinda and the "Rifugio Olinda" project: How to deal with uncertainty, Preparedness hypothesis.....	pag.112
5.8 The Florida Project and Ostelloinda	pag.116
6. Conclusions.....	pag.120
Bibliography	pag.128

Introduction

This PHD thesis has as its theme the logics of social innovation with a focus on the partnership between public and private. The theme is developed from the point of view of social innovation and the Foundational Economy. The main question I asked myself is What are the factors and dynamics that are relevant from the point of view of the Foundational Economy and Social Innovation? The reason for this question arises from my particular position as "observer", as a participant in the process of deinstitutionalization¹ of the Psychiatric Hospital of Milan Paolo Pini, starting from 1995, as founder of the Olinda association, which contributed to this process and since 1998 as a working member of the social cooperative La Fabbrica di Olinda born as a collective undertaking that adopts "social enterprise strategies"² to rebuild rights of social citizenship where I work within the Capability sector with particular attention to job placement.

The process of deinstitutionalization in which I participated highlighted the practices that took place on the territory and, in particular, the meeting between Olinda and the health services of A.O. Niguarda. The experience of deinstitutionalization of the former O-P. P.Pini also marks the transition from a place of care to the care of places: the health services focused on taking charge of individual cases with a fundamentally clinical approach. An approach that provides for the removal of the person from his living environment and the treatment of his problem regardless of its context. On the contrary, the deinstitutionalization movement wanted to shift the doing, practices, actions of psychiatric services, from personal care to care of the personal context insofar as the territorialization of services does not simply mean opening decentralized structures or counters. So, for example, we will see in the chapter on Olinda the project "Le mani in pasta" where an educator of A.O. Niguarda has set up a group composed of the guests of the psychiatric community in which he works, variously deprived from a cognitive point of view, who supply the Jodok restaurant of La Fabbrica di Olinda with various types of handmade pasta. And they do this using the spaces of the Jodok Restaurant of the La Fabbrica di Olinda cooperative, thus leaving the community. This is also an example of the healing properties that can be deployed around the kitchen, ranging from the recovery of materials, first to the preparation of the restaurant for the preparation of organic food, also enjoying the sociability of good food.

From this example it is denoted how "care" has an intrinsic practical content, lives on practices that are carried out in the territory. And it is on the framework, on the boundaries of welfare systems that social work has deployed emancipatory care practices and that build possibilities.

1 By deinstitutionalization we mean... path and passage from places of care to the care of places. De Leonardis O., MOnteleone R. (2007), Dai luoghi di cura alla cura dei luoghi. A Trieste e dintorni, in R. Monteleone (a cura di), La contrattualizzazione nelle politiche sociali. Forme ed Effetti, Officina Edizioni, Roma, pp. 165-82. De Leonardis O. Il terzo escluso. Le istituzioni come vincoli e risorse, Milano, Feltrinelli. 1990 , L'istituzione negata. Report from a psychiatric hospital, Einaudi, Torino.

2 "When building a cooperative to fight marginalization or a therapeutic community, the greatest risk is to create a separate space, which feeds precisely on the otherness of the project and the participants compared to the normal flow of social life. (...). Social enterprise strategies, on the other hand, value differences, people, mixtures, as multipliers of relationships, exchanges and experiences, as resources of singularization." In De Leonardis O., Mauri D., Rotelli F. (1994) L'impresa sociale, Milano: Anabasi

For example, when social work leaves the designated places projecting itself into the so-called territory, or when it redefines its mandate – for example from the treatment of illness to the construction of health – or when it crosses the boundaries of care to invent social initiatives that develop indirect care strategies.³

It is a question of imagining that services converge each starting from their own competence, to put it together with that of others, and transform people's living conditions. Working to transform contexts. To take care of contexts. To build bonds, conditions of trust. So "care" is for me one of the main terms that have guided my research. In fact, in considering the care of places, the meaning of care has become broader and denser: the parameter lies in taking care of people's worlds of life so that they can live there in the best possible way. Repair, regenerate, reactivate, reproduce are the verbs, that most recur to qualify the perspective of care and therefore the forms of public-private partnership, forms of hybridization that have as their perspective the "cure", will be of interest to me. This word also encapsulates the challenge that the pandemic has highlighted: in the situation dominated by uncertainty about the future, by unpredictability about the course and direction of processes already underway, both material and social, we must be prepared for potentially disastrous events that are as certain and inevitable as they are unpredictable. Therefore, I will talk about "preparedness" within the cases examined also because the pandemic has crossed all my field of research.

Olinda, is located on the border between two suburbs of the city of Milan, Affori and Comasina; therefore, my initial research interests were closely connected on the one hand to what in common language is called suburbs. However, the concept of periphery has undergone, in urban sociology, over the years different interpretations and transformations. In recent years, urban sociology has spoken of periferia as a condition of "limitation of experience", which precludes access to substantial aspects of citizenship, but at the same time also as a place that has a creative potential that produces new ideas that break with those emanating from the Center⁴

As a result of these processes, today, the suburbs present themselves as a "... A sort of patchwork, in which completely different designs and fabrics coexist, and that in no way is beautiful to look at. Morphologies of discontinuity, clustered economies, gray areas of marginality and abandonment".⁵ The translocal and transnational economy produces inequalities that ignore the criteria of spatial proximity. The same division between an interior and an exterior, between a single center and a single periphery characterized in a homogeneous sense, is divided into the coexistence of different centers and peripheries simultaneously within a single spatial and social dimension. Just think of Global Cities or Mega-Cities, where there are completely unequal neighborhoods in terms of wealth distribution that are side by side, where the proletariat and the wealthy classes coexist together.

The polysemy of the term periphery actually hides the multiplication of differences and therefore it is the mirror of enormously fragile and uneven societies.⁶

The adequate look on the theme is therefore one that does not enclose the periphery within a purely spatial connotation, but defines with this term those spaces also cultural, social and political where on the one hand, in negative, degradation, misery, exclusion reign. While on the other, positively, there are the possibilities of an otherness that could be a laboratory of

3 De Leonardis O. "Dare consistenza politica al lavoro di cura" in *Animazione sociale* n.356, 2022

4 Petrillo A. *La Periferia nuova. Disuguaglianza, spazi, città.* Franco Angeli 2018

5 Petrillo A. *La Periferia nuova. Disuguaglianza, spazi, città.* Franco Angeli 2018, pp.29

6 Petrillo A. *La Periferia nuova. Disuguaglianza, spazi, città.* Franco Angeli 2018, pp.75

innovation. In this sense, current urban sociology sees a strong transformative latency within the suburbs due to the combined withdrawal of the state, in the form of the abandonment of the welfare system, with the emergence of new potentially innovative subjects⁷. In Italy there are several examples such as "movementist" and "critical" social innovation – it concerns cases of social self-organization dating back to the late 80s and early 90s: we find here community cooperatives, complementary currencies and recovered factories. The second, which instead has modal values in the decade 2005-2015, coincides with collaborative entrepreneurship with social impact: platforms, crowdfunding, Fab Labs and social impact start-ups with incubators / accelerators⁸. Therefore, new meanings of the term periphery are needed, not only as a place of exclusion but also as a place where there is creative potential. "As we have seen, the center generates regulatory descriptions for it... the periphery, on the other hand, produces new ideas, which break with the norms imposed by the center and are creative....."⁹ if these innovative requests are collected, they feed the centers by renewing them, creating a situation of recognition according to Honneth's conception¹⁰. All this led me to shift the focus of my research to innovation and in particular to social innovation.

This analysis raises the question of whether the capacity for self-organization and mobilization of the citizens of a neighborhood are sufficient on their own and in what way or if it is not also necessary for the enhancement of such initiatives by the public administration. In essence, what could be the role of the state, also following Wacquant's idea of "bringing the state back to the epicenter of the comparative sociology of urban marginality as a generative institution and not only as a corrective¹¹". This institution continues to remain essential in affecting, positively or negatively, inequality and the processes of accumulation and territorial concentration of the problems deriving from it; and still today it is on this terrain – of state programs against child and adult poverty, of social housing policies, of public access to basic care and so on. that there are strong differences in margin models.

In addition, one of my research fields, Olinda, is a social enterprise and my research interest is directed to everything that is constituted at the borders of social enterprise, between foreign worlds: that of business and work and that of social and assistance, that of production and productivity and the unproductive one of social costs and public spending, And in various ways it tries to connect them, building bridges, widening the room for maneuver, experimenting with hybrids. Therefore, my research will use a theoretical and normative approach, the Foundational Economy, which could bring together all these foreign worlds to produce social citizenship with the contribution and within the framework of the State.

I will analyze the literature on Social Innovation in the first chapter and in the second chapter I will analyze the literature on the Foundational Economy. After which I will move on to treating the empirical cases observed by me: in the third chapter I will deal with the Habitat Microaree Program of Trieste, in the fourth of the Zorgzame Burteen of Brussels and in the fifth I will deal with Olinda in Milan. In the empirical cases I also introduce the concept of preparedness because my

7 F. Barbera and T. Parisi Innovatori sociali. La sindrome di Prometeo nell'Italia che cambia, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2019

8 F. Barbera and T. Parisi Innovatori sociali. La sindrome di Prometeo nell'Italia che cambia, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2019, pp 40

9 Petrillo A. La Periferia nuova. Disuguaglianza, spazi, città. Franco Angeli 2018, pp.91

10 Honneth A., La lotta per il riconoscimento, Il Saggiatore Milano 2002

11 Loïc Wacquant The outcasts of the city, ghetto, suburbs, state. Heliopolis 2016, pp.296

field of research was crossed by the covid 19 pandemic and I was interested in understanding how they would behave in the face of the emergency.

The objective of this research and therefore of the thesis is to study social innovation in these areas and the "territorial practices" between public and private that have been established here in the light of three theoretical frameworks: Foundational Economy, Capability approach and Capacity to aspire.

Theoretical Framework

FOUNDATIONAL
ECONOMY

CAPABILITY
APPROACH

CAPACITY TO
ASPIRE

linked together

Furthermore, we want to verify the hypothesis that in the suburbs, where there are hybrid "territorial practices" between public and private, which create "capability for voice" and "capacity to aspire" for its inhabitants, social innovation is produced.

CHAPTER 1

1. The logics of social innovation: history of a pseudo-concept

The first step that must be taken is to obtain a general overview of the contributions offered by sociology, social sciences, urban planning, and so on, regarding what is meant by social innovation (SI). It is not the purpose of this thesis to carry out an in-depth discussion of the individual contributions, but rather to bring out the general idea on the subject starting from the studies presented.

The concept of SI is defined by the literature as "confused", "vague", "opaque" and "catch-all", "elusive" and "ambiguous", adaptable to different points of view¹² and the very meaning of "innovative" is purely evocative. Furthermore, the term is often associated with hybrid organizational forms, such as public-private partnerships, which have long been in use in public action.¹³ Therefore SI becomes a concept of significant public relevance but not very defined from an analytical point of view.

For these reasons Barbera speaks of SI in terms of a pseudo-concept¹⁴, that is, of a hybrid that connects and overlaps cognitive, normative and practical purposes.¹⁵ Pseudo-concepts have as their empirical referent border objects capable of making dialogue and catalyzing different interests, while at the same time preserving a raw core of shared meanings. Pseudo-concepts reveal a multiplicity of analytical meanings, but are also used to define a container of projects and actions which, not finding an effective analytic coherence within them, act as a means of translation between different social worlds. In this sense, pseudo-concepts are not concerned with objects, but with borders and their objects. Therefore, we will try to "map" the boundaries of the SI pseudo-concept, starting to examine its turbulent and complex history and then understand, in the continuation of the discussion, which SI boundaries are touched and / or crossed by our cases of empirical research.

The use of the word innovation precedes that of social innovation and Godin states that the term is used in the West, for the first time, in religious texts of the fifteenth century.¹⁶ Contrary to its current meaning, Innovation had a strong socio-political and ideological connotation, which explains why it was a highly contested term until the end of the 19th century. Until that moment it is at the center of the socio-political debate as a slogan or an ethical ambition for change and revolution, as opposed to the conservative ambition to keep social relations unchanged: innovation is mainly conceived as radical change or as a renewal of the past. The term social innovation was coined in the early 18th century. Its meaning converges in two

12 Barbera F. e Parisi T., 2017, L'innovazione sociale radicale, in Quarta A. e Spanò M. (a cura di), Rispondere alla crisi, Ombre Corte, Verona, pp. 55-66.

13 Bifulco, L. and Bertotti T. Innovazione Sociale in (a cura di): Lavinia Bifulco; Vando Borghi; Massimo Bricocoli; Diana Mauri Azione Pubblica: Un Glossario Sui Generis. 2018. Mimesis Editions

14 Barbera F., 2020, L'innovazione sociale: aspetti concettuali, problemi metodologici e implicazioni per l'agenda della ricerca, POLIS, XXXIV, 1 pp. 131-148

15 Bifulco, L. (2017a) Innovazione sociale e conoscenza: il ruolo dello Stato, in La rivista delle politiche sociali, n. 3

16 Godin B. (2012), "Social innovation: Utopias of Innovation from c.1830 to the Present", Working Paper n. 11, Project on the Intellectual History of Innovation, Montréal, Quebec.

directions: political - revolutionary or republican - and social with the introduction in 1858, by William L. Sargant, of the term "social innovator" in the sense of social change.¹⁷In this context, the term SI was used in the most radical literature as a social transformation, while the most reformist literature brought it back to the idea of social reform. Therefore it can be said that the term SI already existed about three centuries ago, and its socio-political meaning has a much longer tradition than the 'technological' meaning of the concept of 'innovation',¹⁸which developed in the first thirty years of the twentieth century, up to the 1980s. In recent years, innovation has basically been considered a synonym for technological innovation. This orientation is observable both in the early pioneering works of the 1930s on economic innovation, for example, of Schumpeter, and when the term was rediscovered, in the 1980s, by the systemic approach.

After the first decade of the twentieth century, the term SI regains relevance in parallel with corporate liberalism in the US and welfare capitalism in European countries. In this context Barbera¹⁹highlights, following Godin,²⁰how the pseudo-concept of SI overlaps with that of social invention: technological progress is much faster than social change which, to keep pace, must adapt through "social inventions", that is, new institutional configurations that offer solutions to problems collectives that do not find an answer in the existing structures. Again Barbera underlines how the welfare state has been one of the most important social innovations of modernity, highlighting the importance of the role of institutions and the state with respect to the pseudo-concept of SI. We will return to the relationship between institutions and SI later, because it is of particular importance with respect to our research.

The pseudo-concept SI reached a real scientific "status" only in the 60s and 70s of the twentieth century, in the context of social movements and the debates related to them. In that period, the driving themes were the role of social innovation in the third sector and corporate responsibility, as well as the study of social innovation as a structuring principle of the analysis of local development processes and ways of producing socio-economic change in neighborhoods, semi-rural towns and localities. Urban studies in recent years have played an important role for the SI since social movements, from the 1960s onwards, were linked to urban contexts and the 1970s constitute the period of the "new urban question" that was in search of strategies to foster social innovation.²¹In this phase SI coincides with "emancipation and autonomy" on the basis of the "artistic criticism" of the hierarchical and bureaucratic organization of Boltanski and Chiappello's society.²²So in the 70s, for Moulaert, the pseudo-concept of SI has to do with "change" and "social transformation",²³and assumes, according to Barbera²⁴, a markedly normative declination, with reference to the social economy and local development processes that envisage the empowerment of marginal communities.

17 Moulaert, F., Ganugi, G., Mehmood, A., MacCallum, D. and Leubolt, B. Social innovation: a spark to trigger transformative processes. *Sociology and Social Policies*, (2), 11-49, 2018. Pag. 16

18 Godin, B. (2010) 'Innovation Without the Word: William F. Ogburn's Contribution to the Technological Innovation Studies', *Minerva*, 48 (3): 277-307

19 Barbera F., 2020, *L'innovazione sociale: aspetti concettuali, problemi metodologici e implicazioni per l'agenda della ricerca*, POLIS, XXXIV, 1 pp. 134

20 Godin B. (2012), "Social innovation: Utopias of Innovation from c.1830 to the Present", Working Paper n. 11, Project on the Intellectual History of Innovation, Montréal, Quebec.

21 Moulaert F., Mehmood A., Manganelli A. (2017b), "Spaces of social innovation", in Monteduro G. (edited by), *Subsidiarity and social innovation. Building a corporate welfare*, Franco Angeli, Milan, pp. 71-93.

22 Boltanski, L., Chiappello, E. (1999) *Le nouvel esprit du capitalisme*, Paris, Édition Gallimard. trad it., *The new spirit of capitalism*, Milan, Mimesis, 2014.

23 Moulaert F., Mehmood, A., MacCallum D., Leubolt B. (2017a), *Social Innovation as a Trigger for Transformations. The Role of Research*, DG Research and Innovation, European Commission, Brussels.

24 Barbera F., 2020, *L'innovazione sociale: aspetti concettuali, problemi metodologici e implicazioni per l'agenda della ricerca*, POLIS, XXXIV, 1 pp. 134

In recent years there has been a major elaboration on the concept of social innovation both in socio-political practices and in analyzes. In general, according to Frank Moulaert²⁵ two 'paradigms' can be distinguished in the field of social innovation: the first places innovation among the new tools of social action adopted by what can be defined as a 'caring neoliberalism', the other, on the other hand, underlines the potential for socio-political transformation of social innovation understood as collective action and as a process of change.

According to the first approach, social innovation should be aimed at greater equity between citizens and social groups, through the "socialization" of certain market mechanisms: for example, eliminating market failure and thus creating a more inclusive, which integrates the most vulnerable groups in terms of employment, or which provides spaces in which solidarity economy initiatives can develop, while always remaining in harmony with the market economy.

The second orientation, on the other hand, starts from noting a failure of governance and politics in many areas of society, and considers social innovation as a strategy and a process not only to satisfy certain individual and collective needs neglected by the market, but also to strengthen solidarity in social relations. These relationships are intended as a vehicle for the socio-political capacity building of groups and initiatives involved in social innovation processes. Quite naturally, urban studies have adopted this second type of perspective mainly due to the fact that they interface with the material, social and political conditions of territories where there is an urgent need to relaunch and support human development.²⁶

Similarly Tom Montgomery²⁷ identifies two competing and perhaps immeasurable "paradigms" of SI research: one "technocratic" which has its raison d'être as an expert-led complement of the neoliberal state; and a "democratic" paradigm that seeks to spread power and knowledge among those marginalized by neoliberal restructuring and to allow for the creation of counter-hegemonic alternatives.

Tabella 1 Paradigmi di innovazione sociale

	tecnocratico	Democratico
Costruzione della conoscenza	Esperto	Comunità
Effetti	depoliticizzare	politicizzare
Distribuzione dell'energia	Verticale	Orizzontale

Montgomery's contribution is based on Thomas Kuhn's concept of incommensurability²⁸. The potential incommensurability, that is, what has no common measure, of the two paradigms of social innovation, must be considered as the "proponents of competing paradigms exercise their professions in different worlds ... the two groups of scientists see different things when they look from the same point in the same direction"²⁹For Montgomery, therefore, the two paradigms of social innovation are in conflict: a struggle between a technocratic paradigm imbued with a neoliberal doxa that " seeks the end of politics"³⁰through governance

25 Frank Moulaert, Pieter Van der Broeck, Alessandra Manganelli " Innovazione sociale e sviluppo territoriale ", Rivista Impresa Sociale, n.10, December 2017, pp. 71-93.
 26 Frank Moulaert, Pieter Van der Broeck, Alessandra Manganelli " Innovazione sociale e sviluppo territoriale ", Rivista Impresa Sociale, n.10, December 2017
 27 Montgomery, T. (2016). Are social innovation paradigms incommensurable? *Voluntas*, 27, 1979–2000.
 28 Kuhn, TS (1962). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
 29 Kuhn, TS (1962). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. P. 149, Chicago: University of Chicago Press
 30 Chambers, S. (2012). *The lessons of Ranciere*. P. 73; Oxford: Oxford University Press

technologies and another democratic paradigm that seeks to destroy the neoliberal consensus and politicize those spaces that are devoid of politics. The technocratic paradigm, with its neoliberal foundations, on the one hand expresses the rhetoric based on the empowerment of communities but on the other hand it values the role of the expert, mobilizing governance technologies to reduce the space for political dissent. Although the claims of the technocratic paradigm are articulated under the heading of participation, Montgomery speculates that its findings will only serve to consolidate the current vertical distributions of power in society. In this follows Ranciere who affirms that depoliticization supports the prevailing consensus, repressing the dispute, and consequently,³¹. Instead, within the democratic paradigm, the goal of social innovation is to challenge those practices that continue to exclude groups and create spaces in which these groups can be heard. Adherents to the democratic paradigm confront their technocratic opponents with the assertion that "the satisfaction of basic needs cannot be guaranteed either through competitive market allocation mechanisms or through free market democracy"³². Furthermore, the democratic paradigm, advocated by those who wish to subvert and destroy neoliberalism, not only embraces the participation of communities, but also perceives the knowledge produced within them as equal to the "experts". The democratic paradigm offers social innovation the possibility of increasing the socio-political capacities of the most excluded citizens, transforming issues not rendered conflicting by neoliberalism, into spaces for politics, mobilizing the very communities whose voice is not heard.

For the purposes of our work, it seems to us that Montgomery's most important contribution is to highlight that, through the political act of articulating the voice, of being heard or, more importantly, of being understood, that one can understand how how the democratic paradigm of social innovation challenges its technocratic counterpart. What is highlighted is the relationship that social innovation should have with power relations, conflict and above all with the capacity of excluded social groups to effect change. Starting from this assumption, Montgomery underlines how Moulaert's elaboration on social innovation indicates the emancipatory objectives that can motivate the protagonists of the democratic school: trying to satisfy human needs, in particular alienated needs, raising levels of participation, especially of marginalized groups and empowerment through greater access to resources and an increase in social and political skills. Therefore, the pseudo-concept of SI, in the democratic paradigm, is directly linked to the integrated approaches of development and the fight against exclusion and explicitly has marginalized groups and their participation in public action as referents.

For Moulaert, SI thought and practice evolved together, reflecting different movements for and against social change from the eighteenth century onwards. It is also very difficult to reach a single and complete definition of the concept of SI.³³

Although SI as a concept flows into different perspectives and serves different purposes for different authors, according to Moulaert³⁴ there are opportunities for convergence, as some meanings of SI are complementary and there are some characteristics on which almost all scholars agree. In particular, three key and common principles can be identified that characterize SI:

- In the first place, the SI is not reducible to any specific field of practical activity, such as eg. social enterprise, but serves as a way to understand a broad range of activities and practices.
- Second, SI is oriented towards addressing social problems and / or satisfying human

31Rancière, J. (2014). *Hatred of democracy*. P. 58; London and New York; Towards.

32Moulaert, F., & Nussbaumer, J. (2005). The social region beyond the territorial dynamics of the learning economy. P. 50 *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 12 (1)

33Moulaert, F, Ganugi, G., Mehmood, A., MacCallum, D. and Leubolt, B. Social innovation: a spark to trigger transformative processes. *Sociology and Social Policies*. (2), 11-49, 2018. Page 23

34Moulaert, F., MacCallum, D. (2019) *Advanced Introduction to Social Innovation*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, p. 26

needs, without separating the means from the ends. It therefore includes the transformation of these relationships through the adoption of new social practices, new institutional arrangements and / or new forms of participation;

- Third, it must be considered not only in terms of results - solving problems or satisfying material needs - but also in relation to its processes and practices.

Within this analytical framework, the territory is relevant and is conceived in terms of "spatial forms", localized and interconnected - both physical, natural or social - defined by the relationships between "actants" (agents, living beings, natural elements) who inhabit and live that territory.³⁵ Here the definitions of SI are linked to the development of a governance that is linked to bottom-linked or bottom-linked processes, which lead to the construction of new social and political relations born on and from the territory. In this context, Moulaert's research group builds a framework of social innovation integrated in the territory which is represented in the underlying fig. 1.

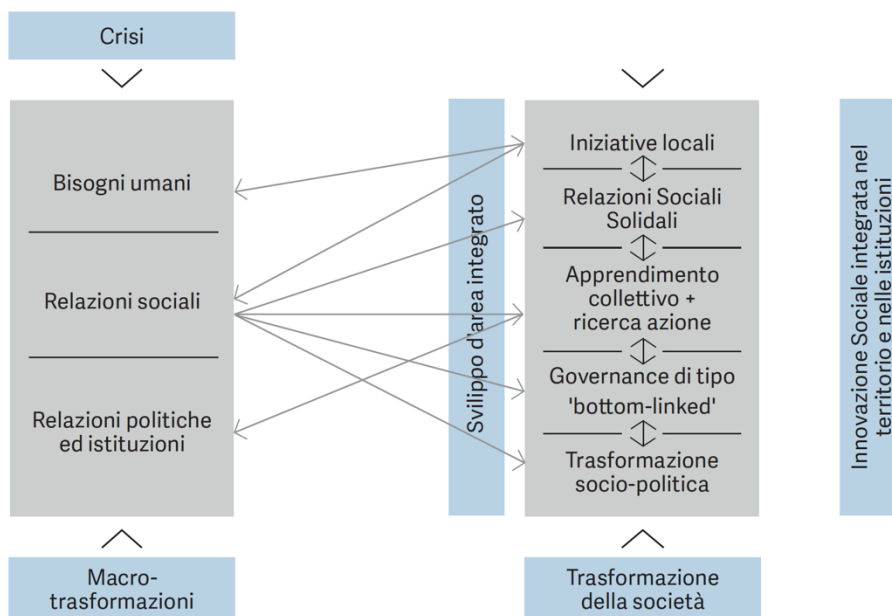


Fig.1 Social innovation integrated in the territory (treats from Frank Moulaert, Pieter Van der Broeck, Alessandra Manganelli " Innovazione sociale e sviluppo territoriale ", Rivista Impresa Sociale, n.10, December 2017

The term bottom-linked does not have the same meaning as the term bottom-up. The concept of bottom-up refers to innovative governance practices at the local level, as can occur in the case of associations, neighborhoods, or in certain social movements or interest groups.³⁶ In these contexts - where there are challenges of self-management, codecision, or co-production - new innovative ways of coordination and governance can develop, which can be an inspiration for local government. Here then comes the concept of bottom-linked, which refers to mutual learning processes between different actors, including the state, civil society, or private sector, in an interactive dynamic, and in many cases of horizontal cooperation. Furthermore, the concept of bottom-linked also indicates a process of participation and co-production of development strategies that involves a diversity of actors and movements.

³⁵Frank Moulaert, Pieter Van der Broeck, Alessandra Manganelli " Innovazione sociale e sviluppo territoriale ", Rivista Impresa Sociale, n.10, December 2017

³⁶ Frank Moulaert, Abid Mehmood, Alessandra Manganelli (2017) "Spazi di innovazione sociale" in Monteduro G. (a cura di), Sussidiarietà e innovazione sociale. Costruire un welfare societario, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2017, (pp. 71-93)

Moulaert's research group³⁷ highlights how this approach was carried forward by the so-called “Euro-Canadian” strand of SI and in particular by Klein.³⁸ In this context, we speak of IS in terms of the interaction between collective governance, co-production of social services, co-construction of public policies and the plural nature of the economy. In terms of governance, an endogenous territorial development perspective becomes strategic, that is, accompanied by the decentralization of government systems and civil society organizations. In the next paragraph we analyze in more detail a case of this approach.

1.1 SI Quebec Model: Community Economic Development Corporation

In Montréal, for example, a change in governance resulted in the creation of so-called Community Economic Development Corporation (CEDC), organizations, financially supported by the Quebec government, under the local development governance reform in 1998, with a view to tackle the loss of jobs caused by the crisis. These organizations aim to promote cooperation between actors at the neighborhood level to activate development projects based on collaboration, support for local entrepreneurship,

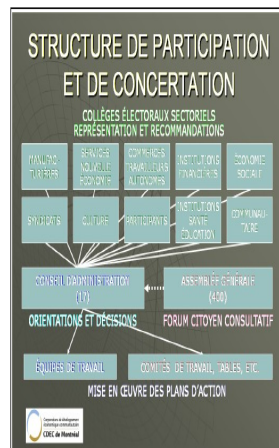


Fig. 2 the governance model of the CDEC taken from Klein J- L., Morrissette P. (2013), “Le développement économique communautaire et la cohésion sociale in Montréal: a partnership recherche on the apport des CDEC”, Les Cahiers du CRISES Collection Études théoriques, Montréal, Québec.

job creation and integration of the unemployed. CDECs operate at the district level, characterized by specific institutional trajectories.³⁹ They face different problems in terms of the presence of private capital, gentrification, poverty and cultural diversity. They mobilize diversified resources and build partnerships involving social economy organizations, private institutions and public bodies at various levels (federal, provincial, municipal). The CDEC governance model is based on:

37 Frank Moulaert, Pieter Van der Broeck, Alessandra Manganelli "Social innovation and territorial development", Impresa Sociale Magazine, n.10, December 2017

38 Klein J- L., Morrissette P. (2013), “Le développement économique communautaire et la cohésion sociale in Montréal: a partnership recherche on the apport des CDEC”, Les Cahiers du CRISES Collection Études théoriques, Montréal, Québec.

39 Fontan, J.-M., Klein, J.-L. et D.-G. Tremblay (2005). Socio-territorial innovation and economic reconversion. The cas de Montréal. Paris, L'Harmattan.

- consultation of socio-economic actors;
- social innovation;
- citizen participation;
- the search for a constructive consensus among the main socio-economic actors involved;
- But above all the co-construction of policies, programs, projects and initiatives between civil society and public authorities with the aim of revitalizing and developing territories in a sustainable and equitable way.

CDECs are, in a sense, implementing bodies of the public community partnership, whose success depends on the inseparable combination of two ingredients:

- organized civil society to mobilize, collect, guide, prioritize, root and adapt to local realities;
- public authorities to support, facilitate, delegate and, of course, provide adequate financial means and resources to carry out the actions that emerge from this partnership

This approach, which proved to be effective, has led to the creation of local development centers (CLD), "multi-service" organizations that connect socio-economic and political needs with the development needs of local communities. CLD still operate transversally in Québec, even in peripheral regions, at the level of the MRC (Municipalité Régionale de Comté). At the neighborhood level, these new governance dynamics have created the margins to foster new social movements. This process can be considered as an institutionalization of successful experiments that arise "from below". Indeed, these new forms of close cooperation between civil society and the Public Administration have created opportunities to co-produce and encourage the development of a plural economy, according to a model based on the construction of consensus between economic, social, cultural and political actors, who work jointly to promote education, cultural and social services (not least health-related services), labor market-oriented training and creation of companies in various sectors. Therefore, within the CEDC, needs for economic and social development are no longer viewed in an antagonistic way, but on the contrary reinforce each other. The involvement of civil society organizations in the creation of new forms of territorial cooperation has encouraged more democratic forms of governance - that is to say so-called bottom-linked governance relationships - which broaden the range of economic activities, opening them to social services and culture, and they push entrepreneurs towards new forms of economic organization (social and solidarity enterprises). This also includes socially innovative ways of organizing work and relationships of solidarity between citizens and actors in those specific territories. Bottom-linked practices are relevant for achieving true democracy, as well as fostering a better connection between civil society initiatives, local authorities and the state system in general.

The importance of the SI Quebec model, which makes the construction of bottom-linked multilevel governance contexts one of its central points, also lies in the central and driving role that the institutions and the state play. In fact, there is an institutional infrastructure that supports and feeds local innovation processes and at the same time leads to forms of shared institutionalization. Instead, Moulaert et al.⁴⁰ underline how civil society organizations in Europe have a substitute role for the state and neoliberalism has favored policies that reduce social innovation initiatives to tools for the rationalization of welfare and that direct socially innovative companies towards the market economy. The European Commission itself has strengthened the tendency to reduce social innovation to the creation of social enterprises, thus

40 Frank Moulaert, Pieter Van der Broeck, Alessandra Manganelli "Social innovation and territorial development", *Impresa Sociale Magazine*, n.10, December 2017

taking away space for other dimensions. Fougere et al.⁴¹ highlighted how EU documents talking about SI promote a shift towards a network of relationships in which entrepreneurs, businesses, civil society organizations, grassroots organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are increasingly positioned as SI providers, which implicitly presupposes an inevitable reduction in public spending, while vulnerable groups in society - the elderly, children, young people who drop out of school, unemployed migrants, minorities, the disabled, the poor and local communities - tend to position themselves first as beneficiaries, then as free subjects activated thanks to YES. Furthermore, individuals would benefit from SI, as recipients of services, not as active members of a successful third sector, since the benefit of "new entrepreneurship" is linked only to "business". Hence the provision of services to vulnerable groups tends to shift largely from governments to businesses. placing the privatization of services as fundamentally positive and disguising the role of the third sector as a service provider. In EU SI documents, the first order signifier that tends to be used is 'empowerment' which includes two dimensions:

1. a (partial) shift of responsibility from traditional welfare providers, i.e. public services, to individuals or civil society groups
2. a prescribed behavioral change towards more responsible individual practices in relation to different social challenges such as climate change, public health problems etc.

In particular, the EUSIP vision on SI argues, in line with EU austerity policy and neoliberal policy, that reducing and increasing the efficiency of public spending, combined with activating and empowering citizens, it will lead to employability, flexibility and entrepreneurship, which will ultimately bring both economic growth and social well-being to EU countries. Hence Fougère et al. they see in the EU documents of SI a paradigm broadly in line with the neoliberal austerity policy and the destruction of continental social democracies, affirming the inevitability of budgetary restriction.

Summarizing this historical mapping of the boundaries of the SI pseudo-concept we can identify some elements that will be useful to us in the analysis of the empirical cases of the research. First of all, the pseudo-concept of SI is strongly correlated to addressing and modifying situations of social exclusion and in particular to increasing the capabilities of vulnerable groups. Secondly, the term SI is strongly linked to the territory and in particular to processes that are not only bottom-up, but above all bottom-linked. And here appears the very close connection of SI with learning⁴² as both lead to the genesis of a new subject or social object, endowed with reflexivity, as stated by Donolo and Fichera⁴³. Furthermore, the pseudo-concept of SI cannot do without institutions and in particular the state to support upscaling processes - through regulations, policies, rights⁴⁴. Finally, given that the empirical cases of our research are European, it is necessary to analyze carefully whether the boundaries of the SI fall within the field of the so-called "compassionate liberalism"⁴⁵ as highlighted by Fougere et al., in the analysis of the European Commission documents on SI, or if instead they respect the statement of Moulaert et al. therefore the SI should not be conceived as a justification for the decline of the role of the state, or as an instrument for saving public spending - due to the distribution

41 Fougère, M. Segercrantz, B. and Seeck, H. (2017), A critical reading of the European Union's social innovation policy discourse: (Re) legitimizing neoliberalism, in *Organization*. No. 6, pp. 819 - 843.

42 Bifulco, L. and Bertotti T. *Innovazione Sociale* in (a cura di): Lavinia Bifulco; Vando Borghi; Massimo Bricocoli; Diana Mauri. Azione Pubblica: Un Glossario Sui Generis. 2018. Mimesis Editore

43 Donolo, C., Fichera, F., *Le vie dell'innovazione*, 1988, Feltrinelli, Milano

44 Bifulco, L. and Bertotti T. *Innovazione Sociale* in (a cura di): Lavinia Bifulco; Vando Borghi; Massimo Bricocoli; Diana Mauri. Azione Pubblica: Un Glossario Sui Generis. 2018. Mimesis Editore

45 Barbera F., 2020, *L'innovazione sociale: aspetti concettuali, problemi metodologici e implicazioni per l'agenda della ricerca*, POLIS, XXXIV,

failures of public services - but as an arena of opportunities through which bottom-linked governance it reconnects local communities to Europe and creates personalized systems for the delivery of social services.⁴⁶

⁴⁶Moulaert, F, Ganugi, G., Mehmood, A., MacCallum, D. and Leubolt, B. Social innovation: a spark to trigger transformative processes. *Sociology and Social Policies*. (2), 11-49, 2018. Page 33

CHAPTER 2

2. The "grounded city" and the Foundational Economy

Some authors⁴⁷ they considered it necessary to propose an alternative model of the city, which promotes Social Innovation (SI) instead of technical innovation: the "grounded city", as an alternative to the "competitive city" model, dominant in the mainstream imagination. The idea that every city must pursue competitive success in a ranking, in which prosperity is ensured, surpassing the others, taking advantage of technological innovation, must be replaced by the idea of a "fairer city", which has the internal capacity to distribute basic goods and services that guarantee the civil life of the greatest number of inhabitants. After 1945, equity policies in high-income countries were envisioned in a kind of social democratic framework of redistribution through services and income support, financed by a progressive tax system. But the welfare state, which was the social innovation of modernity, as we saw in the previous chapter, was progressively eroded by neo-liberal policies and the planners of the 1990s and 2000s focused on urban regeneration, through public/ private partnerships, with public sponsorship and private profit, as a win-win solution for all. The promises sounded good because redevelopment projects always offer the prospect of a revitalized urban economy with more service jobs and paid taxes, so that the poor and vulnerable get to profit. Public investments in places and areas frequented by the upper middle class - campuses, museum districts, central business districts - are sold politically on the argument that the But this 'trickle down geography', as it was ironically called by Doreen Massey⁴⁸ it has failed in its universalistic goals of social justice. The rewards of the "global city" success have been scarcely distributed to the majority of citizens. Competition for "mobile capital" has turned any aspiring global city into a tax haven, eroding real tax rates, increasing global wealth and income inequality. Household taxes have further increased and large companies benefit from this system, but hardly contribute to the maintenance and renewal of the tangible and intangible infrastructures of cities. Furthermore, the success of the "global city" has led to the atrophy of social housing and higher asset prices for affluent landlords, turning large parts of the city into no-go areas for the middle-income. not to mention the poor. Such criticisms of urban redevelopment operated by public-private partnerships have been advanced within the same urban paradigm, eg. by Susan Fainstein⁴⁹ who argued that the "communicative planning" paradigm produces results incompatible with social justice, such as economic inequality and the marginalization of the poorest social groups. Therefore, the policy that influences urban planning and the planners themselves should be urged to change their approach and adopt a normative theory of justice in which equity, democracy and diversity are the main objectives of urban development, directly linking to the "capabilities approach" by Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum: "The capabilities approach can be usefully applied to urban institutions and programs. Judgments would be based on whether their gestation was in accord with democratic norms (although not

47Engelen, E., Johal, S., Salento, A., & Williams, K. (2014, September 24). How to build a fairer city. The Guardian online.

48 Massey, DB (2007), World City, Cambridge: Polity Press.

49 Fainstein, Susan (2010). The Just City. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

necessarily guided by the strictures of deliberative or deep democracy), whether their distributional outcomes enhanced the capabilities of the relatively disadvantaged, and whether groups defined relationally achieved recognition from each other. In Sen's attack on utilitarianism (1999, chap. 3) he argues against the analysis typically employed by cost-benefit accounting as it is used to justify urban capital programs in most cities.

These analyzes tend to exaggerate benefits and underestimate costs, rely on aggregates, and ignore distributional outcomes. A more sensitive form of analysis asks the questions: Who benefits and who assesses what outputs each group in the population receives? Then, applying the difference principle amplified by the capabilities approach, such that our concern extends beyond primary goods, we should opt for that alternative that improves the lot of the relatively disadvantaged or minimally does not harm them.⁵⁰

Furthermore, Fainstein underlines the importance of the presence of opportunities, which we saw in the previous chapter as a component of SI, as an output of urban planning "Capabilities do not describe how people actually function (ie, end state) but rather what they have the opportunity to do. One need not exercise one's capabilities if one chooses not to (eg, one can choose asceticism), but the opportunity must be available, including a consciousness of the value of these capabilities. According to this reasoning, each person must be treated as an end, and there is a threshold level of each capability beneath which human functioning is not possible."

The "grounded city", on the other hand, is based on the idea of "heterogeneous economy", i.e. that the economy has different spheres or zones that function on different principles. Historian Fernand Braudel stated in "Civilization and Capitalism"⁵¹ that there were not one, but several economies from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, and in particular that there were two further economic zones, one above and one below the market and competition. Most of the world's population lived in a slow-moving mundane "infra economy" of "material life" in which "Everyday life consists of the little things one hardly notices in space and time."⁵² This was organized around immediate production and consumption rather than exchange. At the same time, above the market there was a "supra economy" of a few insiders. In this formulation, economic relations are considered heterogeneous in place and time, instead of seeing the economy in monolithic terms, based on a universalizing market. Braudel's three-level scheme is specific to the early modern period, but as Bowman et al.⁵³, his strategy of recognizing the multiplicity of economic life applies equally well to the present day. In fact, using Braudel's notion of "heterogeneous economy"⁵⁴, Engelen, Johal, Salento and Williams⁵⁵ propose to "explore present-day economic life in ways that recognize its multiplicity and its organization into zones and spheres which have different internal logics and variable salience for material welfare" and place what they call Foundational Economy (FE) as the basis of the "grounded city".

2.1 Zonal Approach of Foundational Economy

⁵⁰Fainstein, S. (2010). *The Just City*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. pp. 55

⁵¹Braudel, F. (1981) *The Structure of Everyday Life, Civilization and Capitalism*, Volume 1, New York: Harper & Row.

⁵²Braudel, F. (1981) *The Structure of Everyday Life, Civilization and Capitalism*, Volume 1, New York: Harper & Row. Pp. 29

⁵³Bowman, A., Ertürk, I., Froud, J., Johal, S., Law, J., Leaver, A., ... Williams, K. (2014). *The end of the experiment? From competition to the foundational economy*. Manchester: Manchester University Press

⁵⁴Braudel. (1986). *Civilization & capitalism 15th-18th century: Volume I, the structures of everyday life, the limits of the possible*. London: William Collins Sons.

⁵⁵Engelen, E., Johal, S., Salento, A., & Williams, K. (2014, September 24). *How to build a fairer city*. *The Guardian* online.

Barbera et al.⁵⁶ underline how this "zonal" vision is at the basis of the Foundational Economy (FE): the FE is that "zone" close to the well-being and needs of daily life that constitutes the economic infrastructure of social citizenship. From this point of view, the FE includes a number of zones. The first, the material FE, covers the infrastructures and services (pipes and cables, networks and branches) that connect families to the daily essentials. This includes the supply of water, electricity, retail banking and food. Interestingly, these are areas that have been considered ripe for privatization and financialization policies. The second area, the providential FE, covers activities critical to welfare, such as health, education and income transfers. While many of these activities are considered by many to be universal services, which should be available to all citizens, financed through tax or insurance systems and free of charge at the time of use, in many countries their provision is partially privatized and outsourced.

Furthermore, as De Boeck, S. Bassens, D., Ryckewaert, M.,⁵⁷ say, the FE concept makes it possible to think through strategies in situ, drawing on the economic structures existing in the area, while at the same time placing them outside the sphere of territorial competition. As such, the concept has historical antecedents in several urban economic theories, such as e.g. the "geographies of lower order", contained within the "central place theory" of the German geographer Walter Christaller⁵⁸, (lower-order central places that provide goods and services that have "social reproduction" as their objective). But it also has roots in the key distinctions between basic and non-basic sectors in the "urban export base theory"⁵⁹ and in concepts such as "économie résidentelle" and "économie présenteielle" by Davezies⁶⁰. Thus the concept of FE opens up the possibility of making room for different layers of urban economies present in the city. A study⁶¹ on the city of Brussels highlighted, in particular to achieve the goal of job creation at the local level, the importance of the FE: a set of economic activities less subject to territorial competition, but which favor ethnic entrepreneurship and effects associated with social mobility.

In summary, the FE constitutes the basic economic infrastructure of social life in its daily dimension, «represented by those activities whose products are used, basically, by all citizens, regardless of their income; activities that are also territorialized or in any case territorializable, because they are necessarily [...] linked to local, or at most national, contexts"⁶². While individual consumption depends on everyone's income, the fundamental economy depends on the existence and quality of infrastructures and distribution systems. Apparatuses that are not created and renewed automatically and that not even the richest can procure individually. Therefore the primary role of public policies must be to ensure basic services for all citizens⁶³. It includes the production and distribution of energy networks, water, food, transport, telecommunications (material infrastructures) but also the services traditionally referred to as Welfare, i.e., education, health and care systems, income support (providential infrastructures).

56 The Foundational Economy and Citizenship: Comparative Perspectives on Civil Repair; Civil Society and Social Change; Policy Press: Bristol, 2020. Pp. 8

57 De Boeck, S. Bassens, D., Ryckewaert, M. (2017) Easing spatial inequalities? An analysis of the anticipated effects of urban enterprise zones in Brussels. *European Planning Studies*, 25 (10)

58 Christaller, Walter (1933): *Die zentralen Orten in Süddeutsch-Land*. Gustav Fischer, Jena

59 Blumenfeld, H. (1955). The economic base of the metropolis: Critical remarks on the "basic-non basic" concept. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 21 (4), 114–132; Jacobs, J. (1972). *The economy of cities*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books.

60 Davezies, L. (2009). The local "résidentielle" economy. *Geographie, économie, société*, 11 (1), 47–53

61 De Boeck, S. Bassens, D., Ryckewaert, M. (2017) Easing spatial inequalities? An analysis of the anticipated effects of urban enterprise zones in Brussels. *European Planning Studies*, 25 (10): pp. 1876-1895

62 Il Capitale quotidiano. Un Manifesto per l'Economia Fondamentale" edito da Filippo Barbera, Joselle Dagnes, Angelo Salento, Ferdinando Spina, 2016 Donzelli Editore, Roma;

63 *Economia Fondamentale*. Dal Collettivo per l'Economia Fondamentale. 2019 Giulio Einaudi Editore, pp. 2

Thus, the concept of FE represents a novelty, where it invites us to put under observation the grip of capitalist commodification on society and to consider the potential elements for a "double movement" that brings basic services back into the sphere of the public interest and under the control of the communities concerned. In the fundamental economy there must be an enabling state that has as its objective the well-being of citizens. If you think about well-being, money is important, but it is not the only thing, as well-being depends on health care, transport, education, mobility infrastructures, libraries, public spaces, meeting places. Income does not always allow access to a "good life" but this depends on collective decisions and here the fundamental economy comes into play.

The link here is with Amartya Sen's concept of well-being and his theory of capability⁶⁴. The capability is equivalent to the individual freedom to acquire feeling good. Abilities are the freedoms to choose, among the different options, those to which one has reason to attribute value and are distinguished from the "functioning" which are the states of being and doing constitutive of a person's well-being, how to enjoy good health or be happy. The capacity-based approach outlines a path to evaluate social, political and economic systems based on their effects on prosperity and well-being⁶⁵. Thus the freedom of Sen implies a social context that makes possible or prevents the life dimensions of the person and institutions play a crucial role in promoting and sustaining capabilities.⁶⁶ From the point of view of the approach of the authors of the Fundamental Economy, "social citizenship" becomes one of the elements on which to focus and make it effective for all regardless of the territorial context.

To achieve this, the authors of the FE argue that four major social innovations are needed: gain participation by asking citizens what their key priorities are; extending the influence of society on enterprises, by subjecting large enterprises to licensing regimes and by encouraging the development of small and medium-sized private and social enterprises with strong social roots; refinance the state through restructuring the tax system to ensure income and investment for the fundamental economy; finally, to create hybrid political alliances geared towards change.

Of particular interest for the purposes of our discussion is the concept that extends the influence of society on companies and which refers to the concept of "heterarchical company"⁶⁷, a possible organizational formula for corporate governance understood as a complex social organization with a polyphonic objective function⁶⁸. The heterarchy underlines the importance of a lateral control of the company, open to interests, projects and heterogeneous resources, which therefore gives an account of its activity towards a multiplicity of actors who judge it on the basis of relevance criteria, orders of the different value and metrics. In analytical terms, the organizational model of heterarchy refers to the transition from the current model of corporate governance to one based on the collective governance of the company. Experiences inspired by a collective governance model can be found in the "recovered companies" in Argentina⁶⁹, but also in Europe such as the Federation of Mondragon cooperatives in Spain⁷⁰. These enterprises propose a new relationship with the territory, conceive the enterprise as a "common good" and practice the regulatory idea of "industrial democracy". The bond that has been created between

64 Sen A. *Inequality Reexamined*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1992; Sen A. *Development is freedom*, Mondadori Milano 2001

65 *Fundamental Economy. Infrastructure of everyday life*. By the Collective for Fundamental Economy. 2019 Giulio Einaudi Editore, chapter IV pp. 10

66 *Public Action. A sui generis glossary*, edited by Lavinia Bifulco, Vando Borghi, Massimo Bricocoli, Diana Mauri, Mimesis editions 2018, *Capacitations* (edited by Raffaele Monteleone, Carlotta Monzana) pp. 10

67 "The Daily Capital. A Manifesto for the Fundamental Economy" edited by Filippo Barbera, Joselle Dagnes, Angelo Salento, Ferdinando Spina, 2016 Donzelli Editore, Rome, pp. 250-251

68 Starck, D. *The sense of Dissonance. Accounts of Worth in economic life*. Princeton university press, Princeton 2009

69 Vigliarolo F. *The recovered enterprises. Argentina, from financialization to socialization of the economy*, Altra economy-Città del Sole Editore, Milan-Reggio Calabria 2011

70 *Fundamental Economy. Infrastructure of everyday life*. By the Collective for Fundamental Economy. 2019 Giulio Einaudi Editore, chapter V pp. 25

these companies and the territory is very interesting. The recovered businesses have just opened their doors to the surrounding environment, to the neighborhood. They carry out activities that are not normally seen in a private company: there are libraries, school classes, cycles of film screenings, dance, language, computer science courses and so on. Everything inside the factory. This principle of the company as a private space, impermeable to the surrounding environment, has been broken.

The heterarchical enterprise thus becomes, in substantial terms, an organized social group that pursues economic, political, social and cultural objectives. For example, in the Argentine context, the recovered companies promote permanent assemblies at the local level and are a place for the development of the public sphere; they set up local consultation tables where territorial priorities are defined together with the other actors of the territories; they promote actions of political pressure, through local leaders. In this way, the company also represents an instrument for the supply of local collective goods: new environmental and social services, such as training and culture, green areas, education, leisure services, social assistance for children and the elderly.

The authors of the FE have also raised the question of how to deal with crises similar to the covid 19 pandemic in the future, given that other crises could break out, such as the environmental crisis. This reflection is important because the pandemic has undermined the mainstream system and has brought out the need for innovation in many areas.

In particular, it made us reflect on what it means to have a more robust base of essential goods and services in crisis situations; so that we don't have to find ourselves once again, when the crisis is behind us, in the same ruinous configuration that has racked up economic, social and environmental failures, with the same protagonists and with their usual business models. In the meantime, citizens have to go through the emergency day after day, and national governments have clear duties to fulfill: first of all, to ensure and fairly distribute essential goods and services such as food, health, assistance; second, to suspend the ordinary market processes, which involve evictions and service interruptions for the defaulters.

In response to what will happen after the pandemic, the Foundational Economy Collective has drawn up a manifesto⁷¹ for the FE. It is a ten-point platform, defining a broad economic renewal agenda that is crucial for Europe's national and regional governments, and for municipalities that have room for action of their own. This platform foreshadows a new direction to follow, in the awareness that the starting and ending points are necessarily different in different territories. This set of proposals for the renewal of the fundamental economy does not intend to look only at the Covid-19 emergency, but to understand how to get out of it, also taking into account the other urgencies that inevitably await us: the environmental and climate emergency and the worrying decline of social cohesion.

The general objective of the platform, according to the authors of the FE, it is to extend collective responsibility for the guarantee of essential goods and services, in all key sectors. Furthermore, this reorganization must be conceived differently for each sector of activity, from residential construction to food distribution, passing through energy distribution.

1. According to the authors of the FE, the extension of collective responsibility for the basic foundations of well-being begins with health and care activities. Healthcare is the easiest area to build an alliance for change. The crisis due to the epidemic was a wake-up call in

71 What Comes after the Pandemic? A Ten-Point Platform for Foundational Renewal, 2020

an area of welfare where public intervention enjoys unanimous legitimacy and in which health workers can play a leadership role. First, regional differences within each country in financing the health sector need to be drastically reduced. Furthermore, technology-intensive medicine must not divert resources from medical care activities. The coronavirus crisis has shed light on the need for public health activities for the disease control and prevention. But basic health care activities need a much more robust approach than the current one (in Italy, for example, just 4% of the expenditure for the Essential Levels of Assistance is devoted to collective assistance in living and working environments). A basic approach is also required to deal with socio-health problems connected to the degradation of eating habits, environmental pollution, the lack of prevention of mental illness. These are major issues which, in the absence of systemic preventive interventions, reduce the quality of life and fuel the demand for hospital services.

2. Other immediate priorities, according to the authors of the FE, also due to the climate emergency, are residential construction and energy.
3. The organization of the food sector is more complex. In this context, the national and local specificities are more consistent, not only due to the obvious differences in culture and eating habits, but also due to the different importance that large distribution chains have in the various European countries. However, across Europe, they control the largest share of national food markets. Their business model is both fragile and unsustainable.
4. Furthermore, according to the authors of the FE, all economic actors involved in the fundamental economy should be subjected to a principle of social license, that is, to a regulation that imposes social and environmental obligations. Whether they operate with or without profit, all these subjects occupy a privileged position, to the extent that they enjoy a substantially inelastic social demand for goods and services.
5. Reform taxes on income, consumption and wealth to increase tax revenues. Without a tax reform, the payment of the debt incurred during the Covid-19 crisis will have a very heavy impact on the availability of fundamental goods and services, excluding the possibility of making investments in sectors of primary importance, such as healthcare and residential construction.
6. Disintermediate investments in pension funds and insurance companies, so that they go directly into the realization and management of fundamental activities, is a highway. The fundamental economy offers stable, long-term, low-yielding investment opportunities that can be financed with 5% coupons.
7. It is essential to shorten the long and fragile supply chains of basic goods, while recognizing the emptiness of autarchic localism. Essential goods and services must, by their very nature, be provided locally. There is a lot of scope for expanding local production activities.
8. Each city, country and peripheral rural area should develop transition plans, within the framework of enabling frames defined by national states and the European Union. Collective well-being and environmental sustainability should be its guiding principles. An important part of political life is local, and the provision of basic goods and services is rooted in the territories.
9. We urgently need to rebuild the technical and administrative capacity at all levels of government.
10. European countries must take responsibility for the inadequate systems of supplying basic goods and services (starting with healthcare) in neighboring regions, such as the Middle East and North Africa.

2.2 Foundational Economy and performative citizenship

Within the FE, the role that citizenship must have was discussed: the FE, according to the authors of this approach, must be supported by the promotion of a new universalistic model of citizenship, a model that sees citizenship as something more than a status that carries with it a set of rights that one possesses as a citizen, but as something that is also a dynamic part of daily life⁷². This perspective goes beyond citizenship as a collection of rights and responsibilities to emphasize the active and social nature of citizenship where people continually work, engage, contest and discuss their rights and duties.⁷³

This perspective, however, must clearly distinguish itself from the idea of "compassionate liberalism"⁷⁴ and it must avoid focusing solely on the goal of individual "activation" in terms of self-employment and human capital as the main, if not the only, horizon for people's well-being. Here emerges the same criticality highlighted by Fougère⁷⁵ on the concept of Social Innovation contained in the documents of the European Commission, which emphasized how the "compassionate liberalism" of the European Commission based solely on the individual activation of the beneficiaries, had the effect of shifting the supply of services to vulnerable groups, from governments to businesses, placing the privatization of services as fundamentally positive. The effects of this process are evident in the transformations of citizenship that have taken place in the history of housing in the last century as underlined by Bricocoli M, Salento A.⁷⁶. In this context, the Marshallian idea of the evolutionary transformation of citizenship has been questioned, in which the diffusion of social rights wants to derive from the exercise of political rights. More than the active political citizen who claims the right to housing through political mobilization, the protagonist of contemporary construction is the indebted citizen-consumer. Furthermore, in the processes of "innovation" a third figure of citizen emerges: that of the activated citizen, who is asked to be a "protagonist", in a pragmatic way, of new forms of living. Most of the initiatives intended to be "innovative" emphasize the search for a collective dimension of living. Although they sometimes create a niche access to accommodation in contexts with a high rate of exclusion, most of the time allowing the reproduction of extractive rents. The social conflict centered on a structural condition, linked to social class and housing conditions, has given way to the search for structures based on identity, culture and habits. The widespread malaise of precariousness and low incomes is addressed through the search for livability in interstitial quasi-communities. Thus three ideal types of citizens emerge here: the politically engaged citizen of the Fordist era who carries a set of actively claimed social rights; the highly individualized citizen of the neoliberal era, who interprets the house as an asset of wealth and as a possible investment rather than as a fundamental asset;

In Italy for example. in many social housing projects, the "activated citizen" is called to play the role of social innovator in search of interstitial well-being, experimenting with new forms of housing that address the extreme individualization of urban life. As stated by Bifulco L. et al.⁷⁷ activation is a key factor in the development of "local welfare". Here the activation takes

72 Barbera, F., Negri, N. and Salento, A. (2018) 'From individual choice to collective voice, foundational economy, local commons and citizenship', *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia*, 2

73 The Foundational economy and citizenship: comparative perspectives on civil repair (2020). Bristol: Policy Press, p. 249

74 Jessop, B., Moulaert, F., Hulgård, L. and Hamdouch, A. (2013) 'Social Innovation Research: A New Stage in Innovation Analysis?', In F. Moulaert, D. MacCallum, A. Mehmood and A Hamdouch (eds) *The International Handbook on Social Innovation: Collective Action, Social Learning and Transdisciplinary Research*, Cheltenham, Edward Elgar, 110–30.

75 Fougère, M. Segercrantz, B. and Seeck, H. (2017), A critical reading of the European Union's social innovation policy discourse: (Re) legitimizing neoliberalism, in *Organizationn*. No. 6, pp. 819 - 843.

76 Bricocoli, Massimo & Salento, Angelo. (2020). Housing and the grounded city: Rent extraction and social innovations. In *The Foundational economy and citizenship: comparative perspectives on civil repair* (2020). Bristol: Policy Press (pp. 129-156)

77 Bifulco, L., Bricocoli, M. and Monteleone, R. (2008) 'Activation and local welfare in Italy: Trends and issues', *Social Policy & Administration*, 42(2) pp. 143–59

place either commercially, characterizing citizenship as the freedom to choose and acquire services offered in quasi-markets, by various competing public and private suppliers, or morally, linked to empowerment, which filters access to social goods and services requirements relating to individual profiles and a commitment to a housing project from a neo-community perspective. Thus a key feature of the development of welfare policies, at least in Europe, is the idea of "active citizens" who should reflexively engage with the individualized conditions of contemporary societies. The latter is very different from the idea of active citizenship which is related to the FE. Rather, it is a continuation of a reduction of the citizen to individualized key acts; as a voter, taxpayer and consumer. But there are two other forms of activation⁷⁸:

- the version of participation in collective decisions⁷⁹ and the affirmation of the political right of citizens to enter the public domain of decision-making⁸⁰;
- the version distinguished by the capabilities approach⁸¹, which represents the most difficult challenge for the old and new conceptions of citizenship since it stresses at the same time that people possess capacities to different degrees (on which the effective exercise of rights depends) and that rights are necessary to guarantee the freedom of people to be and to do.

We have already seen how FE reconnects to Sen's "capability approach" through the concept of well-being. But the FE⁸² it also connects to Isin's work⁸³ on "performative citizenship". Isin⁸⁴ highlights two key aspects of citizenship. First, there is the recognition that citizenship that exists on paper is an expression of inert or passive rights, but the rights (and responsibilities) of citizenship are realized only when they are exercised. It is not only that rights that have been won through long and harsh social struggles (such as free speech or social insurance) would disappear if not implemented, but also that such struggles require the execution of rights that may not exist (e.g. sexual rights, animal rights or ecological rights). Second, since citizenship is achieved through its execution, non-citizens can also exercise citizenship. The political subjects - individual or collective - of citizenship are not given a priori, they too are put into being performatively. Those who do not have citizenship status, but obtain it by claiming it, often negotiate many rights and responsibilities.

In this Isin follows Tully⁸⁵ for which "citizenship is not a status conferred by the institutions of the modern constitutional state and international law, but negotiated practices in which one becomes a citizen through participation". In other words, the multiplicity of negotiated practices through which people exhibit or behave as citizens must be identified.

This suggests that a critical approach to citizenship involves recognizing that citizenship exists in several distinct, irreducible but overlapping senses. Rather than approaching citizenship as always already given, we must approach it through its performative senses. Four of these senses can be distinguished: (1) citizenship (in) theory, where citizenship is imagined, expressed and contested; (2) (in) practical citizenship, where citizenship is exercised through rituals, routines and norms in daily life; (3) citizenship law, in which citizenship is codified, organized, collected and organized; (4) citizenship (in) acts, where citizenship is requested, in an iterative way, by people who take liberties.

78 Bifulco, L., Bricocoli, M. and Monteleone, R. (2008) 'Activation and local welfare in Italy: Trends and issues', *Social Policy & Administration*, 42 (2): pp. 144

79 Mileva, T. (2004), Local participatory democracy in Britain's health service: innovation or fragmentation of a universal citizenship? *Social Policy & Administration*, 38, 3: 240 - 52.

80 De Leonardi, O. In *Un Diverso Welfare : Sogni E Incubi; Elementi / [feltrinelli]; Feltrinelli: Milano, 1998.*

81 Sen, AK (1992), *Inequality re-examined*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

82 *The Foundational economy and citizenship: comparative perspectives on civil repair* (2020). Bristol: Policy Press, p. 17

83 Isin, EF (2017) 'Performative Citizenship', in A. Shachar, R. Bauböck, I. Bloemraad and M. Vink (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Citizenship*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 500-23.

84 Hildebrandt, Paula & Evert, Kerstin & Peters, Sibylle & Schaub, Mirjam & Wildner, Kathrin & Ziemer, Gesa. (2019). *Performing Citizenship Bodies, Agencies, Limitations*. p. 50, Springer Nature publisher

85 Tully, James. 2014. *On Global Citizenship: James Tully in Dialogue*. London: Bloomsbury.

Thus the concept of performative citizenship draws a distinction between formal, substantive, rebellious, active and activist forms of citizenship and focuses on rights struggles and what these struggles bring into being. The FE approach to citizenship⁸⁶ emphasizes socio-economic relations and actions at different territorial scales which aim to demercify those goods and services that satisfy daily needs, linking citizenship to the “commons”.

Indeed, there is a solid body of work showing that self-organizing groups and communities are capable of managing common resources at the local level.⁸⁷ In this sense, the FE, as stated by Barbera et al.⁸⁸, can be the basis for the development of new citizenship practices that revolve around the defense and management of local commons. Also in the FE there is the idea of citizens who are active agents in democratic struggles⁸⁹. In this sense, in the perspective of the FE, common goods must be considered as things that are universally used and enjoyed but cannot be acquired or owned exclusively.⁹⁰, and citizenship is the ability to act collectively in defense and management of local commons⁹¹. These authors envision ways to create spaces for sharing and cooperation that spring from a new democratic citizen that they call “the commoner”, where identities and networked alliances defend common resources; They frame the “local commons” within the FE as a civic infrastructure that serves the daily needs of families through networks and ramifications; They draw a connection between “local commons” and citizenship in the Durkheimian sense, in terms of “effervescent rituals” that enact collective action skills and have positive feedback loops that link the demands of everyday life to conceptions of an equitable society. To clarify the meaning of the relationship between citizenship and “effervescent rituals” the distinction that Carolan makes may be useful⁹², between active citizens and activists. Active citizens take part in forms of social participation, including donating money to charities and volunteering in community organizations, writing letters to newspapers, blogging and signing petitions. These activities are an important part of democratic societies and are undertaken by a wide range of social groups in different contexts. Citizen activist activities, on the other hand, constitute a political project that challenges routines, understandings and practices. In this light, citizen activists are engaged in day-to-day political action or practice as a form of human freedom (Arendt, 1998: 225). An example of the distinction can be found in the responses to the economic crisis in Spain which, according to some,⁹³. Faced with government austerity and inaction, people have mobilized at the local municipal level to occupy schools and hospitals, to resist housing eviction and to promote self-governance mechanisms. Such local responses to the changing character of rights regimes (Morris, 2018) suggest that a new form of citizenship is emerging in which economic, symbolic, solidarity and institutional battlefields (Munch, 2012) are fought and defeated locally and national, allowing new forms of control, participation and decision-making of people (Garcia, 2017). This suggests precisely the idea of “performative citizenship” which is rooted in effervescent rituals of production and management of basic goods and services such as local commons.⁹⁴. This author argues that the first sense in which citizenship is performative concerns the theme of conflict. Although citizenship is often considered a more or less stable membership, a performative perspective considers citizenship to be anything but stable. Who can and cannot act as a subject of rights is determined by the political and social struggles in

86 The Foundational economy and citizenship: comparative perspectives on civil repair (2020). Bristol: Policy Press, p. 252

87 Araral, E. (2014) 'Ostrom, Hardin and the commons: A critical appreciation and a revisionist view', *Environmental Science & Policy*,

88 Barbera, F., Negri, N. and Salento, A. (2018) 'From individual choice to collective voice, foundational economy, local commons and citizenship', *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia*, 2: 371–91.

89 Stevenson, N. (2015) 'Post-citizenship, the New Left and the democratic commons', *Citizenship Studies*, 19 (6–7)

90 Araral, E. (2014) 'Ostrom, Hardin and the commons: A critical appreciation and a revisionist view', *Environmental Science & Policy*, 36:

91 Carolan, M. (2017) 'More-than-active food citizens: A longitudinal and comparative study of alternative and conventional eaters', *Rural Sociology*, 82 (2)

92 Carolan, M. (2017) 'More-than-active food citizens: A longitudinal and comparative study of alternative and conventional eaters', *Rural Sociology*, 82 (2), pag. 198

93 Garcia, B. (2017) 'New citizenship in Spain: From social cooperation to self-government', *Citizenship Studies*, 21 (4):

94 Isin, EF (2017) 'Performative Citizenship', in A. Shachar, R. Bauböck, I. Bloemraad and M. Vink (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Citizenship*, Oxford: Oxford University Press,

progress, not only on the content of rights, but also on who has or is not entitled to them. If “performative citizenship” is a struggle over the subjects of rights, this struggle creates a scenario in which social groups contest their similarities and differences.

Barbera goes beyond Isin, stating that “effervescent rituals” are creative, innovative, open to challenge and necessarily require a commitment to ongoing dialogue and debate. Most importantly, they are heterogeneous in nature while driven by common aspirations to thrive according to the understanding of the good life and an equitable society which are, in turn, open to ongoing dialogue and debate. Therefore, for the FE citizenship, in this sense, is a form of practice⁹⁵ which is rooted in social and economic relationships and that the defense and management of local commons provides the ideal focus for the activism of active citizens.

95 Arendt, H. (1998) *The Human Condition*, Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Case analysis

I decided to work on case studies that could be linked to Olinda which is one of my main case studies because I am doing an Executive PhD, therefore supported by Olinda and I had to find cases that concerned the public-private partnership linked to the territory and the concept of “care”. Olinda, as we said in the introduction, is located inside a former publicly owned PH, to be precise divided between 3 public bodies: Niguarda Hospital, Province of Milan and ATS Milan. Also, Olinda comes from deinstitutionalization, so I had to find a similar case study. So, I thought of the experience of deinstitutionalization of Trieste to which Olinda refers and in particular of a case study within that experience that was strongly linked to the territory as the Habitat Microareas project. This choice is also due to the fact that Olinda intends to acquire knowledge on the theme of the "city that cares" expressed precisely by the Microarea. I also needed to analyze a foreign empirical case that was comparable to the Habitat Microarea project and that had a solid public institutional framework. So I decided to analyze the "Zorgzame Burteen" in Belgio where, among other things, a territorial reform in the field of care had been implemented for some years.

In this section I will move on to the empirical analysis of the cases

- The first case study identified was the Micro-area Habitat Program of the city of Trieste and neighboring municipalities. In particular, the case of Muggia is being studied.
- the second case study was identified in Brussels in the "Zorgzame Burteen" where I went with an Erasmus Traineeship grant.
- the third case study was identified in the city of Milan: Olinda's social enterprise project in collaboration with the Niguarda Hospital of Milan and the Municipality of Milan.

A qualitative social research methodology was used consisting of:

- Participant Observation Methodology, by being present in the research field for a certain period of time.
- Semi-structured qualitative interviews administered to privileged observers, operators of public and private bodies, people who benefit from the activities and projects.
- Analysis of official formal documents of public and private bodies eg. (collaboration protocols between public and private entities).

Field research in the micro-areas began in Trieste on 28 October 2019, focusing on the Micro-areas of Muggia and Fonderia starting from September 2020, where participant observation was made and semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted with the operators of the social cooperative. la Collina, of the Municipality of Muggia, of Ater Trieste and of the Health Authority of Trieste and Gorizia

However, due to the covid epidemic, it was not possible to continue conducting the research activity in the field and it was decided to conduct webinar interviews with the remaining operators to be interviewed.

In Milan, the research began in the field in September 2019, interviewing some workers and users of the social enterprise La Fabbrica di Olinda and making "participatory observation" of some of Olinda's projects aimed at young people, such as The non-school theater laboratory In this area too, semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted with operators from the municipality of Milan, the associations and cooperatives participating in the projects and the healthcare company.

In the meantime, funding was obtained, through the Erasmus Traineeship call, to carry out part of the thesis work in Brussels, at the Cosmopolis Research Center, of the Geography department of the "Vrije Universiteit" of Brussel, with the aim to further deepen the theoretical field of the thesis and to insert, if present, cases of social innovation present in Brussels. Thus, starting from 1 October 2020, some useful cases for the thesis were studied in Brussels such as the "Zorgzame buurten" project, which wants to build "a neighborhood in which the conditions are met so that people, regardless of age or needs of assistance, can continue to live comfortably in their home or family environment "(Vanmechelen, 2018).

Due to the covid epidemic, work in the field also had to be interrupted in Brussels and research through webinar interviews was resumed when the covid epidemic subsided.

CHAPTER 3

3.The Microaree Habitat Program of Trieste and Muggia

The Trieste Microaree Habitat Program, active since 2005, was born, as Franco Rotelli, (psychiatrist, former Director of the Trieste Health Services Company, protagonist of the Psychiatric Reform in Italy and one of the main collaborators of Franco Basaglia, psychiatrist who inspired the Psychiatric Reform Law 180/1978, which takes its name) writes, to: "...experience the possibility of citizens to use the common goods in the places where they live. Common goods and evils: both the resources that always exist in a territorial micro-reality, even when they are not recognized or valued, and the disasters that are almost never dealt with or taken care of adequately. If we take any building, or a fairly extensive urban settlement, it is not difficult to see that it is endowed with instrumental, human, associative resources; at the same time it is full of troubles, loneliness, bad houses. In the popular blocks of flats one almost always runs into structural defects: the habitat is degraded, there is no greenery, the services are absent or do not work. However,⁹⁶ Therefore, it is aimed at promoting health and community development, which identifies the strategy through which institutions try to deal concretely and jointly with issues such as health, well-being, habitat quality, social cohesion, in taking charge of limited territorial areas, adopting an integrated, multidisciplinary, proactive and participatory approach⁹⁷ The Micro-areas, Health and Community Development Program was established by the Department of Health and Social Policies of the Friuli Venezia Giulia Region with a first Memorandum of Understanding between the Trieste social and health company, the Municipality of Trieste and the territorial company for the public housing (Ater), later included in the area plan and also extended to social cooperation. The agreement concerns the commitment to jointly intervene on a limited area, coinciding with an Public Housing (ERP) complex (on average of 400-2500 inhabitants) with the aim of addressing all the problems that are concentrated there, promoting in an integrated way "Health protection, prevention of social hardship, qualification of housing conditions"⁹⁸.

After an initial experimentation on 5 pilot areas in the Municipality of Trieste, in 1998, through the Habitat project, in 2005 the Health Authority intensified its commitment by assigning some of its full-time operators to the project, since then called Habitat Microaree, and by signing with the Municipality of Trieste and Ater a Memorandum of Understanding which committed the Partner Bodies to carry out and extend the joint intervention. Subsequently, in 2009, a similar Memorandum of Understanding was signed by the same Health Authority and ATER itself with another Municipality in the province of Trieste, the Municipality of Muggia. These agreements have been renewed several times over the years, increasing the number of areas of Trieste and its province involved in the Habitat Micro-areas Program and increasingly detailing the methods of collaboration between the Bodies. Today the Micro-areas, territories with an older,

96 Gallio, G. and Cogliati Dezza, MG (2018) (edited by). The city that heals. Micro-areas and peripheries of health. Merano: Alpha Beta Verlag, pp. 8

97 Azione Pubblica. Un glossario sui generis ,a cura di Lavinia Bifulco, Vando Borghi, Massimo Bricocoli, Diana Mauri, Mimesis editions 2018, MicroAree di Margherita Bono, Sari Massiotta, pp. 87

98 Bifulco, L.; Bricocoli, M.; Monteleone, R. 2008 Local welfare and reflective institutions. Activation processes in Friuli-Venezia Giulia, in «The Review of Social Policies», 3.

poorer and sicker population than the rest of the city, are 17, between Trieste and the province. The province of Trieste has more than 231 thousand inhabitants in all (Istat, 2021, 2019 data), of which the Micro-areas comprise a total of more than 19 thousand inhabitants (Asugi 2019 data), therefore about 8% of the population⁹⁹.

The program operates through a decisive territorialization of social and health services and supports the involvement of more or less organized expressions of the inhabitants in a perspective of capacity building.¹⁰⁰ Basically it tries to link public action to contexts; it assumes the entirety of the problems of the neighborhoods, intervening together on people and places. As such, the Micro-areas Program could be compared to the virtuous version of Urban Projects, and related instrumentation, discussed by Pinson, where the project "takes care of places and people [...], to enhance the built heritage and the social practices [...] and to mobilize properly local resources"¹⁰¹THE program acts on the reconversion of public spending making it more effective because it focuses on the situations of people in their life contexts, avoiding the burden of medical interventions that would be more expensive. Thus the Program is based on the displacement of personnel and interventions in those neighborhoods (on health, social problems and housing conditions) providing home, block and neighborhood services. Operators and interventions leave the setting of the dedicated spaces and move into the social habitat of the people, with a movement that tends to make the neighborhood its own setting.

Furthermore, the Program outlines an urban policy that tries to combine the two focuses: on the urban context and on people, starting from public competences in the field of welfare, health, housing and social issues, thus leveraging the social dimension first than on the space one. The goal is to make a city using two devices of the Program set up locally, namely the contact person and the headquarters of the micro-area. The micro-area contact person - operator of a public service or of a social cooperative - represents the crucial position of connection between the Program and the context: it acts as an informer in both directions, on the one hand representing the Program and the participating institutions locally, and on the other hand by soliciting and collecting information, questions and proposals from people in the neighborhood and conveying them upwards through the micro-area database and periodic monitoring meetings; from this position the contact person stimulates operational interventions by coordinating the various actors involved, promotes projects and facilitates the establishment of networks, groups and associations. The microarea headquarters is the organizational center of the above initiatives; but it is also a meeting point, a place for socializing, exchanges, discussions and projects for the inhabitants of the neighborhood. It is designed more like an apartment than an office The microarea headquarters is the organizational center of the above initiatives; but it is also a meeting point, a place for socializing, exchanges, discussions and projects for the inhabitants of the neighborhood. It is designed more like an apartment than an office The microarea headquarters is the organizational center of the above initiatives; but it is also a meeting point, a place for socializing, exchanges, discussions and projects for the inhabitants of the neighborhood. It is designed more like an apartment than an office¹⁰².

99 Resto a casa. Strategie e percorsi per l'assistenza domiciliare inclusiva e partecipativa, a cura di Bono M. and Del Giudice G., 2022, ConF.Basaglia

100 De Leonardis O., De Vidovich L. (2018) Innovazioni per l'apprendimento istituzionale. Il Programma Microaree, Background Paper, III Rapporto sulle città, Urban@it, Bologna: il Mulino

101 Pinson, G. 2009 Il progetto come strumento d'azione pubblica urbana, in P. Lascoumes e P. Le Galès (a cura di), Gli strumenti per governare. Milano, Bruno Mondadori

102 De Leonardis O., De Vidovich L. (2018) Innovazioni per l'apprendimento istituzionale. Il Programma Microaree, Background Paper, III Rapporto sulle città, Urban@it, Bologna: il Mulino

In my research I analyzed the Micro-areas of Muggia, a municipality in the peri-urban belt of Trieste from which it is about 14 km away, the result of a public-private partnership, between the Municipality of Muggia, the Trieste Health Authority (Asugi), the Territorial Construction Company public housing in Trieste (Ater) and La Collina social cooperative. The latter is a “mixed” social cooperative (B+A), born with the intention of favoring the work placement of people in disadvantaged conditions for whom work is not only useful for acquiring economic stability, but above all it is one of the fundamental tools for create new opportunities for reintegration into society. To pursue its goal, the cooperative has built over time an articulated series of processes and methodologies aimed at bringing out all the potential present in the person. The key elements of the methodology can be summarized in the following points:

- ad personam training courses characterized by "learning by doing" which allows the development of professional skills through concrete experiences
- flanking workers from the disadvantaged area to other experienced colleagues and supervised by sector managers
- the small size of the work groups, which favors mutual knowledge, the establishment of relationships and relationships with colleagues, the sense of belonging
- a constant relationship between the cooperative and the bodies responsible for taking care of the various problems of social exclusion, in order to be able to promptly intervene in the event of emergencies during the training course and to constantly monitor the course itself
- the use of job training grants provided by public bodies, an initial tool to support the transition from the period of inactivity
- close collaboration with training institutions, to use the resources made available for the qualification of disadvantaged people

Furthermore, La Collina is present in the advanced tertiary sector market with the design, construction and provision of services aimed at public and private entities. Following the process of merger by incorporation with the type A social cooperative Reset Società Cooperativa Sociale – Impresa Sociale ONLUS, concluded on 1/12/2019 (date of execution deed) but with retroactive effect to 01/01/2019 , La Collina has become a “mixed” social cooperative (B+A).

Currently the cooperative has two divisions (B and A) and operates in the following areas of intervention: designs and manages cultural, administrative, IT, didactic-creative and tourist services throughout the province of Trieste. In particular, it manages social enterprise activities in public establishments such as the Il Posto delle Fragole Bar / Restaurant, inside the former O.P. of Trieste, the Social Osteria-Casa del Popolo, the Tritone hotel both in Trieste. It also deals with cultural services such as Radio Fragola, also within the former O.P. of Trieste; deals with cultural services in museums, libraries and archives; manages the Microareas of the Municipality of Muggia and through the Prius Melara project takes care of the maintenance of the Ater buildings and of the common spaces within the Microarea of Melara.

3.1 Microarea of Muggia: Fonderia and Zindis



Figure 3 Image of the Fonderia di Muggia district

From my diary 22 September 2020 at 9.00 "... I take bus number 20 from Trieste Center to Muggia station ... the bus is full of commuters ... it takes about 20 minutes to reach Muggia station passing through an industrial complex overlooking the gulf and a street dotted with large shopping centers. Here I take bus 32 in the direction of the school square in the former Fonderia district ... the appointment for the meeting of the micro-area is exactly at the square in via dei Meccanici ... the bus is half-empty, there is only a middle-aged lady and an elderly gentleman with a child of about 6, I assume grandfather and grandson. I ask him for information on where to get off... the bus leaves. And the hill of Muggia climbs a rather long climb ... a small descent ... again a climb ... a further descent and begins via dei Meccanici ... we are on a sort of hill,

In the former Fonderia district as the micro-area operator of the La Collina ADM cooperative tells us "Fonderia is a fairly young district compared to others as it was built in the 70-80s and the whole district is very large ... and covers the whole part of the Muggia hill ... it is located before the center of Muggia, so it is isolated because it is located on a hill, but it is not too isolated, it is not the outskirts of the suburbs, as we say of Zindis, but it is placed in a position where the buses arrive because there are, even if they are infrequent like 32.... it is connected to a single road... .but it can be covered on foot in a simple way... I say simple but not a lot ... because it is full of architectural barriers ... you may have noticed that to get here at least one flight of stairs you have to do it ... the whole district is therefore characterized by flights of stairs ... the district was created to give a housing solution to all those people who worked in the shipyards, which are further down we say that the district is not only made up of Ater houses but also of condominiums that were built first by building cooperatives that are now private but also, further up, by private houses, small houses, villas also... so the municipality's intention to start a micro-area here was innovative

because unlike the other micro-areas there is not only an Ater component but also a private component.... and denotes the attention on the part of the municipality towards a district that is in fact abandoned ... there there is a lack of services and the Fonderia has about 800 inhabitants of which 38% are over 65 so there is a considerable elderly component ... while a short 15% under 18 years and therefore this is the situation ... a fairly isolated district with a large presence of elderly people.... and the intention to start a micro area here came after doing an action search ... always the municipality after the positive experience of the micro area of Zindis, asked our cooperative to do an action search in three districts in Muggia, one in Fonderia , the other in Aquilinia and the third, actually a municipality, San Dorligoand from this action research it emerged that Fonderia needs the presence of a micro-area precisely because it has those peculiar characteristics of micro-areas or a strong presence of houses Ater,

From these first words, a characteristic of the construction of a Microarea emerges which mostly arises from an action-research, carried out in this case by the La Collina cooperative, directly commissioned by the Municipality of Muggia and with the support of the co-design table, with the representatives of the Social Service of the Municipality of Muggia, of the Healthcare Company and of Ater Trieste, and the technical support of the Politecnico di Milano. The research-action took place in three months to analyze needs and resources present in three very different territories, precisely two districts of the Municipality of Muggia, Fonderia and Aquilinia and a municipality that of San Dorligo. For each of the territories, the action research sought to answer some guiding questions:

-What are the needs / problems, especially those that are latent and that have not yet been answered, and what are the resources, especially those currently under-exploited and under-used, of the population and the context?

-How could the operating methods of the services be redefined on the basis of the needs and resources identified, to give more effective and sustainable answers? What integrated interventions, which involve institutions, citizens and the third sector together on common objectives, are possible to respond to needs by making the resources available in the territories more valuable?

Therefore, the objective of action research is not only to get to know better the contexts to which it is addressed through the collection of information, but also to carry out immediately, in the research path itself, an action aimed at these contexts, in direction to carry out useful interventions for them. Furthermore, in this way relationships are also built, between and with institutions, between and with operators, between and with citizens and associations in order to create an "embryonic partnership" (so defined in action research) to socialize knowledge and the points of view that each has on the territories considered.

In addition to the collection and analysis of quantitative data, in the action research on Fonderia interviews were carried out (48 semi-structured interviews in all) and focus groups were organized, useful both for acquiring information and for building relationships. It should also be noted that, as collective moments of confrontation, there were several meetings of the co-design table, which involved representatives of the Social Service, the Health District and Ater Trieste. In more detail, for each territory, the following were carried out:

-a mapping focus group with the service operators of the three partner institutions that operate specifically in the territory considered;

-a walk in the public neighborhood that aimed to involve both the population and the operators and representatives of the institutions, to confront ourselves, even physically, with the territory.

-a public meeting together with the councilor for Social Policies of the Municipality of Muggia, to discuss with the population on the contents that emerged during the research and on the project proposals for the future.

The action research also made it possible to carry out an accurate socio-demographic analysis and understand how many public housing units (Ater) are compared to the Municipality of Muggia: Fonderia has a very important presence of dwellings (211) and tenants (409) Ater. The percentage of Ater tenants out of the total population in Fonderia (47.89%) is much higher than the percentage relating to the entire territory of Muggia (8.79%). In any case, the Fonderia district also includes a lot of private buildings and this somewhat alleviates the problems that characterize the Ater areas. The action research also made it possible to obtain data relating to the relationship of the population with the social and health services from which the presence of high-load multiproblematic situations, the particular relevance of income-related problems, which in some cases are accompanied by other social and health problems, and the higher cost of ATER accommodation compared to other areas due to central heating. Some operators, in the search for action, have expressed the need for greater opportunities for integrated work between the various services for this territory and to be able to reach even the slice of "submerged hardship" not yet in contact with the services, with a view to improvement of the effectiveness of care and prevention, also because the very high percentage of elderly inhabitants, with the passing of the years, will present more and more social and health problems and fragility.

From the action research it emerges that Fonderia has some characteristics of a dormitory area with a lack of essential services, such as food and opportunities for socializing and entertainment for young people. The lack of opportunities for aggregation and connections is linked to the physical characteristics of the ward. The district develops on a sloping ground and is full of architectural barriers. In particular, there are many stairways and there is no road connection between the lower and upper parts of the Fonderia.



Figure 4 from the action research "A path for Fonderia"

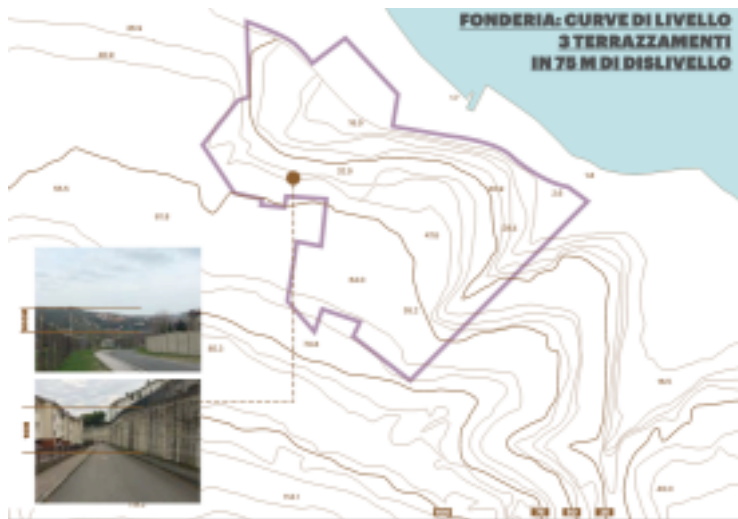


Figure 5 from the action research "A path for Fonderia"

So the action research laid the foundations for the Municipality of Muggia to set up a micro-area in the Fonderia to address the problems presented. For the purposes of this discussion it is important to clearly highlight the different phases of this institutional construction. From the point of view of the construction of the institutional path, the action research preceded the Microarea protocol (see attachment) as SG told us, who coordinates the planning area of the La Collina cooperative. *"the action-research is prior to a micro-area protocol and is carried out through an act of entrustment by the municipality ... then the action research work is commissioned to Collina, which however concerns several territorial islands with the aim of identifying the one or those more adherent to the micro-area approach, therefore with the idea of identifying a territory, within which to establish a second new micro-area "* furthermore *"... the former Fonderia, on the other hand, was born in the absence ... this is also a very interesting indicator ... in the absence of other funding, but due to the will of the Muggesana municipal administration to continue and expand the work on the territory, because already in Zindis there is a micro-area who obviously carries out a specific job, which manages to demonstrate to the administrators the importance of having work in the territory at 360 ° ... and therefore once again there is a virtuous short-circuit between the innovation capacities of a subject of social enterprise, on the other hand, however, the political will of the public administrator to effectively initiate these processes "*

In summary, the institutional process that took place at Fonderia was this:

1. existence of a previous Memorandum of Understanding (2009) for Zindis (annex 1)
2. action research in the Fonderia area on direct assignment by the Municipality of Muggia. Simultaneous presence of the Show project and the Butterfly Placement Project on the territory with funding sources other than those of the Municipality.

3. Memorandum of Understanding of February 2018 (annex 2) which provides for the establishment of the co-planning table (in the Municipality of Muggia the additional tool of the Co-planning table of the Habitat-Microarea Program is foreseen, which involves the three Partner Bodies and the Third Party Sector in charge)
4. Direct assignment (2018) by the Municipality of Muggia to the La Collina cooperative (annex 3)

From the point of view of resources, the direct award of 2018 includes: for the purposes of activating and managing the services in question, the Municipality of Muggia participates with the total amount of € 150,000¹⁰³. The executing company, the cooperative La Collina offered as its shareholding an amount equal to € 9.237,70.

To the resources given by the municipal custody are added € 5,000 per year from the health company which, however, go to the municipality and which were used in part to furnish the apartment of Fonderia, headquarters of the Microarea. Furthermore, Ater participates by financially covering 4 hours a week, as social concierge hours of the total hours of a Microarea operator of the La Collina cooperative. The Healthcare Company also contributes with civil service volunteers, and the supply of "petty cash" taken from health budgets, about € 200 per month, which are used for the small expenses of the Microarea to support the inhabitants, such as, for example, the supply of food.

This process appears innovative as it builds a partnership between public and private which presents some characteristics of the Fundamental Economy¹⁰⁴. As part of this approach, great importance is placed on the development of small and medium-sized private enterprises with strong social roots, endowed with a sort of "license" by the public to bring social innovations in the territorial contexts to which they belong. In this sense, the social enterprise La Collina seems to have some characteristics of a "heterarchical enterprise"¹⁰⁵

Returning to Fonderia, let's try to understand what the other characteristics of the micro-area are.

Always by the ADM operator. " ... and we have been operating here for two and a half years ... the first year we did a door-to-door activity ... so I, together with the services and then also alone, went door to door to meet the people presenting the project, presenting the entities that support the project and making a series of acquaintances with those who opened the door for me ... then starting to get to know the people who live in the neighborhood and at the same time we also did some activities on the territory and in the common spaces like this ... so we started with the coffee table... it's not that simple door to door.... maybe put yourself in a place and see what happens maybe stop people, it is an even easier way to hook people ... and therefore from there this thing of the table is also left ... but at least once a week for two years we are at"

However, the presence of the table with the umbrella does not exclude the presence of a

103 the total amount of € 142,777.50 excluding VAT, divided as follows: a) € 70,042.50 excluding VAT, for services relating to Zindis, from 01.04.2018 to 31.12.2020; b) € 50,000.00 excluding VAT for services relating to the Fonderia, presumably to be activated from 01.07.2018 to 31.12.2020; c) € 22,735.00 excluding VAT, for the technical extension relating to both areas concerned from 01.01.2021 up to a maximum of 06.30.2021, a sum which is further divided into € 12,735.00 excluding VAT, for the area of Zindis and € 10,000.00 excluding VAT, for the Fonderia area.

104 Il Capitale quotidiano. Un Manifesto per l'Economia Fondamentale" edito da Filippo Barbera, Joselle Dagnes, Angelo Salento, Ferdinando Spina, 2016 Donzelli Editore, Rome; Economia Fondamentale. Dal Collettivo per l'Economia Fondamentale. 2019 Giulio Einaudi Editore

105 Starck, D. the sense of Dissonance. Accounts of Worth in economic life. Princeton university press, Princeton 2009

physical location within the micro-area, usually located in an apartment made available by Ater, as visible and accessible as possible, equipped with a kitchen, hosting the presence of all Partner Entities. In fact, always by the ADM operator "...also in Fonderia a location has been planned that we inaugurated on 23 October 2019 and which is located there in via dei Meccanici 43 is a location that is an Ater apartment, completely new and furnished thanks to funds from the municipality ... beautiful because the social worker helped in the choice of furnishings... .On 23 October we opened twice, three times a week and then clearly in February.... In March the covid arrived so we had to close. Now we are in the process of reopening the headquarters with all the regulations ... it will open by October 2020 ... " The fact that there is a physical space in the micro-area is considered of great importance especially for the inhabitants, in fact always by the ADM operator "... especially for the inhabitants more than for the operator as the micro-area operator usually does not stay on site ... he is present because he exists, ... he is more on the territory, at people's homes, to hold meetings ... he creates a network and active services, while the office is managed by the inhabitants ... this is the goal ... that it be managed by the inhabitants ... that there is an active participation of the inhabitants compared to what is a space for everyone ... normally before the covid it was open to all, it is a place that residents they live... so it was very much awaited... everyone asked me for a year: when does the office open?... all I don't mean just those who were with me.... the opening of this office was expected from the whole Muggia community.... we finally opened it ... precisely because a physical place is necessary to recognize the presence in the territory of a certain project ... a physical place identifies that they are there ... and then in truth the telephone always rings and the telephone is the means used to more.... in my opinion, yes for the inhabitants and for the sense of general recognition ".

Therefore, from these words we derive another fundamental characteristic of the micro-area: the knowledge, "door to door", by the micro-area operators, of all the inhabitants of the neighborhood and direct contact, at the headquarters, and / or with visits at home, with those who are involved and / or who have specific needs. This looks like a very similar methodology to outreach¹⁰⁶, that is, to ensure that the services reach people directly in their life contexts, based on the daily and continuous presence in the territory. But it also has something more. As Bono M.¹⁰⁷ working on the territory means dealing with its complexity and fragmentation. There is fragmentation between the various institutions that deal with the territory and its population, there is fragmentation between the private realities present, of the third sector and not, there is fragmentation between the different people who inhabit the territory. A fragmentation that ensures that not only the territory, but also the individual people who inhabit it, are treated, and they themselves live, as if they were themselves fragmented. In fact, a piece of the inhabitant of this territory is dealt with by the general practitioner, another piece by the specialist, another piece by the public housing company and / or by other bodies that deal with living, yet another by the social work and / or other social agencies, another from educational and / or cultural agencies ... All these subjects often do not act in a coordinated manner and also follow procedures that do not always allow to recognize that individuals also have resources and skills, perhaps hidden. The experience of the Micro-areas is aimed at overcoming this fragmentation for purposes of health, community welfare and qualification of the housing contexts. To do this, it is necessary the continuity of presence in the territory by the operators of the "Micro-areas " community welfare and qualification of housing contexts. To do this, it is necessary the continuity of presence in the territory by the operators of the Micro-areas " community welfare and qualification of housing contexts. To do this, it is necessary the continuity of presence in the territory by the operators of the Micro-areas "A daily presence alongside the people of the ward, so much so that they become like neighbors, know each other well, and even

106 N. Wates The Community Planning Handbook, Earthscan Publications Ltd, London 2000

107 Bono, M. (2021) Come lavorare nel territorio? Percorsi di "ricerca pratica", in Bifulco L., Mozzana C. (a cura di) La gestione sociale dell'Abitare. Carrocci editore. 2022

become fond of each other. A presence that never says "it's not my job" when a problem or a proposal is brought up but knows how to listen and accompany people in seeking answers and possibilities, without pretending to have the right solutions, but with the ability to inform and activate subjects and connections that some partial solutions and possibilities will be able to offer it. ¹⁰⁸

The activity of the Micro-areas is aimed at building "social citizenship" by supporting the inhabitants in their needs, difficulties but also daily desires. This is very relevant in the social concierge activity that is carried out and which has the purpose of responding to all those needs concerning the maintenance of housing but also to support the inhabitants in case they need assistance in the activities of daily life. We will see in the next paragraph how this "ability" played an important role during the lockdown following the Covid-19 epidemic. In addition, the social concierge is used as an opportunity for job placement not only in the Fonderia but also in the other contexts of Microarea in which the La Collina cooperative operates, as SG told us in the design area of the cooperative: *"... starting from the Ater assignments for the social concierge service, the first thing that comes to mind is the active involvement of a person at a disadvantage of difficulty even better if a resident ... so in this way a path of inclusion through work which, however, passes through a form of professionalization, acquisition of skills, training.... therefore in general these paths enjoy the support of figures who then coincide perhaps with the Microarea referent, with this objective."* Therefore, the continuity of presence in the Fonderia area is represented by the Microarea structure composed of:

- The Microarea contact person: operator made available by the healthcare company or the third sector in co-planning with partner institutions, dedicated full-time to the project and present daily in the reference area with an operational coordination role
- The social porters (In Trieste the social cooperatives La Quercia and Duemilauno work in the Micro-areas on behalf of the Municipality and Ater. In Muggia the Ater Social Caretaker is carried out, with a proactive formula, by La Collina, alongside the work of Microarea referent that he carries out with a co-design assignment for the Municipality). They are social cooperation operators who work on behalf of the Municipality (for social activities) and Ater (as an intermediary between those who reside in Ater homes and this. Institution and catalyst of processes of "care for places").
- People, often inhabitants of the ward, with job training grants from the services or who actively contribute to the activities on a voluntary basis.
- Two volunteers from the Civil Service,
- Some teenagers with grants from the regional solidarity service
- The Territorial Technical Group, which meets once a month but whose members connect in their daily work whenever needed, includes the Microarea team and the operators of the reference services (District, mental health, addictions, social service...) and the Third Sector who in their ordinary work deal with that territory;

The people of this structure "mix" and if you enter a Microarea office for the first time it is

108 Bono, M. (2021) Come lavorare nel territorio? Percorsi di "ricerca pratica", in Bifulco L., Mozzana C. (a cura di) La gestione sociale dell'Abitare. Carrocci editore. 2022

difficult to understand their roles. This "confusion" does not mean that the professionalism and skills necessary for the objectives of health, community welfare, quality of living and social habitat are not respected, but these become resources available to a common project to which everyone can contribute, each with its own abilities and possibilities. Bono M.¹⁰⁹ affirms how in this way it is possible to overcome the "blocks" that may arise and which are of various kinds: from the distrust of the inhabitants towards the institutions to the barriers placed by the operators and bodies for which they work, not to mention the distrust of the institutions themselves in the change. Therefore, the structure of the Micro-areas serves to open up possibilities, in the sense that it provides for defined objectives and establishes partnerships in pursuing them, also provides for some professional roles to be put in place, but tends not to define job descriptions and procedures.

The same structure of Microarea is also present in the other Microarea of Muggia, Zindis (fig. 4), with buildings older than those of Fonderia and with the same problems of urban obstacles, which presents Fonderia for the elderly (who are the largest part of the inhabitants of two districts), as both with buildings built uphill, with steep stairs and access ramps. During my visit, the mixing of different roles seemed even more evident to me: in the same small space of the Microarea office (fig. 5-6-7), there were ladies from the neighborhood (who I later discovered belong to the Made in Zindis association) who cooked for lunch in the small open kitchen, the Microarea operator continually busy receiving neighborhood residents who needed assistance,



Fig. 6 the Ater district of Zindis

109 Bono, M. (2021) Come lavorare nel territorio? Percorsi di "ricerca pratica", in Bifulco L., Mozzana C. (a cura di) La gestione sociale dell'Abitare. Carrocci editore. 2022



Fig. 7 seat of the Microarea of Zindis



Fig. 8 inside the seat of the Microarea of Zindis



Fig. 9 kitchen and dining area of the Microarea office in Zindis

In this case it is evident how the Microarea acts positively on the relational wealth of people, mostly elderly and often alone, creating opportunities for meeting and "being together" in daily life. But what is interesting about Zindis is that a process has started that has led to the establishment of a social promotion association managed by the inhabitants of the same Ater district. Certainly it was not an easy process, as Mrs Maurizia, elderly resident of the

neighborhood and president of the association, told me "There was *Giuliana's initial idea of doing a lottery to raise some pennies for the micro-area with products we made, but Margherita (the Microarea operator) made us understand that without a legal structure it was impossible to do, because it would have been an outlaw stuff ... also there was the idea of doing gentle gymnastics courses ... so little by little and with difficulties and contrasts between us and with Margherita's insistence, we formed the association ... I'm the president because I'm alone, I don't have to answer to anyone... while others have families... we are about forty members, inhabitants of the neighborhood but also ladies from Muggia who come to the gentle gymnastics course*". At the same time, Luisa, vice president of the association, tells me "we made the association also for this, to pay the gym teacher ... ". As Mrs. Giuliana said "Made in Zindis was born in the meantime as a group, as a group of people because one day I got the crazy idea of raising some pennies for the Microarea, for small expenses ... So I invented a lottery. .. And I connected this lottery with the manual workshop that had recently been born - I had learned to weave, to make paper wicker, so I enjoyed making baskets and then downstairs we colored them all together with the ladies who came ... Anyone I found in the office I gave him a brush with the color and I colored the baskets and these stuffs ... We organized this lottery with prizes made by us, with jobs made by us, and together we also had a banquet of salable free offer jobs. And this went on for a couple of years, until the idea came true,¹¹⁰.

From these interviews it is possible to observe how people are activated within the Micro-areas: the activation comes from a desire of the inhabitants (to do a lottery, to sell the products of the manual laboratory, to do gentle gymnastics, etc ...) which is strengthened and supported by the Microarea operator, also insisting and finding all the connections and institutional resources, together with the inhabitants, to make it possible. This is possible only because the operator is continuously present in the same environment as the inhabitants and manages to get people to speak who, due to cultural and social conditions, would hardly be able to take a stand. In this case we are certainly far from the three forms of inhabitants of contemporary construction, examined in chapter 2. We are certainly very far from the figure of the citizen who must be activated in order to become part of the social housing of the Italian metropolis, who is asked to be the "protagonist", in a pragmatic way, of new forms of living. In the case of Zindis, activation is not a necessary prerequisite for having an accommodation but rather an ongoing process, born from a desire of the inhabitant himself, which is built little by little, putting together all the resources present in the context, therefore also those of the institutions. This leads to a process of empowerment of the inhabitant of the Ater neighborhood which thus increases his "ability to aspire". In the case of Zindis, activation is not a necessary prerequisite for having an accommodation but rather an ongoing process, born from a desire of the inhabitant himself, which is built little by little, putting together all the resources present in the context, therefore also those of the institutions. This leads to a process of empowerment of the inhabitant of the Ater neighborhood which thus increases his "ability to aspire". In the case of Zindis, activation is not a necessary prerequisite for having an accommodation but rather an ongoing process, born from a desire of the inhabitant himself, which is built little by little, putting together all the resources present in the context, therefore also those of the institutions. This leads to a process of empowerment of the inhabitant of the Ater neighborhood which thus increases his "ability to aspire".

110I thank Margherita Bono for giving me the interview with Mrs. Giuliana

3.2 The "What if you become a Butterfly" project

At the same time, other parallel and complementary projects are also used to overcome the problems highlighted in the action research. An example is the project "And if you become Butterfly" (title taken from a poem by Alda Merini) as the operator P. of the cooperative says during the meeting of the Enfap course at Fonderia "... *One of the acrobatic synergies that are often built is the fact that there can be interventions that have an intense but shorter temporality, when they are grafted onto a path instead of continuous: "And if you become a Butterfly", grafted in a place where there is a micro-area, where there is an action research, it has a double added richness.... on the one hand, a job like "And if you become a Butterfly" allows you to do ... you have the opportunity to enrich yourself with a job that is already being done, therefore with this network of relationships, this network of connections ... and which therefore leads to a territory where 'is already a continuity and therefore it is not a commercial.... on the other hand, the fact that a territory in which there are presences,*

"And if you become a Butterfly" is part of a four-year national project (2018-2022) aimed at around 140,000 girls and boys in Italy. The proposal, selected and financed by the social enterprise Con i Bambini Onlus, concretely experiments, in nine regions (Emilia-Romagna, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Lombardy, Piedmont, Puglia, Sicily, Veneto, Basilicata and Tuscany), the artistic experience as a tool to combat and stem the phenomenon of juvenile educational poverty. The initiative also aims to strengthen local educational communities by supporting existing good practices and experimenting with new strategies capable of transforming beneficiaries into active protagonists. In addition to the activities dedicated to minors, there are also training courses aimed at adults as teachers, educators and operators in the cultural field. In particular, the question of the re-appropriation of the proximity spaces, mostly public, to which previously did not give particular importance in educational and training experiences, that is the already existing widespread public infrastructure able to respond to needs, was immediately posed. of the community and especially those expressed by girls and boys, such as the municipal gardens, closed due to high management costs, the squares of public residential areas, underused school courtyards and sports facilities in a state of decay of the suburbs. All linked by a single denominator which is the fundamental tool a child needs to learn: play, that is, guaranteeing the right of girls and boys to be able to play in the spaces of the city. Where the conditions for the usability of public spaces have been created or restored, including for girls and boys, it is possible to guarantee children not only the rights to access goods and services, or the rights to enjoy protected and safe spaces, through a widespread non-invasive social monitoring, but also the rights to participate in community life with a progressive autonomy and independence from the adult. Based on these assumptions, the project "And if you become a butterfly", since its first year of activity, has generated synergies with the Habitat Microarea program, involving the nursery school in numerous urban exploration workshops that have had as their object investigation of the state of health of the spaces in the neighborhood. Over the years, a significant relationship has therefore been built between inhabitants, institutional representatives, third sector operators, teachers, parents, girls and boys. At the same time, numerous educational tools and devices were produced: large-format games to animate the public space, self-produced publications focused on the history of the district, temporary modification of the intended use of some common areas of the district

for carrying out cultural and social activities. In fact, as the cooperative operator, responsible for the project, LG told us self-produced publications focused on the history of the district, temporary modification of the intended use of some common areas of the district for the development of cultural and social activities. In fact, as the cooperative operator, responsible for the project, LG told us self-produced publications focused on the history of the district, temporary modification of the intended use of some common areas of the district for the development of cultural and social activities. In fact, as the cooperative operator, responsible for the project, LG told us: *"... How did "And if you become a Butterfly" started? It started 2 years ago at the beginning of the micro-area ... there was not even the headquarters ... on the contrary we were in the action search phase first of all we tried to involve the children of the kindergarten which is located within the neighborhood ... among other things, a very beautiful school ... and we involved teachers, children and their parents in the search for action and we defined an itinerary, also involving part of the inhabitants ... we tried to map how the village is made, what are its points of weakness and strength and we made points on the map ... joining them we made an itinerary and we physically went there with the children ... this was the itinerary at the Fonderia, 2 years ago, with the ladders, with the basements in a phase of decay, with a beautiful playground but little used because there are no pedestrian crossings... in short, strengths, opportunities but also weaknesses. By leading the children through this itinerary, equipping the children with digital cameras, we let them freely roam and document the good and bad things in this ward. All this material has been reassembled into a model, a real map that in three-dimensional dimension is found here at the headquarters and we have collected testimonies from the inhabitants, including a desire from an inhabitant who moved me, who wanted to hear the voices of the children inside the ward and classical music, this strange but very evocative combination... so we tried to compose all these oral, textual and photographic testimonies in this model which was then re-presented at the end of this action research path.... what was the objective? It was, over the years, to have a tool that can be used to activate construction sites, participatory and participatory workshops within the ward ... so using the ward space not so much as a container but as a content from which to start ... therefore imagining projects of temporary redevelopment or more stable over time ... the basements were and are a very sore point because it concerns the common areas and are really in an advanced state of abandonment and therefore we decided to continue, then the following year, to work on this place . In this case here the opening of this construction site, of this participatory atelier was a small theatrical performance ... it was a puppet theater ... figured precisely to tell the story of the district or the story invented also through the contributions of children ... we tried to use this space temporally to at least 1 hour inviting the children of kindergartens and telling a totally imaginative story, not so historical, linked to this area. So we tried to reconstruct a collective memory.... The inhabitants also contributed by writing a story that is still unpublished... Why did we use children? but because in my opinion they are able to detect things that we no longer make sense of... for example, we were talking about the history of the neighborhood before...."*

This re-appropriation of public spaces and unused spaces within the Ater neighborhood, "suitable for children", such as the "basements" (empty spaces under the apartments) become a strategic topic to involve institutions and in particular Ater in continuous way within the project, but also an opportunity to try to innovate starting from emergency elements as we will see in the next paragraph.

3.2 Microaree in the epidemic emergency

In this paragraph I begin to analyze how the Habitat Microaree program worked in Muggia during the covid-19 epidemic. In October 2020 the covid 19 pandemic was crossing my entire field of research and posed the question of how Microaree would behave in emergency situations also because this is a question related to the concept of "care" that as we said has guided my research.

Also by the operator of the La Collina cooperative, Anna De Marchi, with reference to Fonderia *"During the lockdown the office was closed as it still is to the public and the operators could have been there, but we continued to work during the covid ... and we continued to work because the micro-area, in addition to being present in the area, makes small support activities for people such as home shopping delivery and home delivery of medicines ... and our know-how with respect to these ways of working, has meant that we have also been of great support to civil protection, at the moment they had to do it, because they never do this thing.... so in the first weeks we also coordinated civil protection with respect to the delivery of drugs then we split up... they took care of the rest of the Muggia area and we more of the micro-areas....in addition we have compiled a list of people who between Zindis and Fonderia are about 100, who we believe to be among the most fragile even before the covid, whom we called several times a week, so that they felt less alone, to understand if they needed somethingduring the covid even though we weren't physically there there was still word of mouth regarding our function of connecting with the services ... and I met new people ... absurdly, people I did not know and who at that moment had need helpand somehow I activated this service, we came to meet him ... but also trivially people who were positive for covid and who found themselves completely alone, they have no one, they are alone at home, they cannot go out, simply go and get the money to buy drugs ... they are those little things that you can perceive only by always being with people "*

In this case, there is a substitute action for civil protection as you have the local knowledge to react promptly to the emergency. Always from the interview with the ADM operator *"Civil protection is given the task... I believe almost for the first time ever... to bring shopping, medicines to people's homes.... however, the civil protection does not know how to do this thing that seems trivial, but it is not at all, because it really poses a whole series of problems ... such as the manipulation of money and recovering prescriptions, understanding what kind of medicine, the connection with doctors basic... .things that they have difficulty in doing... also because it is a great job of mediation... .that is, civil protection is not doing mediation work... instead we know how to do it. moreover, we have always done this, this thing here, to bring the shopping home, to bring the medicines home.... it's something that comes naturally to us, I mean ... so we made our ability to do this thing available in some way ... so also explain, how we think it's easier to do things, get organized ... but also the sorting of calls ... so I receive the calls and I then addressed them to civil protection.... so I did the first call filtering job ... so someone who lives here in Fonderia was called and we tried to do things ourselves ... while my colleague was the most operative in the area ... so it was he who went to bear the expenses, the medicines around ... so we started the first two weeks and we realized it was much better " get organized ... but also the sorting of calls ... so I get the calls and then I would send them to civil protection.... so I did my first call filtering job ... so someone who lives here in Fonderia was called and we tried to do things ourselves ... while my colleague was the most operational in the area ... so it was he who went to bear the costs, the medicines around ... so we started the first two weeks and we realized it was much better " get organized ... but also the sorting of calls ... so I get the calls and then I would send them to civil protection.... so I did my first call filtering job ... so someone who lives here in Fonderia was called and we tried to do things ourselves ... while my colleague was the most operational in the area ...*

so it was he who went to bear the costs, the medicines around ... so we started the first two weeks and we realized it was much better "

From these words we can understand how the structure of the Fonderia micro-area was immediately ready for action, even in emergency conditions, even managing to coordinate the civil protection that had no local knowledge or ability to resolve the issues of daily life of the inhabitants. , which micro-area operators do under normal conditions. The same Head of Micro-areas Margherita Bono underlines how the operators of Microarea have taken:... without having *no directive, the decision, in clear contrast to the generality of "non-essential" services, to continue to work physically in the area, albeit in compliance with the rules of distancing, and have set up the work in the field managing to coordinate and coordinate with the different subjects, including the inhabitants themselves, to give support to those most in difficulty*"¹¹¹

Furthermore, the micro-area also tries to design starting from such an emergency situation. Following the release of the ministerial decree of the President of the Council of Ministers of 17 May 2020, containing the guidelines for the safe management of organized play and social opportunities for children and adolescents, as part of the "What if become Butterfly", the Map of opportunities is proposed and becomes the subject of a discussion table extended to the educating community of the territory. The main objectives of the meetings were aimed at strengthening the social capital activated up to that moment and giving the various actors present the role of being the "builders" of the post-confinement educational scenario. At the various meetings, all strictly remotely, the representatives of the Schools Office of the Municipality of Muggia, the social concierge team of the Habitat Microarea program, some board members of the Territorial Company for Residential Services, a representative of the inhabitants, the teachers of the nursery school participated. the atelieristas and finally the educators. Starting from the concrete dimension of the spaces and their possible future use, the first design hypothesis for the summer activities was planned.



Figure 10: The Map of Borgo Ex Fonderia opportunities

The most important documents used and enhanced in the structuring of the summer proposal illustrated in this work are the Map of opportunities (Figure 1), a small catalog on the potential and vocation of some spaces in the neighborhood and Tacamaco (Figure 2), a portable traveling game designed together with the teachers of the kindergarten. The enhancement of this community know-how was the keystone for the design of the educational offer and the

¹¹¹ Bono, M. (2021) Come lavorare nel territorio? Percorsi di "ricerca pratica", in Bifulco L., Mozzana C. (a cura di) La gestione sociale dell'Abitare. Carrocci editore. 2022

activities of E se diventi farfalle - Summer 2020.






Figure 11: The traveling game

Thanks to this precious synergy, the informal spaces of a public residential building district and those of a disused municipal garden closed to the public for health protocols, respectively owned by the territorial company for residential construction and the Municipality of Muggia , have been enhanced by a rich educational program aimed at responding to the emerging needs of sociality and play. At the same time, responses were also given to as many requests presented by the inhabitants, mainly attributable to the state of decay of some common and social spaces, such as basements and courtyards.

As the LG operator responsible for the project tells us "In the last fifty years, the progressive privatization of public space has mainly given a response to the development of a coarse-grained city oriented towards a prevalent car mobility, labeling children as intruders, as "out of place" and "disturbers", if not before addicted to its mechanisms, of the consumer society. The emergency and the consequent confinement triggered a reversal of extraordinary opportunities. When, during the first loosening of restrictions it was allowed, in some cities, to go out around the house to do some physical activity, we saw the reappearance of children in the public space and a now forgotten phenomenon occurred:

Therefore, between May and June 2020, the network work, carried out together with the Municipality of Muggia and Ater, laid the foundations for an innovative proposal that found, starting from the first half of June 2020, a precise regulatory framework (Il regulatory reference is contained in attachment 8 of the Prime Ministerial Decree of 11 June 2020, which describes the guidelines for the safe management of organized social and play opportunities for children and adolescents in phase 2 of the Covid-19 emergency)

The table below shows the spaces of the Borgo Ex Fonderia district and the surrounding areas, coordinated in the network and therefore potentially usable as a setting for cultural, educated and social proposals. Some of these spaces had for some time been the subject of confrontation between inhabitants and institutions, others have been "rediscovered" during the consultation.

Description of the spaces e opportunities detected	Photographic documentation
<p>1. The basketball court</p> <p>Recently refurbished and unused for years, it needs a "return" to the district through participatory practices of urban regeneration (sports events and tournaments, shared care and management of space, recreational activities). The site is located between Via dei Carpentieri and Strada di Santa Barbara.</p>	
<p>2. The terrace</p> <p>The "terrace" is a space of owned by the territorial company for residential services. The area, adjacent to the only exercises commercial present in the district (a tobacconist and a bar), was originally designed as a place for socializing and playing. This place was employed last year to present the model of the Map of opportunities made with the nursery school of the ward. The area is located in Via dei Carpenters.</p>	
<p>3. The pine forest</p> <p>It is an informal passage used by the inhabitants of the district especially to reach the bus stop. The path cuts the green area behind the residential area of Via dei Carpentieri in length, it is not equipped with public lighting and is made of beaten earth. In the past, the area was the subject of a redevelopment project conceived and proposed by the inhabitants themselves and is an informal play space for the girls and boys of the district.</p>	

4. The square

The stretch of Via dei Marangoni that leads us to the entrance of the nursery school consists of a large square that once housed the ecological island of the district. The area is not cared for and suffers from poor cleaning, perhaps due to the fact that it is a "passage" stretch mainly by car. It is a very large space that the girls and boys of the ward use to run on bicycles or with children scooters.



5. Terraces on the stair side

The stairs connect and at the same time "separate" the two main areas of the district, between Via dei Marangoni and Via dei Calderai. The area appears neglected, the steps are slippery and covered with moss, a part of the wooden parapet is damaged and unsafe. The escarpment bordering the nursery school should be cleared of waste. The intermediate terraced area is full of potential: some could be organized outdoor shows, film screenings or urban garden projects.



Therefore a DPCM born in an emergency situation becomes an opportunity and legal justification to start a process of urban regeneration with innovative elements. However, this will be a long process and a lot will depend on the stability of the various institutional subjects in the field, therefore not only Ater. The relationship with public institutions could be the problematic issue. In the micro-areas of Muggia, Fonderia and Zindis, there is strong support from the Municipality, a participation of Ater but rather weak support from the Triestina Healthcare Company, as SG responsible for the design sector of the La Collina cooperative tells us. "... *The administration of the municipality of Muggia tells us that instead the convention, the protocol, travels through a spending commitment that is guaranteed year by year by the healthcare company. I mean these days everything has to*

be considered ... it would not surprise me to discover that maybe Asugi, also considering the merger of the companies of the 2 Trieste and Isonzo territories ... chose to redefine the spending budget for micro-areas in reduction ... I know that there is there is a certain tendency to push on the hospital-centric model. "

This ability of the Muggia Micro-area to respond promptly and effectively to a crisis situation needs a theoretical study. in this case we could speak of transformative Preparedness which I will deepen in the next paragraph.

3.3 Preparedness Transformative and Microarea

We saw in the previous chapter how the Foundational Economy (FE) has placed the pandemic at the center of its reflection and has made it one of the themes for social innovation, especially in the health sector. Froud et al.¹¹², argued that the British National Health Service, during the pandemic, was one of the greatest resources because it offered medical care as needed, free of charge and did so through a universally available service used by almost all citizens "... the social importance of all this was reinforced by Covid-19. Citizens in some ethnic and socio-economic groups are far more vulnerable than others but, in principle, anyone can catch this disease and the pandemic has reminded rich and poor alike that everyone is vulnerable. This has given new life to the collectivist public health reality that no-one is safe unless everyone is safe¹¹³. "However, according to these authors, the English public health system, hit by the cuts of neo-liberalism, has failed to effectively counter the pandemic and therefore are asking for greater innovation in the socio-health sector, linked to the territory, where the greatest shortcomings have been observed. of the mainstream model.

The pandemic is certainly linked to Beck's "world risk society"¹¹⁴ and in recent decades, situations of crisis and disaster have multiplied, in particular due to systemic phenomena of global reach (pandemic, climate change, financial crises) whose impact disrupts local contexts in different ways. Furthermore, the emergency, by some authors¹¹⁵, is no longer interpreted as an event but as a lasting condition that goes hand in hand with a vision of precariousness understood as "life without the promise of stability"¹¹⁶- as a generalized condition of the present.

So the "Disaster Research" in the sociological field is the starting point for interpreting the effects of the pandemic.

The sociology of disasters has developed 3 paradigms:

1. "Disaster as war" where disasters were seen as "a duplication of war" and human communities as "organized bodies that must react organically against aggression"¹¹⁷. In this perspective, the causes of disasters lie externally, in the form of external aggression, or sometimes an internal threat, as in the case of social unrest.
2. "Vulnerability paradigm" implies that "fundamental to discerning the nature of disasters [...] is an appreciation of the ways in which human systems put people at risk in relation to one another and to their environment"¹¹⁸. This implied that disasters should be studied taking into account a temporality that goes beyond that of emergency as a social product of historical processes. Therefore, the disasters began to be analyzed as "the result of an underlying community logic, of an inner and social process"¹¹⁹. In other

¹¹²Froud, J., Haslam, C., Johal, S., Law, J., & Williams, K. (2020). When Systems Fail (Research Report of the Foundation Economy Collective). The Foundational Economy Collective.

¹¹³Froud, J., Haslam, C., Johal, S., Law, J., & Williams, K. (2020). When Systems Fail (Research Report of the Foundation Economy Collective). The Foundational Economy Collective, page 68

¹¹⁴Beck, U. Living in the world risk society, 2006, in «Economy and Society», 35, 3, p 329-345.

¹¹⁵Pellizzoni, L. & Sena, B. (2021). Preparedness as Governmentality: Probing the Italian Management of the Covid-19 Emergency. Sociological, 15 (3), 61-83

¹¹⁶Tsing, AL (2015). The Mushroom at the End of the World: On the Possibility of Life in Capitalist Ruins. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

¹¹⁷Gilbert, C. (1998). Studying Disaster: Changes in the Main Conceptual Tools. In EL Quarantelli (Ed.), What Is a Disaster? A Dozen Perspectives on the Question (pp. 3-12). London: Routledge.

¹¹⁸Hilhorst, D. & Bankoff, G. (2004). Introduction: Mapping Vulnerability. In G. Bankoff, G. Frerks, & D. Hilhorst (Eds.), Mapping Vulnerability. Disasters, Development and People (pp. 1-9). London: Earthscan.

¹¹⁹Gilbert, C. (1998). Studying Disaster: Changes in the Main Conceptual Tools. In EL Quarantelli (Ed.), What Is a Disaster ? : A Dozen Perspectives on the Question. pp. 3. London: Routledge.

words, the understanding of disaster evolved from an isolated event caused by an external agent into the result of long-term processes that had generated conditions of vulnerability.

3. In the third paradigm, disasters are defined as entirely socially constructed phenomena and are linked to the shared perception of the inability to make sense of a situation otherwise seen as serious. Disasters are therefore linked to the loss of "key points of view in the common sense and the difficulty of understanding reality through ordinary mental structures"¹²⁰. This transformation is accompanied by the emergence of a new understanding of uncertainty. Uncertainty is no longer an information deficit problem, in line with Simon's idea of bounded rationality¹²¹, but it emerges from a profound deconstruction of the contexts and meanings of action that question the very relationship between action and cognition. In fact, the "problem-solving" model considers the complexity of the task as the only source of uncertainty, while Lanzara considers the strategic behaviors of the interacting actors that give rise to an environment, a "behavioral world" as a further and distinct source of uncertainty. »Internalized in the cognitive maps and in the planning practices activated by the actors. The latter construct cognitive representations of the environment also containing hypotheses and expectations about the behavior of others. The actors, according to Lanzara,¹²² However, the activation of these frames is not a cognitive activity conducted individually by a single individual, but a collective enterprise conducted by several interacting actors. Tackling this condition requires "negative capability" as Giovan Francesco Lanzara defines it, that is, the ability to generate "possibilities of meaning and action not yet thought and practiced" from the indeterminacy¹²³. The "negative capability" emerges and is more easily observed in situations of radical deconstruction of the context of action, hence the qualification of "negative": it is the ability to experience the loss of order and meaning with a cognitive disposition of openness, without immediately trying to re-establish a direction, thus suspending the search for certain facts and reasons. The actors with negative capabilities must be capable of "... being in the uncertainty of being shrouded in mystery, of making themselves vulnerable to doubt, remaining impassive in the face of the absence or loss of meaning, without wanting at all costs and quickly reaching to facts or certain reasons ... and to grasp the potential for understanding and action that may reveal themselves in such moments "¹²⁴This state of suspension, says Lanzara, does not mean passivity but, on the contrary, can open the way "to the activation of contexts and the generation of possible worlds"¹²⁵. This paradigm introduces the theme of change and innovation into the sociology of disasters as, according to Lanzara, the actors must be "... capable of generating and activating frames-for-action organized around shared premises and meanings, which do not arise from compromise, juxtaposition or fusion of starting premises and meanings"¹²⁶. Therefore, according to this author, in disaster situations, there must be the ability of the actors to "penetrate" their own and others' frames and to restructure them; that is, their ability to "learn", in the sense of reflecting and changing the premises of their actions.

120Gilbert, C. (1998). Studying Disaster: Changes in the Main Conceptual Tools. In EL Quarantelli (Ed.), What Is a Disaster?: A Dozen Perspectives on the Question. pp. 9. London: Routledge.

121Simon, HA (1991). Bounded Rationality and Organizational Learning. *Organization Science*, 2 (1)

122Lanzara, GF (1993). *Capacità negativa*. Pp. 127 Bologna: Il Mulino

123 Lanzara, GF (1993). *Capacità negativa*. Bologna: Il Mulino

124Lanzara, GF (1993). *Capacità negativa*. Pp. 13-14 Bologna: Il Mulino

125Lanzara, GF (1993). *Capacità negativa* Pp. 13 Bologna: Il Mulino

126Lanzara, GF (1993). *Capacità negativa*. Pp. 133 Bologna: Il Mulino

The concept of unforeseeable crises as inevitable characteristics of complex societies explains the transition from the concept of prevention to two new concepts: resilience and preparedness. Of particular interest, for the purposes of my research, is the concept of preparedness, considered by some authors¹²⁷ as a key concept, together with resilience, of disaster risk management.

Preparedness is defined in international literature as the ability to anticipate and promptly respond to disaster and crisis situations. This new slogan of international institutions is added to the more well-known ones of resilience, vulnerability, mitigation, adaptation, and prevention. What distinguishes preparedness is the objective of building the conditions to recognize precursor signals of potential crises and act in such a way as to avert the catastrophic effects.

According to Andrew Lakoff¹²⁸ prevention and preparedness are two different ways of thinking and intervening in a dangerous future. In prevention, a potential threat is first detected as an event that occurs regularly with a probability that can be calculated based on known patterns and can be managed through risk distribution. In the context of preparedness, a threat is an unprecedented but potentially catastrophic event "whose consequences can only be managed using imaginative implementation methods that allow planners to mitigate vulnerabilities"¹²⁹ Initially, preparedness, as Lakoff explains, was developed for nuclear threats: so-called "preparedness techniques", such as scenario-based planning, early warning or "vigilance" systems, and medical supplies have emerged. historically in the United States during the Cold War. They were later developed for bioterrorism.

Of the three techniques indicated by Lakoff (scenarios, storage and supervision), it is the third that crucially characterizes preparedness, the others are also found in preventive approaches. In the current context, preparedness mainly refers to the guidelines issued by the WHO on the subject of health threats and pandemics. In this context, the concept of preparedness marks the transition from trench warfare to vigilance and "sentinel devices" for an early diagnosis of signs. The French anthropologist Frédéric Keck¹³⁰ speaks of "sentinel", an ecological notion that indicates "sites where early warning signals are produced"¹³¹.

It can be sentinel cells in organisms, sentinel animals, sentinel actors, sentinel ecosystems, as well as "digital sentinels". These signals, however, need to be processed and integrated into processes that allow for adequate assessment and response on different scales.

According to this author, prevention is "the management and control of populations in a territory through the use of statistics", and preparedness is "the imaginary implementation of disasters in a community in which human beings take the perspective of non human"¹³².

The important point is that preparedness, understood in the sense of Keck, is not based on the aspiration to control but on the promotion of forms of collaboration between human beings and other living beings (plants, animals, bacteria, viruses, etc.). Furthermore, this author's concept of preparedness refers to a territorial perspective. In this sense, preparedness can be conceived as the result of social and ecological care practices that are based on the recognition and maintenance of vital interdependencies experienced in territorially specific situations. These

127Revet, S. (2020) *Disasterland. An Ethnography of the International Disaster Community*. London, Palgrave MacMillan ; Anderson, B. (2010) Preemption, precaution, preparedness: anticipatory action and future geographies, in "Progress in Human Geography", 34, 6, p. 777-798; Anderson, B. ; Grove, K. ; Rickards, L. and Kearnes, M. (2019) Slow emergencies: temporality and the racialized biopolitics of emergency governance, in "Progress in Human Geography", p.1-19

128Lakoff, A. 2017 *Unprepared: Global Health in a Time of Emergency*. Berkley, University of California Press

129Lakoff, A. 2017 *Unprepared: Global Health in a Time of Emergency*.pp.8. Berkley, University of California Press

¹³⁰Keck, F. 2020 *Avian Reservoirs. Virus Hunters and Birdwatchers in Chinese Sentinel Posts*. Durham and London, Duke University Press

131Keck, F. 2020 *Avian Reservoirs. Virus Hunters and Birdwatchers in Chinese Sentinel Posts*. pp. 6 Durham and London, Duke University Press

132Keck, F. 2020 *Avian Reservoirs. Virus Hunters and Birdwatchers in Chinese Sentinel Posts*. pp. 8 Durham and London, Duke University Press

practices express a form of socio-ecological solidarity. It is in fact in the ordinary practice of "material care"¹³³ of the territory that a form of preparedness can be founded.

The point is clearly expressed by Keck¹³⁴ which underlines the importance of the role of the sentinels, as devices that "can provide a warning of an impending danger", the sentries face the experiential knowledge present on the territory and the incompleteness of this knowledge. An effective preparedness, on the other hand, implies the ability to take into account inconvenient knowledge present in the territory and not weighed down by the institutions.

It is not just a question of quantity, but of heterogeneity and diversity. In Italy, according to some authors¹³⁵, the case of Covid-19, shows all too well how the poverty of local health services - the result of the waves of neoliberal marketization - has considerably reduced the adequacy of the response to the pandemic, highlighting the limits of an allocative strategy that has massively concentrated the resources in hospitals (already scarce and decreasing) to the detriment of other methods of intervention. A governance that preserves and supports the diversity of practices in the territories is therefore decisive with respect to a transformative objective. As Stark notes, "this means [...] that we have a greater diversity of practices available for recombination when the environment changes."

At this point, Bifulco et al.,¹³⁶ ask themselves the question: "Is it possible, and under what conditions, that the implementation of preparedness could be an opportunity for a transformative project, centered on the capacity for action of the territories and their inhabitants?"

According to these authors¹³⁷, preparedness requires recognizing the public relevance of experiential forms of knowledge and non-scalable technical solutions developed by actors directly involved in the daily maintenance and reproduction of human and environmental health conditions and ecological sustainability, that is, in "socio-ecological care" of the territory. These actors and their organizations can operate as "sentinels" who, thanks to their expert and experience-based knowledge of local conditions of human and environmental health and ecological sustainability, are able to collect otherwise undetectable warning signs. Signals that are "clues" of potential catastrophes. This requires a specific logic of public action to address uncertainties, in relation to potential health and environmental disasters. This logic - obviously glocal - must have a pre-eminent territorial dimension: that is, it must be aimed at improving the skills and competences distributed throughout the territory to cope with health and environmental crises by challenging the traditional processes of production of scientific knowledge and the centrality attributed to solutions standard techniques. We speak in this sense of the need to act according to a logic of care. The declination of preparedness in terms of socio-ecological care of the territory underlines the need to have organizational and operational infrastructures rooted in the territory that act at the service of the generation, promotion and sharing of relevant knowledge - not only of experts but also of inhabitants and associations.

This "transformative preparedness" presupposes redundancy, that is the latent potential for cooperation and coordination that is present in the territories, thanks to reservoirs of social resources, networks of relationships and collaborative skills that can favor the development of "border infrastructures". Like Froude et al. underline in their analysis of the Covid-19 pandemic in the UK: "Redundancy is not simply about having a backup. It is also about the backup being

¹³³Puig de la Bellacasa, M. 2017 *Matters of Care Speculative Ethics in More Than Human Worlds*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

¹³⁴Keck, F. (2021). Preparing and Repairing. *The Conservation of Heritage after the 1997 Bird Influenza Outbreak in Hong Kong*. *Sociological*, 15 (3), 45-59.

¹³⁵ Bifulco, L., Centemeri, L. and Mozzana, C. 2021. For Preparedness as Transformation. *Sociological*. 15, 3 (Jan. 2021), 5-24.

¹³⁶Bifulco, L., Centemeri, L. and Mozzana, C. 2021. For Preparedness as Transformation. *Sociological*. 15, 3 (Jan. 2021),

¹³⁷ Bifulco, L., & Centemeri, L. Città, preparedness e salute. *WORKING PAPERS, Urban @ it rivista online* - 1/2020

on-line and ready to go [...] Redundancy is also a function of time "¹³⁸ A related concept is that of buffering "which puts stores or reserve capacity into some systems. The components within the system become more autonomous, less likely to be disrupted by events upstream, and less likely to disrupt whatever is happening downstream if they themselves go wrong "¹³⁹

As stated by Bifulco et al¹⁴⁰, The problem of how to build, develop and preserve these reservoirs is central in a "collaborative governance" perspective, in contrast to the technocratic approach that prevails today. The term "collaborative" underlines the need for co-creation actions that foster interdependence between actors and contexts, in order to have an effective impact on the vulnerability factors that so heavily influence disaster responses. Furthermore, the term is also measured with the dimension of "power" within this governance and in particular with the concept of "multiscalarity", that is, the complex interdependence between the different spaces of governance power. This concept does not automatically mean "local" but rather refers to the set of relationships, interactions, alignments and misalignments ranging from supranational to local - and vice versa -which end up in concrete relationships with the territories. The "transformative preparedness" seems to suggest a bottom-linked governance, which we have seen to be one of the components of social innovation (IS), all the more so if we ask ourselves how much "collaborative governance" can strengthen the democratic process. The cases of social and environmental vulnerability studied by Appadurai¹⁴¹ demonstrate the relevance of the democratic dimension of governance and its close relationship with social change and innovation. So the presence of preparedness and the related governance, in the concrete cases of my research, may be some of the elements to be observed as generators of social innovation. In fact, returning to the Micro-areas of Muggia the promptness with which the referents have taken, without having any directives, the decision, in clear contrast to the generality of "non-essential" services, to continue to work physically in the area and have set up the work in the field, managing to coordinate and coordinating with the different subjects, including the inhabitants themselves, to give support to the people most in difficulty, can be taken as an example of preparedness. The Micro-areas of Muggia have constituted that territorial border infrastructure that is able to act as a "sentinel" and to manage the sudden crisis, also acting as a guide to other emergency institutional infrastructures, but not territorial ones, such as the Civil Protection. Furthermore, we have seen how the Micro-areas of Muggia have, during the pandemic, also generated and shared relevant knowledge, not only of experts but also of the inhabitants of the territory. After all, this is what Micro-areas usually do, to involve as many subjects and actors as possible, in a co-evolutionary way in the collection of knowledge, in the development of an intervention method that must be at the same time "local", "plural" and "global ". As Franco Rotelli says¹⁴²: "Working for micro-areas means starting a cognitive process on two parallel levels:" on the one hand, making a map of the resources existing in a specific territory, reconstructing - street by street, settlement by settlement - the housing conditions and the skills of people living together, having or not having access to a series of opportunities; on the other hand, to develop a cartography of health needs, both by collecting information in the field and speaking with the inhabitants, and by examining the statistical data at our disposal ».

¹³⁸ Froud, J., Haslam, C., Johal, S., Law, J., & Williams, K. (2020). When Systems Fail (Research Report of the Foundation Economy Collective). The Foundational Economy Collective. Page 16

¹³⁹ Froud, J., Haslam, C., Johal, S., Law, J., & Williams, K. (2020). When Systems Fail (Research Report of the Foundation Economy Collective). The Foundational Economy Collective. Page 17

¹⁴⁰ Bifulco, L., Centemeri, L. and Mozzana, C. 2021. For Preparedness as Transformation. Sociological. 15, 3 (Jan. 2021), Page 16

¹⁴¹ Appadurai, A. (2019). Deep Democracy: Urban Governmentality and the Horizon of Politics. Urbanization, 4 (1), 29–47.

¹⁴² Rotelli, F.2020 La città che cura. [online]

https://publicspaceinnovation.wordpress.com/2020/01/13/la-citta-che-cura/?fbclid=IwAR3fBLf2CjHARc_jjRzNpqC9ACbGSji2Wr0PMiajsZEXYZOvumuP70PGD5A

At the same time, the Fonderia Microarea was able to design, using a DPCM born in an emergency situation, involving not only Ater but also other institutions, demonstrates how “collaborative governance” can be strengthened by the preparedness of local territorial infrastructures and can make the whole process democratic.

"Zorgzame Buurten"

4. Introduction

In this chapter we deal with a model of local neighborhood assistance, the "Zorgzame Buurten" ("Care Neighborhoods"), encountered in Belgium, during the Erasmus Traineeship at the Cosmopolis, Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB), which seemed particularly interesting for our field of research also because it summarizes the boundaries through which the quasi-concept¹⁴³ of Social Innovation (SI) passes in Europe.

The Minister of Welfare, Public Health, Family and Poverty Reduction of the Flemish Government, Wouter Beke, issued the "Zorgzame Buurten" call, with a deadline of November 2021.¹⁴⁴ which aims to support and inspire both public and private organizations to develop Care Neighborhoods in Flanders and Brussels. Through the project call, the Flemish government has selected at least 95 projects in the Dutch-speaking area. The duration of the projects is two years (from 1 March 2022 to 29 February 2024) and the grant amounts to a maximum of € 100,000 per project.

In the frame of inspiration¹⁴⁵ issued by the Flemish Government, the "Zorgzame Buurten" is described as a neighborhood in which the conditions are met so that people, regardless of age or care needs, can take care of themselves and access integrated social and health care, remaining in their own home or in your neighborhood. It is a neighborhood where young and old live together, where people feel good and safe, where the quality of life is central, where residents know and help each other, where people and families with large and small needs receive support and where services and facilities are accessible and available. To better analyze its characteristics, let's first explain the history of this model because it is linked to the reform of primary care in Belgium.

4.1 History of the "Zorgzame Buurten" model

The "Masterplan Woonzorg Brussels 2008-2013" divided the Brussels Region into 33 residential care zones. The boundaries of municipalities and sub-municipalities and physical fault lines such as the main traffic axes, green areas and water channels were taken into consideration. The residential areas were delineated with spatial and socio-demographic coherence on the basis of the characteristics of the residents and the indicators of socio-health deprivation. This demarcation in residential care areas was the first step in developing a cohesive approach to "residential care".

¹⁴³ Barbera F., 2020, L'innovazione sociale: aspetti concettuali, problemi metodologici e implicazioni per l'agenda della ricerca, POLIS, XXXIV, 1, pp. 131-148

¹⁴⁴ Projectoproep <https://www.zorgenvoormorgen.be/zorgzamebuurten/projectoproep>

¹⁴⁵ Inspiratiekader <https://www.zorgenvoormorgen.be/zorgzamebuurten/inspiratie>

The research of the "Kennis Centrum WWZ"¹⁴⁶ of Brussels regarding the elderly in Brussels (2012), the planning study in Brussels (2012) and the States General for residential care in Brussels (2012), have shown how important it was to focus on a model of "care neighborhoods". For the target group of the elderly, this correlation was visualized using the sombrero model (Fig. 13). In the "Masterplan Woonzorg Brussel 2014-2020", the sombrero became the starting point for the development of the "Zorgzame Buurten"¹⁴⁷.

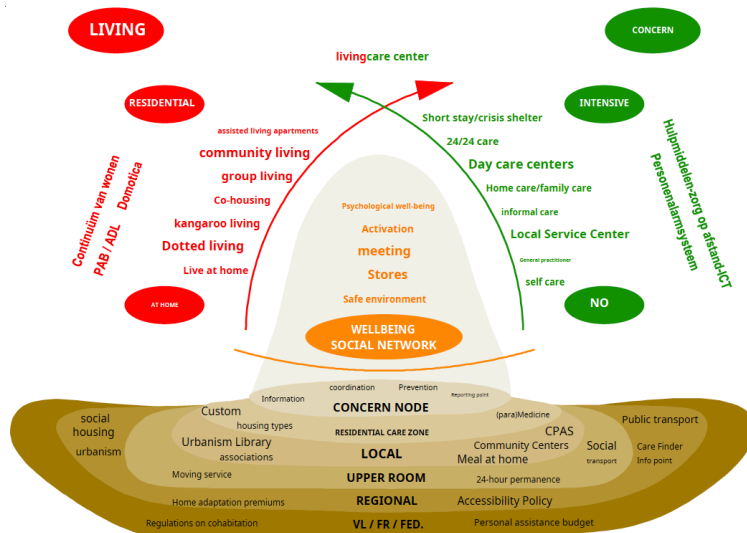


Fig. 13 Sombrero

In 2013, the government of Flanders launched a "call" for field experimental laboratories in the health sector. One of the six recognized experimental laboratories was the "Active Careful Neighborhood" (AzoB) project, the aim of which was to develop a model of "care neighborhoods", in Antwerp and Brussels. In this project, the emphasis was placed on self-sufficiency, awareness and involvement of frail elderly people and the interconnection between housing, welfare and assistance. The Brussels projects were in Etterbeek and Schaerbeek. In 2015, the "Kennis Centrum WWZ" and the "Vereniging van Vlaamse Dienstencentra" (VVDC)¹⁴⁸ launched the text "Buurtgerichte Zorg" ("Neighborhood-oriented Care"), as a source of inspiration for policy makers and local organizations. About 60 organizations from Flanders and Brussels approved the text and more than 1,000 copies were published in less than 2 months. Presentations were made throughout Flanders and in Brussels and the idea came to life. More and more local organizations have started to think about cooperation to provide better service and the theme of "care neighborhoods" has been taken up in many places in Flanders.

- The scientific research project D-Scope has developed a method to detect vulnerable elderly people so that, like everyone, they can assert their rights and age, with a high quality of life, in their living environment (2015 -2018).

-More and more neighborhoods and districts have invested in developing informal neighborhood support networks. The Kennis Centrum WWZ initiated the "Het BuurtPensioen" project (2014) and subsequently the bilingual "Samen Toujours" to support assistance networks for Brussels neighbors (2018).

¹⁴⁶ WWZ Knowledge Center: organization, born from volunteering, which wants to give everyone, including the most vulnerable, a full place in our society. This is only possible if Welfare, Housing and Care are inextricably linked.

¹⁴⁷ Vanmechelen, O., Vermeulen S., 2019, Cahier Buurtgerichte zorg, CAHIER 10, Kennis Centrum WWZ

¹⁴⁸ Association of Flemish Service Centers

- "Vereniging van Vlaamse Steden en Gemeenten"¹⁴⁹(VMSG) distilled eight neighborhood care management functions and initiated a community-oriented care learning network together with Kennis Centrum WWZ.

-In view of the municipal elections, the issue of community-oriented care has been placed on the political agenda of many municipalities (2018).

-In Brussels, both the Brussels government and "De Vlaamse Gemeenschapscommissie"(VGC)¹⁵⁰fully promoted community-based care as a policy focus for 2019-2024.Furthermore, the "Gemeenschappelijke Gemeenschapscommissie"¹⁵¹(GGC) had established, in 2016, a reflection group on "Community care" with the scientific advice of the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB). Together with partners from the welfare sector, health care, hospitals, mobility, local police, etc., a text was written for Brussels.

In 2017 followed the call for projects "Gentegreerd model voor buurtzorg in Brussel." ("Integrated model for care neighborhood in Brussels."). Three projects had the opportunity to test an organizational model, integrated at the neighborhood level, in 2018-2021, focused on a multidisciplinary approach, on the development of a local neighborhood assistance network, on the promotion of a living environment for elderly people living in the house. Based on the results of these pilot projects, an integrated assistance model was implemented in the Brussels area.¹⁵²

The 2017 Flemish primary care reform had opted for an integrated approach to care and active collaboration between primary care professionals, such as general practitioners, nurses, pharmacists, psychologists, carers and social workers. In Flanders, 60 primary care areas have been set up where health workers work together, close to the citizen, with reception points for all information and questions.

The primary care zone, BruZEL, in Brussels has resolutely opted for a metropolitan approach and a neighborhood-oriented approach that puts the most vulnerable residents first.

The new Flemish decree on residential care (2018) requires all residential care facilities to work in a neighborhood-oriented way. The local service centers must become the basic structures of the neighborhood and have a facilitating and connecting role between residents, associations and local actors. They should primarily focus on social cohesion, respond to local forces and needs, and prevent loneliness and increased dependence on care.

The 2014-2019 Flemish coalition agreement led to a simplification of primary care facilities and the strengthening of primary care. Over the years, a broad consensus has grown in Belgium on the need for fundamental reforms in primary care, to increase both the satisfaction of people in need and their informal caregivers, and care provision. The Flemish Coalition Agreement also established the principle that the individual patient/client should be more involved in decisions regarding their care and be recognized as an expert on their condition and need for care and support. In doing this, the WHO model is followed which positions the informal caregiver, volunteers and the neighborhood as the first protective and supportive shell, around the person in need of assistance. As care needs become more complex, primary care needs to be activated. Given the growing care needs of an aging population, it was considered of the utmost

¹⁴⁹ Association of Flemish towns and municipalities: public organization, interest representative, network builder of and for local authorities (municipalities) and which supports and strengthens local authorities with advice, training, publications and communication.

¹⁵⁰ Flemish Community Commission <https://www.vgc.be/wie-zijn-wij>

¹⁵¹ The Common Community Commission (GGC) mainly regulates and manages health and assistance to persons, in the Brussels-Capital Region. It is competent for individuals (Brussels residents and anyone who uses services and institutions for health and assistance to persons in Brussels) and for more than three hundred bilingual institutions and services (hospitals, CPAS, care and reception services, etc.).

¹⁵² Beleidsverklaring GGC 2019-2024 (policy statement GGC 2019-2024)

importance to have a strong and well developed primary care system. This can alleviate more expensive specialist care and greatly contribute to an accessible, effective and high-quality system of care for all.

The conceptual note "Zorgzame Buurten" (2018) by the Flemish Minister of Welfare, Public Health and the Family, Jo Vandeurzen, underlined the importance of an organizational model of territorial assistance based on the "care neighborhood". He also indicates that primary care and hospital care are tied to the budget. The shift of activities from hospital to home care also means a shift in the budget from the hospital system to primary care. For example, a shorter stay in the maternity hospital will require a higher budget for home maternity care, or less inpatient psychiatric care will result in more psychiatric care at home. The idea of the "Zorgzame Buurten" is part of a discourse of socialization of care¹⁵³. In their report on "Zorgzame Buurten" in Brussels and Antwerpen, De Donder et al¹⁵⁴ distinguish 2 phases in the socialization of care: A first phase, in which we refer to the passage from formal institutionalized assistance to deinstitutionalization. In Belgium since the 90s, assistance to the elderly, the disabled, psychiatric patients, etc. ..., has been increasingly widespread outside the walls of institutions.

A second phase, after 2000, where due to austerity measures, formal care services faced limited financial resources and the government encouraged caregivers to support vulnerable elderly at home. The socialization of care is therefore not only a responsibility of professionals, but an important role has also been assigned to society and individual citizens. Volunteers, carers, informal assistants, neighbors, etc..., are important actors in the socialization process of care. This (international) trend, also called "community care" or "balanced care", appeared in Belgium between 2000 and 2010 and continues to manifest itself today in the projects of the King Baudouin Foundation, the Kennis Centrum WWZ, the Samenlevingsopbouw¹⁵⁵, but also in political notes like this one by Minister Vandeurzen.

The Flemish Decree on Local Social Policy (2018) entrusts the management of assistance and local social services in the hands of local authorities. Their multi-year programming must encourage collaboration to prevent blind spots in the offer and guarantee the accessibility of assistance and services through a Wide Integrated Reception, a collaboration between the "Openbaar centrum voor maatschappelijk welzijn" (Public center for social security) (OCMW), the General Welfare Center (CAW) and the social assistance services of health insurance funds. Here participatory and awareness-raising work for vulnerable citizens is considered a priority and fundamental.

The Flemish government has established 60 primary care areas in Flanders and Brussels. BruZEL, the primary care area of Brussels is the result of a long journey. The first foundations emerged shortly after the primary care reform of 2017. House for Health (Local Multidisciplinary Network, for short: LMN Brussels) and Brussels Overleg Home Care (Collaboration Initiatives Primary Health Care, for short: SEL Brussels) brought together 2 working groups: a first with mainly welfare actors and a second with mainly health actors. The needs of both sectors have been mapped on primary care reform so that they can be aligned

¹⁵³ AA.VV. 2020, MaN'Aige: Comment to build a quartier d'entraide ensemble avec les utilisateurs du quartier? Rapport de recherche 1 (2019-2020).

¹⁵⁴ De Donder, L., Smetcoren, A.-S., Dury, S., Van Regenmortel, S., Lambotte, D., Duppen, D. & Verté, D. (2017). Zorginnovatie in Vlaams proeftuinen: onderzoek naar Actief Zorgzame Buurten in Brussel en Antwerpen. Brussel: Belgian Aging Studies.

¹⁵⁵ Community housing sector of the Government of Flanders, which supports socially vulnerable groups. Together with them, community workers and community workers face common problems relating to fundamental rights or the quality of life in their city, neighborhood or region. Examples of fundamental rights that are being worked on are the right to decent housing and the right to social services. <https://www.departementwvg.be/samenlevingsopbouw>

and brought together. In December 2017, the recognition of the BruZEL primary care area was requested and it officially started operating in July 2020.

BruZEL combines primary care within the 19 municipalities of Brussels and is a public-private partnership, between care providers, local authorities and citizens. Its mission is to care for "care neighborhoods" that transcend language, industry and skills. In this way, visible and maximally accessible assistance and support is offered to all Brussels residents. In particular, we want to involve vulnerable people who do not fall within the scope of regular care.

4.2 Organization of a primary care area

A primary care area in Flanders and Brussels consists of:

- geographically defined area;
- consisting of 1 or more municipalities;
- directed by a care council.

The 'frontline' are the local care and assistance providers closest to the person in need of care or support. They are the first point of contact for people with care and wellness problems. Examples are general practitioners, pharmacists, physiotherapists, home nurses, psychologists, social workers... But a primary care area is made up of all the care partners.

The mandatory partners are:

- Informal care associations
- Medical and paramedical professions
- Local societies
- Family care and additional home care services
- Babysitting services
- Local service centers
- Residential care centers and day care centers.
- Health insurance social assistance services
- General service centers
- Baby houses
- Mental health organizations

The primary care area is supervised by a care council, which is made up of representatives of the mandatory partners. In addition to these mandatory partners, other partners may also join. Primary care area care council has many tasks. Five of these are priority:

1. Organize the coordination between care providers themselves, between care providers and other organizations, between services and people with a more specialized care offering, as well as between care providers and people in need, informal and volunteer caregivers;
2. Stimulate interdisciplinary collaboration, including data sharing, between care providers within primary care areas;
3. Stimulate circular action: support the associations that bring together all voluntary care providers who carry out their professional activity within a primary care area;
4. Support the development of broad integrated reception, as regards coordination and cooperation with health professionals and the achievement of the maximum allocation of rights and access to services and facilities;
5. Provision of data for the Social Card

4.3 What is a Zorgzame Buurten? Constitutive elements and principles, different frameworks

In practice, there are different models of the constituent elements of a "Zorgzame Buurten ", which is not a fixed model, but rather a "local" framework, through which interactions in a neighborhood can be understood and interpreted. Various models are presented in the literature that refer to the WHO model on care for the elderly:

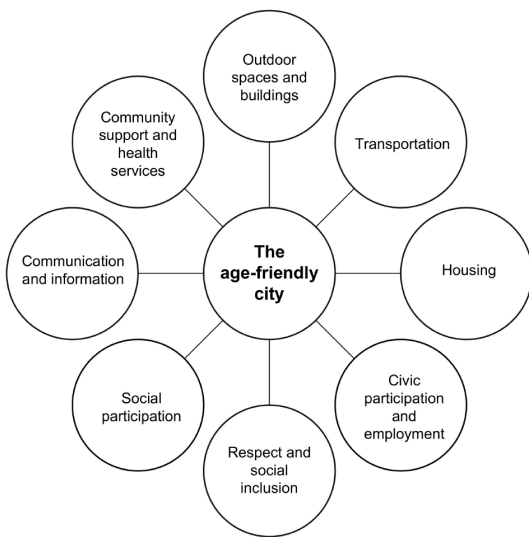


Fig. 14 WHO Model: Age-friendly Cities and Communities

In 2007, the WHO developed the model of cities and municipalities suitable for the elderly (fig. 14). Although this model is primarily for the elderly, there is a great similarity in vision with the Zorgzame Buurten.

In addition, there was also influence from the model Community assistance from the Netherlands (fig. 15):

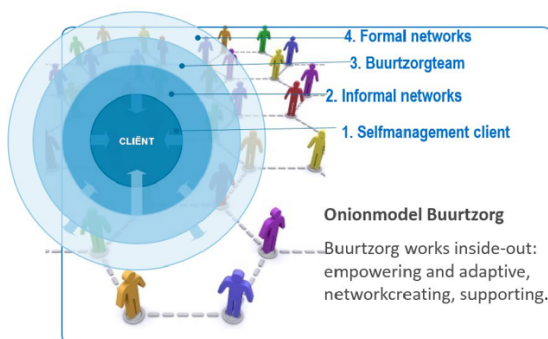


Fig. 15 Dutch proximity care onion model

In this model, proximity assistance is organized on the basis of:

1. Self-management by the user
2. Informal networks
3. Proximity care team
4. Formal networks

In this model, a lot of attention is given to self-care, informal care and formal care.

In Belgium the patterns are highly variable and depend on the territory in which they were born. Several frameworks can be distinguished¹⁵⁶:

The sombrero model (fig.1) of the “Kennis Centrum Welzijn Wonen Zorg” (WWZ) in which well-being, accommodation and care are central. This model reflects the connection between housing, welfare and care, between formal and informal care and between neighborhood and supra-local levels. The housing-welfare-assistance triangle indicates the gradations of welfare needs that must be met and the types of housing options.

This framework also emphasizes that a “careneighborhood” it does not mean that all care, support or services should or can be offered or organized at the neighborhood level. Some parts of the care delivery are better organized at a higher level (supra-local, regional or federal) due to the critical mass required. Examples are remote assistance, 24-hour presence.

In this model, the socialization of care ultimately aims at the social integration of people in need of assistance. Social participation and quality of life are keywords.

Another framework is the “Vereniging van Vlaamse Steden en Gemeenten” (VVSG)(fig. 16) with 8 neighborhood-oriented assistance functions:



Fig. 16 VVSG model

- 1) Conduct a neighborhood analysis and measure the impact: mapping the needs and potential of the neighborhood and its inhabitants through statistical data or neighborhood surveys. This is the basis for an action plan.
- 2) Creating partnerships and working together: between formal and informal organizations, between sectors, between competitors.
- 3) Raise awareness and inform: on the offer of assistance available and on the assistance needs, rights and possibilities.
- 4) Strengthen social networks: stimulate contact and encounter, strengthen the social capital of citizens, focus on the involvement of the neighborhood and on meaningful relationships.
- 5) Establish socially valued roles: Recognizing and recognizing the abilities and talents of individuals and neighborhoods, rather than focusing on "vulnerability" or deprivation.
- 6) Detect Care Needs: Many care needs remain hidden, so people aren't helped. For example, by working proactively through preventative home visits.

¹⁵⁶ De Donder et al., Lokaal samenwerken in Zorgzame Buurten, 2021, p. 75, Fonds Dr. Daniël De Coninck

- 7) Pointing to the right care and support: This care and support can be both formal and informal.
- 8) Political advice from the street, from the neighborhood: in this way the structural bottlenecks are made clear and translated into politics.

Another framework is that of the Vicinia district which places a strong emphasis on the capacity of the district (fig. 17). The “Neighborhood scan” to ensure that the different stakeholders, within a neighborhood project, use the same language when they start working. This tool is therefore a “lens” to look at “neighborhood projects” in general: the strengths and capabilities of the neighborhood are mapped, in a dialogue between residents, users, people with decision-making power and experts.



Fig. 17 Vicinia neighborhood model

The neighborhood capacity can be summarized by four large dimensions¹⁵⁷:

- 1) capacity of people: The involvement that arises from the awareness that you as a group make a difference that you are not capable of as an individual.
- 2) ability to connect and access: The physical, mental and socio-economic accessibility of a neighborhood, both from the inside and from the outside.
- 3) capacity of spaces: The spatial organization stimulates the well-being of the neighborhood.
- 4) activity skills: Being able to live and participate in the life of the neighborhood

What can be said is that one "Zorgzame Buurten" is not the same as the other. Initiatives in one neighborhood can never be copied to another neighborhood. Neighborhoods can obviously learn from each other's approach and inspire each other.

Treatment in a "Zorgzame Buurten" covers all care sectors, including prevention. People and their context are central and there has been a shift from formal “one-size-fits-all” care to

¹⁵⁷ Vicinia (2020). Buurtscan. <https://vicinia.be/nl/buurtlens>

personalized care. From intra muros to extra muros treatments. Deinstitutionalization and community care are central to this.

In this vision the person is central and is the master of his own wellbeing and care process. People are not alone in this: the well-being and care of people is seen as a shared responsibility, the care of many.

Another Framework is that of Integrated Community Care (ICC) developed by the international TranForm coalition and in Belgium by the King Baudouin Foundation and FundDr. Daniël De Coninck.

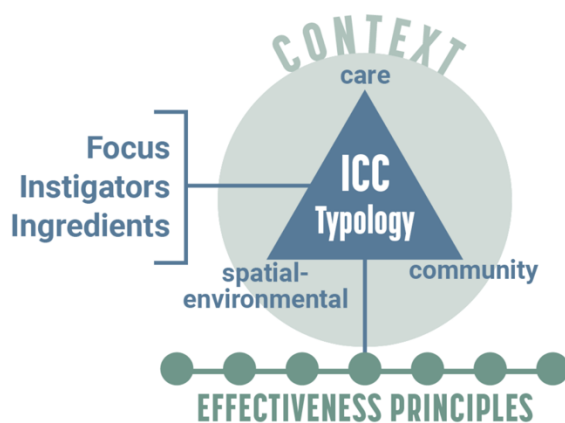


Fig. 18 ICC systemic view

In this context, a development-oriented and context-sensitive assessment has been favored as an alternative approach to measuring the classical impact. There is no evaluation of concrete quantitative indicators, but the evaluation focuses on adaptive learning: the evaluation aims to give direction to the further development of the project and is mainly used in innovative projects to support innovators in their path. It is therefore essential that the evaluation be participatory, in a multi-stakeholder perspective, with attention to the different parties involved, and in particular to the end users of the neighborhood itself. A specific approach to development evaluation is “Principle-Centered Evaluation”. Instead of goals and strategies, Thus the TransForm coalition¹⁵⁸ has developed seven principles of efficacy (fig. 19) as the guiding structure of a “Zorgzame Buurten”, grouping them in three domains: 1) Co-create health and well-being, enable participation, 2) Build resilient communities, 3) Monitor, evaluate and adapt.

¹⁵⁸ Vandenbroeck, P., & Braes, T. (2020). Integrated Community Care 4all, New Principles for Care: Strategy paper to move ICC forward. TransForm Integrated Community Care.

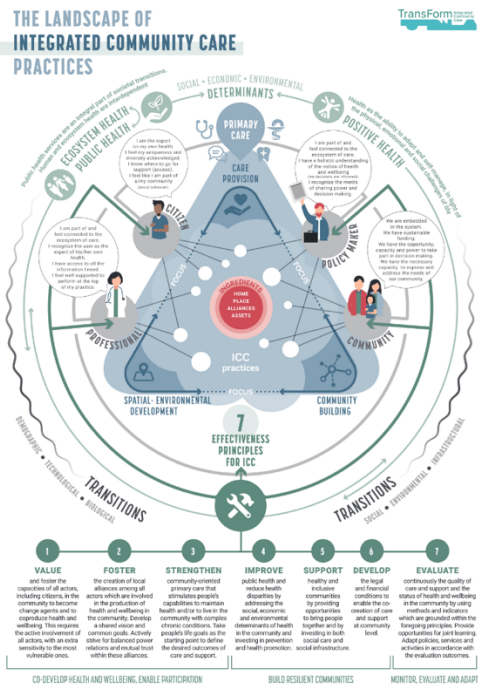


Fig. 19 ICC practices

These “normative” elements have been implemented in the different local realities of the “Zorgzame Buurten” giving rise to the development of principles.

1) CO-CREATING HEALTH AND WELL-BEING, ENABLING PARTICIPATION (DEVELOPING HEALTH AND WELL-BEING TOGETHER, MAKING PARTICIPATION POSSIBLE)

PRINCIPLE 1. Enhance and foster the abilities of all actors, including citizens, of the local community, to become agents of change and co-produce health and well-being. This requires the active involvement of all actors, with particular attention to the most vulnerable. De Lovie vzw's “Social restaurant in the Dorpspunt in Beveren” initiative illustrates how co-production can take shape in practice. The social restaurant is run by people with intellectual disabilities and neighborhood volunteers. They are the agent of change in and of the neighborhood. They are not involved as recipients of care, but as co-producers of care and well-being in the neighborhood, including through entrepreneurial activity.

To participate in co-development, a first condition is that the local community is involved in the project. This involvement is not just about experimenting or gathering ideas, the neighborhood's capabilities need to be really used. Local residents are the starting point for this. In other words, they are the ones who will make the change.

PRINCIPLE 2. Promote the formation of local alliances with all the actors involved in the production of health and welfare in the local community. Develop a shared vision and common goals. Actively commit to balanced power relationships and mutual trust in these alliances

PRINCIPLE 3. Strengthen community-based primary care that fosters people's ability to stay healthy and / or live in the local community. Use people's life goals as a starting point for determining desired outcomes of care and support. The user is assigned a central place in the

text of the Buurt-oriented Care vision¹⁵⁹. The autonomy and self-determination of the individual are respected. Care goals are determined based on life goals¹⁶⁰.

2) BUILDING RESILIENT COMMUNITIES

PRINCIPLE 4. Improve population health and reduce health inequalities by addressing the social, economic and environmental determinants of community health and investing in health prevention and promotion

Recognizing the health differences caused by socio-economic differences and seeing the need to eliminate them is a first step in addressing them structurally. In the inspirational memorandum of the former Flemish Minister of Welfare, Public Health and the Family (Vandeurzen¹⁶¹, 2018), neighborhood work is described as tailor-made, as each neighborhood differs in size, atmosphere, residents, number of facilities, etc ...

The initiative of the city of Mechelen, Department of Social Policy - Welfare & Health, is to provide support in making decisions about health and disease, with a particular focus on health literacy among people who do not have these skills. For this purpose, a local health worker is employed. The goal is very explicit prevention and health promotion.

PRINCIPLE 5. Support healthy and inclusive communities by creating opportunities to bring people together and by investing in welfare and social infrastructure."Social infrastructure" ("de sociale infrastructuur") is a term used in the Netherlands in the late 1990s; it includes a formal and informal component. The formal component is "the set of organizations, services, structures and relationships that allow people to reasonably live together in social contexts (neighborhoods, groups, networks, families) and to participate in society". The informal social infrastructure, on the other hand, includes citizens themselves, who contribute individually or in association. Social infrastructure and physical infrastructure often go hand in hand. Physical infrastructure is therefore the foundation that makes social infrastructure possible. In the projects of "Zorgzame Buurten" this translates into "places of connection" ("verbindingsplekken"): it can be a local service center, mobile coffee or soup carts or a warm garden. The gardens in the projects are inspiring examples of a physical infrastructure that is the breeding ground for social infrastructure.

PRINCIPLE 6. Create the legal and financial conditions to enable co-creation of community-based care and support. The "Zorgzame Buurten" would benefit from a more structural and empowering financial logic. This means that health and welfare systems must have a broad basis of financial solidarity and a decentralized organizational and executive component.¹⁶²

3) MONITOR, EVALUATE AND ADAPT

PRINCIPLE 7. Continuously assess the quality of care and support and the state of health and well-being in the local community using methods and indicators based on previous principles

¹⁵⁹ Bekaert, A., Denys, B., De Muynek, J. et al. (2016). Buurtgerichte Zorg. De 'actief Zorgzame buurt' als toekomstmodel voor Vlaanderen en Brussel. VVDC & Kenniscentrum Woonzorg Brussel.

¹⁶⁰ Boeckxstaens, P., Boeykens, D., Macq, J. & Vandenbroeck, P. (2020). Goal-oriented care. A shared language and cocreative practice for health and social care. King Baudouin Foundation.

¹⁶¹ Vandeurzen, J. (2018). Inspiratienot Zorgzame Buurten. Vlaamse Overheid.

¹⁶² Vandenbroeck, P., & Braes, T. (2020). Integrated Community Care 4all, New Principles for Care: Strategy paper to move ICC forward. TransForm Integrated Community Care.

and documented by a participatory "community diagnosis" with all interested parties. Provide moments of shared learning. Adapt policies, services and activities based on the evaluation results. A specific evaluation approach is needed that takes into account the innovative nature of the projects and the complex context.

The "Zorgzame Buurten" is based on a mix of support between formal and informal, even if it is anchored to regular assistance. An active local resident, general practitioner, teacher, etc. can support regular care and in the "Inspiration Frame"¹⁶³ of the Flemish Government on the "Zorgzame Buurten" it is said that *"well-being and health are influenced by numerous factors outside the domain of welfare, public health and family policy, such as food supply, public space, work environment, school environment, etc.."* To achieve this, we work on a number of preconditions. For example, regular, accessible, affordable and high-quality care must be available. Specific skills are also needed in regular care (including with regard to people with disabilities). Finally, good coordination between care and informal care is essential.

In the "Zorgzame Buurten" the focus is on people and their quality of life. By working in a person-oriented way, each person is much more of the disease than they are. More than one patient with a health problem. More than someone who just 'asks' for care and support. People have desires and preferences, skills and strengths that allow them not only to ask for help and support, but also to give it to others.

Also from the "Inspiration Frame" of the Flemish Government on the "Zorgzame Buurten": Today people no longer focus on health, but on the quality of life. People interpret this concept broadly. It is about being able to (continue to) live at home, in a possibly adapted home, in a nice neighborhood, participate in activities that give meaning to life, contribute to the family and the community, feel safe, be independent and make their own choices. "

Quality of life is a concept that goes far beyond "health". So it's also about being able to connect in other areas of social life, including housing, leisure and work. This is also reflected in the WHO model: the importance of other areas such as education, housing, work and leisure.

In the "Zorgzame Buurten" assistance is understood as co-production: Care providers do not look only at the health of a person, but at the whole context of the person, family, carers, friends, neighbors, volunteers, the life situation, the work situation, etc. The focus is no longer on a person's problems, but on their skills, strengths, possibilities, aspirations and life goals. Based on these life goals, a person will also be motivated to focus on health promotion. Caregivers focus on goal-oriented work. What does the person find important in life? What do you want to achieve and why? What skills are important in this regard? What skills and strengths does the person have and how can they be further strengthened and developed in view of those aspirations, those personal life goals? In addition, the extended network of the person (family, friends and neighborhood) is also examined and what strengths are present in it, to support the person. Healthcare professionals are no longer alone. Caregivers are expected to support a person and their network without taking over. Aid becomes a co-production of integrated assistance. to support the person. Healthcare professionals are no longer alone. Caregivers are expected to support a person and their network without taking over. Aid becomes a co-production of integrated assistance. to support the person. Healthcare professionals are no longer alone. Caregivers are expected to support a person and their network without taking over. Aid becomes a co-production of integrated assistance.

¹⁶³ "Inspiratiekader bij projectoproep" ("Inspiration Frame at project call") of the Flemish Government website: <https://www.zorgenvoormorgen.be/zorgzamebuurten/inspiratie>

The Flemish Government attempted a synthesis by stating that the "Zorgzame Buurten" consists of three pillars:

1. neighborhood participation and inclusion;
2. link between informal and formal care;
3. cross-sectoral collaboration between care partners and partners from other sectors, in a network that focuses on prevention, health promotion and the provision of integrated care and support with a focus on quality of life.

A "Zorgzame Buurten" works with these three pillars focusing on analysis, evaluation, impact monitoring and policy analysis. So they come indicating eight constitutive and "normative" elements (fig. 20):

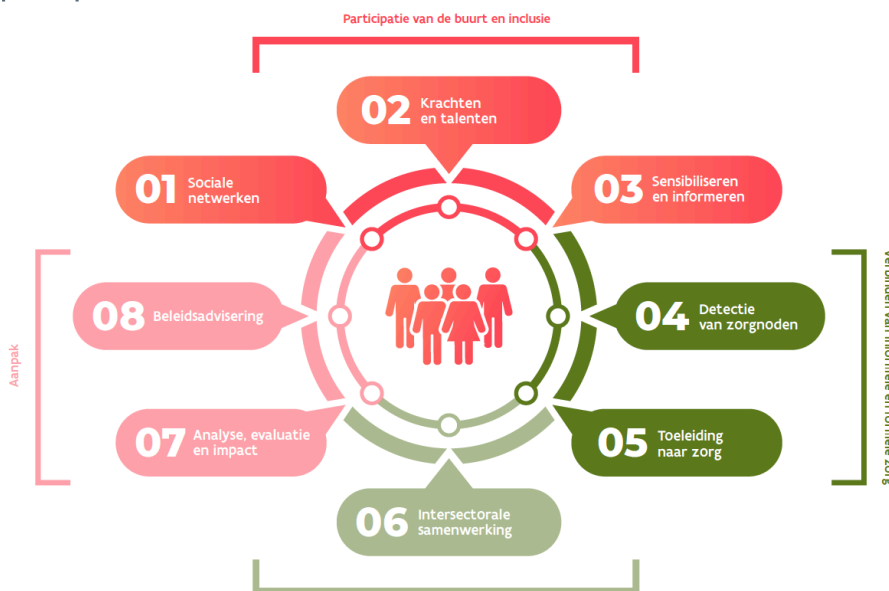


Fig. 20 Eight constitutive elements of the "Zorgzame Buurten"

1. Social networks
2. Skills and talents
3. Raise awareness and inform
4. Detection of care needs
5. Care Guide
6. Intersectoral cooperation
7. Analysis, evaluation and impact
8. Policy Analysis

1. **Social networks:** A "Zorgzame Buurten" is aimed at building a social fabric, solidarity and coexistence. Creating encounters is crucial here. Only when people get to know each other will they also be willing to offer each other support. The intensity of the meetings can vary. Fleeting contacts are at least as important as strong bonds or deep relationships. They provide a sense of "connectedness". A "Zorgzame Buurten" is participatory. Local residents should have the same voice as local government, relief and welfare organizations and all other interested parties such as shops, socio-cultural associations, schools, libraries, youth associations, etc.
2. **Skills and talents:** It is often assumed that there are two types of people: those who help and those who seek help. This dichotomy is an artificial distinction in the context of the "Zorgzame Buurten". The reality is diverse: everyone, each person, each family can use support and help at certain moments in their life and also give support to others. Neighborhood help is based on reciprocity, on giving each other mutual support. Many people don't want to feel like they are always asking for help. They also want to give something of themselves. Vulnerable people are often reluctant to do so. They feel unable to contribute in any way. But they all have strengths, talents and life experiences that allow them to take on a socially valued role. As soon as people find out what their talent is and how they can contribute to the neighborhood,
3. **Raise awareness and inform:** Informing, raising awareness and motivating a healthy lifestyle are also an intrinsic part of a preventive health policy. It is also important to inform and raise awareness of people. People often don't know what to do or how to deal with people who are having a hard time, for example due to poverty, a psychiatric problem or a disability. Working in a "Zorgzame Buurten" means communicating well and increasing health literacy: we focus on increasing the health skills of local residents, volunteers and professional care providers, so that everyone is at least aware of the welfare system existing, assistance and other support services (work, accommodation, etc.).
4. **Detection of care needs:** in the Zorgzame Buurten, a link is created between informal care (self-care, occasional neighborhood help or volunteering) and formal or professional care (accessible and specialized general care). Also there is the detection of vulnerable people who need help
5. **Integrated Care:** It is a collaboration between the health and welfare sector and other sectors, including housing, land use planning (for example, accessible walking paths, meeting places in public space), youth, culture, sport, work, the social economy, etc., aimed at prevention, health promotion and care and integral support for the person. People and their quality of life are central. Welfare and care partners and partners from other domains work together in a network that focuses on prevention, health promotion and the provision of integrated care and support, with a focus on quality of life.
6. **Intersectoral cooperation:** cooperation focused on prevention, health promotion and integrated support, based on neighborhood analysis. The neighborhood, local government, welfare, assistance and other network partners jointly choose the priorities they want to focus on in the context of the project, working together on priority needs. The network is coordinated in such a way as to involve each partner. The other partners involved will also differ from neighborhood to neighborhood: schools, associations (young people, seniors, socio-cultural associations, sports), the library, the baker, the butcher, the social housing, etc. ...

7. Analysis, evaluation and impact: Building a careful neighborhood begins with a neighborhood analysis. A neighborhood analysis consists of quantitative data (objective data on e.g. number of inhabitants, population density, age, family composition, income, unemployment rate, environmental factors such as walkability, safety, the presence of greenery, meeting places, games, etc.), supplemented by qualitative descriptive data (how do the residents live, life in the neighborhood? What needs and skills are there?) Furthermore, a stakeholder analysis is carried out: What professional care and welfare partners work there? Is there a library? A neighborhood initiative? A neighborhood committee? Are there sports associations, youth associations, socio-cultural associations? Is there an employment agency? Which merchants (bakery, butcher, etc.) are there? Is there a school nearby? Then you determine which stakeholder you want to involve and how to co-create (think together, experiment together, develop together); Finally, it is important to evaluate the functioning of the neighborhood, learn from it and monitor its impact. This is a co-creative exercise, together with the neighborhood, with the local community. The "Zorgzame Buurten" require a tailored monitoring and evaluation policy. Traditional paradigms and indicators often focus on measuring and monitoring the performance of care systems, which is not enough. The "Zorgzame Buurten" need their own indicators, which focus, among other things, on social and human capital. Evaluation must first and foremost be participatory, with citizens as the starting point for evaluation. In other words, professional benchmarks are subordinated to local community benchmarks. Desired outcomes include not only better quality care and services and a better quality of life, but also a healthier environment, more social capital, more social participation and quality public services. which focus, among other things, on social and human capital. Evaluation must first and foremost be participatory, with citizens as the starting point for evaluation. In other words, professional benchmarks are subordinated to local community benchmarks. Desired outcomes include not only better quality care and services and a better quality of life, but also a healthier environment, more social capital, more social participation and quality public services. which focus, among other things, on social and human capital. Evaluation must first and foremost be participatory, with citizens as the starting point for evaluation. In other words, professional benchmarks are subordinated to local community benchmarks. Desired outcomes include not only better quality care and services and a better quality of life, but also a healthier environment, more social capital, more social participation and quality public services.

8. Policy Analysis

From a "Zorgzame Buurten" a lot of interesting information can emerge regarding the "policy" of a local government on welfare, assistance, territorial planning, free time, etc. A local government is always a partner engaged in a "Zorgzame Buurten". It is important that policy information is taken from the outset and passed on to the appropriate departments and at the appropriate policy levels.

In Flanders, the local government is responsible for welfare and assistance within the local social policy. What if some questions or challenges within the "Zorgzame Buurten" project refer to a supra-local level? If so, it is recommended that the local government, together with welfare and care partners, pass it on and discuss it, in the primary care area care council. In the bilingual area of Brussels-Capital, the direction of Flemish local social policy is entrusted to the Commission of the Flemish Community (with the social assistance services OCMW and CAW Brussels). In addition, there is a primary care area

in Brussels and the Kennis Centrum WWZ, with expertise in the context of innovative community-oriented care,

4.4 Literature Analyses

In this chapter we will consider the literature on the subject and illustrate the conclusions it has reached.

According to sociologist Olivia Vanmechelen¹⁶⁴, the "Zorgzame Buurten" is a setting with a health worker, a client asking for help and a problem that needs to be solved. The zero line is not immediately aimed at people with specific questions. Rather, they are places where people can always go, feel welcome, have coffee, drink and where they know someone to talk to. Once a relationship of trust is built, people often tell their story or tell the problems they face. There is a whole range of basic structures: local service centers, community centers, integrated neighborhood activities, social restaurants, solidarity housing projects, awareness-raising works, shelters for the homeless, associations where the poor have a voice in chapter, even neighborhood cafes. "

A "Zorgzame Buurten" can be interpreted in a broad way, according to different experiences, needs, vision... Projects have different objectives, different target groups, different methods of establishing connections. This diversity doesn't just exist between projects. Several methodologies and target groups are often used within the same project. The concept and practices are constantly evolving. The "Zorgzame Buurten" are "complex interventions" and therefore cannot be captured in a single model. Although the projects are very different, there are a number of interfaces that connect the various projects. The goal of the 35 "Zorgzame Buurten" is to facilitate meeting and connection in the neighborhood, strengthening local residents in general and vulnerable groups in particular. Assistance is approached in a "different" way. The projects are based on the concern that the "classic" way of working is inadequate. And this not only in the health sector, but on a broader social level.

-Projects are therefore more often imaginative and innovative: organizations that previously worked from a single point of view look at and approach care more broadly (beyond the classic medical model). They develop new methods, such as e.g., investing in a place (shop, restaurant, garden...) where people feel welcome and which is accessible.

-Moreover, when people find themselves in a situation where help or care is needed and they turn to formal services, they are referred to as "recipients of care", "users", "patients", etc. This is often unconsciously accompanied by the idea of someone 'in trouble', 'addicted' or 'in need of help. Instead in the "Zorgzame Buurten" commonly used dichotomy between "caregiver" and "patient" becomes rather artificial. For example, in the Active Care Neighborhoods living lab in Brussels and Antwerp, the elderly, labeled as vulnerable and regarded by health workers as recipients of care, explained that they had helped other neighbors and relatives themselves.

¹⁶⁴ Vanmechelen, O., Vermeulen S., 2019, Cahier Buurtgerichte zorg, Cahier 10, Kennis Centrum WWZ

Furthermore, there is a change in thinking about "dependence" and "independence", turning to the concepts of "reciprocity" and / or interdependence¹⁶⁵.

- "Zorgzame Buurten" often pay specific attention to people in a vulnerable position. However, a "Matthew effect" may arise, which is generally described as: "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer". In the context of "Zorgzame Buurten", this would mean that those who already have many networks will receive even more support. But those who are less strong will sink further. Plovie and Heylen¹⁶⁶ came to this conclusion in their research on neighborhood care in the first period of COVID (April 2020): the solidarity of people was great, but above all aimed at acquaintances. These solidarity actions seemed to ignore people in very vulnerable positions¹⁶⁷. This is therefore a trap that such projects should be aware of. How can we ensure that the "Zorgzame Buurten" do not focus too much on the active citizen of the neighborhood, how can the impact for the most vulnerable groups be maximized? The Zorgzame Buurten must continue to pay attention to vulnerable groups, but as they are currently being implemented, they do not currently appear to offer a solution for citizens in multi-problem situations¹⁶⁸.

- Also, Schuermans¹⁶⁹ argues that although the care aspect in a Zorgzame Buurten logically takes precedence, "Care Neighborhoods" should not be the primary solution for the most vulnerable groups in society. It is therefore essential to continue to recognize "cold solidarity" as the primary pillar, the typical formal and anonymous solidarity organized through social security. The so-called cold solidarity still remains the basis of our society. We must therefore think about how we can free up financial space, how to anchor the concept of "Zorgzame Buurten" to financing and health care policies, in order to provide the necessary care to the most vulnerable in society. "Cold solidarity" is needed to make "warm solidarity" possible. However, the importance of Zorgzame Buurten's projects,

- Although the projects of "Zorgzame Buurten" all operate on the scale of a "neighborhood" and are anchored to local communities and respond to the context of the neighborhood in which they are located, with their own needs, challenges, strengths and opportunities¹⁷⁰, there is no univocal definition of "neighborhood". In addition to a possible objective, geographical and administrative subdivision, the concept of neighborhood is much more often interpreted subjectively: it concerns the "close living environment" as experienced by the person himself. This can be physical, but also emotional or virtual. What exactly that neighborhood entails and on what scale the work is done differs from project to project. It is important, however, when focusing on neighborhood care, as a lever for the support of vulnerable residents, to map not so much the geographical and administrative characteristics, but also the perception of the residents, the social interactions and the network of structures.¹⁷¹ These different dimensions of the neighborhoods are addressed in the projects of "Zorgzame Buurten". They speak of the spatial interpretation (public space, greenery, benches...), of the services and structures present, of the socio-economic properties, but also of the presence (or absence) of local social contacts, of the feeling of social cohesion in the neighborhood. However, choosing for neighborhood-oriented work shouldn't mean that you only consider the neighborhood. As

¹⁶⁵ De Donder, L., Smetcoren, A.-S., Schols, JMGA, van der Vorst, A., & Dierckx, E. (2019). Critical reflections on the blind sides of frailty in later life. *Journal of Aging Studies*, 49.

¹⁶⁶ Plovie, E., & Heylen, L. (2020). Buurtzorg in crisistijd: Wie al heeft, zal nog meer krijgen. *Sociaal.net*.

¹⁶⁷ Plovie, E., Debruyne, P., Schrooten, M., & Thys, R. (2020). Solidarity: wie ze het meest nodig heeft, krijgt ze het minst. *Sociaal.net*.

¹⁶⁸ De Donder, L., Smetcoren, A.-S., Dury, S., et al. (2017). *Zorginnovatie in Vlaamse proeftuinen: Onderzoek naar Actief Zorgzame Buurten in Brussel en Antwerpen*. Kenniscentrum Woonzorg Brussel.

¹⁶⁹ Schuermans, G. (2020). *Zorgzame buurt moet bovenal oog hebben voor haar kwetsbare bewoners*. *Sociaal.Net*.

¹⁷⁰ De Donder, L., Smetcoren, A.-S., Dury, S., et al. (2017). *Zorginnovatie in Vlaamse proeftuinen: Onderzoek naar Actief Zorgzame Buurten in Brussel en Antwerpen*. Kenniscentrum Woonzorg Brussel.

¹⁷¹ Raeymaekers, P., Denis, A., Mergaert, L., & Guffens, C. (2017). *Kwetsbare ouderen thuis ondersteunen- Lokale krachten bundelen*. Koning Boudewijnstichting.

shown by the Sombrero model (fig. 1) of the Kennis Centrum WWZ, the connection with the supra-local structures should not be forgotten. The "Zorgzame Buurten" are only part of a process of continuous innovation of the entire health and wellness system¹⁷².

-The informal help, from informal helpers, volunteers and neighbors, sometimes has its limits. Expectations towards informal assistants risk becoming high and the responsibility of the professional is sometimes overshadowed too much.¹⁷³In the first place, according to a logic of austerity and savings, the "Zorgzame Buurten" are almost automatically linked to the volunteers. These are a crucial link, but they need a precondition that they are supported by professionals who act as a 'constant engine' of the project.

Furthermore, the right to assistance is no longer guaranteed if we limit ourselves to informal help. Vulnerable residents, in particular, bear the consequences. Involving socially isolated people requires professionalism, in which the professional is a bridge figure who works, facilitating and supporting.¹⁷⁴If assistance, through social networks, becomes the goal rather than the means of socialization, there is the danger that informal assistance becomes an obligation. However, practice and politics often implicitly assume that citizens still provide too little spontaneous help and must therefore be mobilized to assume their responsibilities. The government cannot transfer responsibility for care to individual citizens and their environment. It is the government's responsibility to guarantee the right to treatment and assistance¹⁷⁵.

-The "Zorgzame Buurten" focus on the full participation in society of all the citizens of the neighborhood, based on equality and respect. While inclusion is the goal and most projects aim to involve "all" residents, this is not always evident when the projects are implemented. Processes of structural exclusion (often less visible) come into play when inclusion and full participation in society are of prime importance. Participation is therefore a common thread in the making of the "Zorgzame Buurten". However, participation does not begin with the implementation of the project, but with the planning, with the determination of needs, objectives, expected impact, working method, etc. If not, you will get a very instrumental interpretation of participation. The central question, therefore, is "who determines the challenges and objectives of the "Zorgzame Buurten"?"¹⁷⁶An interesting critique of "involving citizens and volunteers" can be found in an article by Kris De Visscher¹⁷⁷. Welfare organizations are increasingly aware that their services are not always accessible and that some groups do not find the way to access them. These are referred to as "hard-to-reach target groups". However, De Visscher states: "There are no hard-to-reach groups. There are organizations that are difficult to reach. " To remedy this, organizations should think about removing financial barriers by granting discounts, removing information barriers through tailored information, targeted home visits or creative awareness campaigns. Co-creation or participation, in principle, from the outset can provide added value.¹⁷⁸Co-creation provides more supported solutions for some difficulties in the neighborhood. Furthermore, the participants in question feel more involved in the project, because they have more say and the feeling of being listened to. They have the ability to understand what is happening, to hear what actions are feasible or not and why, and they can take action on their own.

¹⁷² Vandenbroeck, P., & Braes, T. (2020). Integrated Community Care 4all, New Principles for Care: Strategy paper to move ICC forward. TransForm Integrated Community Care.

¹⁷³ Plovie, E., & Heylen, L. (2020). Buurtzorg in crisistijd: Wie al heeft, zal nog meer krijgen. Sociaal.net.

¹⁷⁴ Heylen, L., & Lommelen, L. (2016). Het kleine helpen: Bouwen aan buurtnetwerken rond ouderen. Politea.

¹⁷⁵ Dewaele, C., De Maeyer, J., Reynaert, D., Beelen, S., Vandevelde, S., & Meesen, D. (2015). Vermaatschappelijking, laveren tussen kansen en bedreigingen. Sociaal.Net.

¹⁷⁶ Plovie, E., & De Bruyn, S. (2020). Samen Stad Maken: Onderzoek naar de impact van Bruss-it projecten.

¹⁷⁷ De Visscher, K. (2018). Moeilijk bereikbare groepen bestaan niet. Sociaal.Net.

¹⁷⁸ Smetcoren, A.-S., Massart, E., Demuyne, K., et al. (2017). Entour-Age Noord. Inspirerend & innovatief wonen & werken. University Press.

Participation includes "fundamental participation"¹⁷⁹: participation and co-creation also mean making room for another voice, a competitive voice (other than antagonist). In the "Zorgzame Buurten", sooner or later conflicts of interest or power relations emerge. According to Chantal Mouffe (Belgian political scientist and professor at the University of Westminster), consensus or compromise is not the only one, nor the last starting point or the only goal.¹⁸⁰ The question is rather how to take care of dissenting neighborhoods or deal with conflicts, rather than trying to resolve or reconcile them.

4.5 Belgian healthcare and "Zorgzame Buurten" from the point of view of the Foundational Economy

In the book on Foundational Economy in Belgium (edited by David Bassens and Sarah De Boeck¹⁸¹) Liesbeth De Donder, Octavia Kint and An-Sofie Smetcoren¹⁸² take up much of the points examined in the previous chapter, from the point of view of the Foundational Economy. Such scholars observe how Healthcare is a major source of employment and includes both formal and informal work. Belgium ranks third in the EU 27: 5.5 per cent of the Belgian working population is employed in the long-term care sector. In addition, there are also many informal careers: 9% of Belgians over the age of five provide informal care at least once a week to one or more people with long-term illness, chronic conditions or disabilities¹⁸³.

There is also the question of whether healthcare can or should be a commercial product. In Flanders, for example, there has been an increase in private care companies over the past decade. Even in the absence of privatization, assistance is increasingly viewed from a financial and budgetary perspective. Furthermore, over the past thirty or forty years, care policy in Belgium has been characterized by the socialization of care.

According to these scholars, the future requires a structural investment in the health sector: improving the remuneration of health personnel, enhancing informal care, investing in innovative forms of residential care, attention to children and local roots. A systemic and holistic approach is needed that links care to housing, nutrition, well-being and with a focus on prevention. Recognizing assistance as a Foundational Economy means that focusing on the consistency of a high-quality supply of essential basic services and goods is fundamental for well-being and is therefore inextricably linked to the entire health care system. Long-term structural reforms in the health system are therefore necessary to meet this need. The ideas launched in this regard are numerous and detailed and take up many points that were analyzed in the previous chapter on literature:

¹⁷⁹ De Donder et al., *Lokaal samenwerken in zorgzame Buurten*, 2021, Fonds Dr. Daniël De Coninck

¹⁸⁰ Kelder, E., & Jonkers, J. (2010). Chantal Mouffe: 'Een compromise is uiteindelijk altijd in het voordeel van de rijken'. *Tijdschrift voor sociale vraagstukken*, 10.

¹⁸¹ David Bassens & Sarah De Boeck (red.) *DE ESSENTIËLE ECONOMIE Motor voor een sociaal-ecologische transitie*, April 2022, ASP publisher

¹⁸² De Donder L., Kint O. and An-Sofie Smetcoren AS "Zorg als essentiële economie: holistisch, kleinschalig en lokaal" In David Bassens & Sarah De Boeck (red.) *DE ESSENTIËLE ECONOMIE Motor voor een sociaal-ecologische transitie*, April 2022, ASP publisher

¹⁸³ Demarest, S. (2015). *Tell her hulp*. In SR Charafeddine, *Gezondheidsenquête 2013. Rapport 4: fysieke en sociale omgeving*. Brussel: WIV-ISP.

1. More prevention: The care machine often comes into action only after the person is hospitalized. This healing model costs a lot of money. Healthcare attention could be better for keeping people healthy. Of course, this does not mean that people can no longer get sick, but we can focus more on prevention to progressively prevent and manage the conditions in the long term. The hospital should be a link in the health system, but not the hub as it is today, even in non-coronavirus times.

2. Integrated assistance: from a conglomerate of independent entities to a single system. Healthcare is still too carried out by asylum facilities, with divisions between zero line (such as self-care, informal care, neighborhood care), primary (such as general practitioners, home nurses, home care, pharmacists), secondary (such as psychologists) and third-line care (such as hospitals). Integrated care presupposes not only separation and cooperation between professional care, but also integration with informal caregivers and the client himself. That's why people are talking more and more internationally about "Integrated Community Care"¹⁸⁴.

3. Reciprocity and relational autonomy. When people find themselves in a situation where help or care is needed and turn to formal services, they are referred to as the "care recipient", "patient" ... This is often unconsciously accompanied by a negative image of how you look at this person, as someone "in difficulty" and / or "in need of help". Here, according to these scholars, we need to introduce the concept of "relational autonomy". Vulnerability is part of the human being, everyone is vulnerable to some extent as stated in the literature by De Donder¹⁸⁵. Relational autonomy also includes the ability to have control over one's life, with the help and support of others¹⁸⁶. Instead of striving for a completely autonomous and independent life, without "interference" from others, the concept of relational autonomy serves to think about how society and the environment can promote autonomy. And it is precisely this relational autonomy that people actually require: to be listened to sincerely, to have care providers who listen actively, to respond to the wishes and needs of the person, to have a flexible service provision that leaves room for differences, to have assistance person centered. So from "dependence" and "independence" to "reciprocity" (interdependence)¹⁸⁷.

4. An integrated approach to care, accommodation and well-being. Care is much more than a narrow approach to "cure" only, in the sense of medical care or health care. An important starting point is the integrated approach to care, welfare and housing. In other words, assistance is more than just medical, physical or psychological assistance, but the focus is "taking care of each other", in all areas of life: well-being, life, leisure, work, education, mobility, safety. When you go into lockdown, as in recent months, it suddenly becomes very clear how important the quality of the house is. For example, forty percent of seniors live in not "very suitable" homes for their age with problems in terms of heating,¹⁸⁸. The D-SCOPE study, a large-scale inter-university study from Flanders and the Netherlands on "Detection, support and care of older people: prevention and empowerment", showed that older people suffer more often from social fragility (such as loneliness social) and physical or psychological frailty¹⁸⁹.

184 Vandenbroeck, P., & Braes, T. (2020). Integrated Community Care 4all, New Principles for Care: Strategy paper to move ICC forward. TransForm Integrated Community Care.

185 De Donder, L., Smetcoren, A.-S., Schols, JMGA, van der Vorst, A., & Dierckx, E. & D- SCOPE consortium (2019). Critical reflections on the blind sides of frailty in later life. *Journal of Aging Studies*, 49. Pages 66-73.

186 Janssen, BM, Abma, TA, & Van Regenmortel, T. (2012). Maintaining mastery despite age related losses: and resilience narratives of two older women in need of long-term community care. *Journal of Aging Studies*, 26 (3), 343-354.

187 De Donder, L., Smetcoren, A.-S., Schols, JMGA, van der Vorst, A., & Dierckx, E. & D- SCOPE consortium (2019). Critical reflections on the blind sides of frailty in later life. *Journal of Aging Studies*, 49. Pages 66-73.

188 Smetcoren, A.-S., De Donder, L., & Verté, D. (2020). An applied approach to housing in later life. In A. Petermans & R. Cain (Eds.), *Design for wellbeing: an applied approach*. New York: Routledge, 194-205.

189 Smetcoren, AS, Dury, S., De Donder, L., et al. (2017). Detectie en preventie van kwetsbaarheid: Op zoek naar risicoprofielen voor fysieke, psychische, sociale en omgevingskwetsbaarheid. *Tijdschrift voor Gerontologie & Geriatrie*, 13 (78), 1-11.

Especially during the coronavirus crisis, this has become, or could have been, an extra point of attention. Some have asked the question: Isn't loneliness worse than coronavirus? We think not only of the people in the nursing homes for the elderly, who were not allowed to receive visitors, but also, for example, of the single residents, who formed a lonely bubble during the lockdown. Importantly, not everyone has a strong informal network.

5. Care as part of a warm and cold solidarity. Citizens enter new forms of cooperation in self-organization and take social challenges in hand (at the local level). Two critical notes on the common goods in health care. First, research shows that vulnerable groups are often the first to be excluded. Here the authors of the Belgian Foundational Economy take up a point analyzed in the previous chapter: the Matthew effect. In concrete terms, in the context of the *Zorgzame Buurten*, this would mean that those who already have a lot of support, get even more support.¹⁹⁰ The commitment and solidarity of the people was great, but mainly aimed at acquaintances. These solidarity actions seemed to ignore people in very vulnerable positions¹⁹¹. Second, such collectives in the health sector are set up mainly because there is no affordable or high-quality alternative offer. Healing (ethno-cultural) initiatives and self-organizing are indispensable shadow work that seeks to fill gaps left by formal players or a retreating government¹⁹². However, some problems are too big to be solved by citizens collectives and require a social and structural solution. Schuermans¹⁹³ stresses that although the caring aspect in a *Zorgzame Buurten* logically takes precedence, caring for each other should not be the main solution for so-called "under protection", where there is a discrepancy between the promised fundamental rights and the measure where these are granted to each individual. Fighting this "under protection" is and remains a task of the Department of Welfare, Public Health and Family and falls within the scope of the Integrated Wide Reception (GBO). Therefore, "cold solidarity" is fundamental, the typical formal and anonymous solidarity organized through social security. "*Zorgzame Buurten*" should therefore not simply become "hot" initiatives of "charity" but also benefit from a macro view. For example, as a society we can think about how to anchor the concept of *Zorgzame Buurten* in the financing of health care and in the care policy, so that we can also provide the necessary care to the most vulnerable people. The importance or potential of "*Zorgzame Buurten*" projects appears to be great, provided that sufficient attention is paid to politicization and structural work, something that is currently not much covered in various current small-scale projects¹⁹⁴. Commons initiatives show that alternatives are possible and can therefore be an engine for systemic change when their principles and ideas (such as co-governance and transparency) are taken up by key actors and policies.

The Belgian scholars of the Foundational Economy therefore propose a transition to a care-centered economy. Such comprehensive care (for the elderly) could unjustifiably end up lower on the priority list. Such issues are often seen as important when the economy is doing well, but no longer enter the agenda when "the economic challenges are greatest". Investing in sustainable and high-quality long-term care in a context of combating poverty and social exclusion. The COVID-19 pandemic has shown that care and assistance jobs are essential to the

¹⁹⁰Plovie, E., & Heylen, L. (2020). Buurtzorg in crisistijd: Wie al heeft, zal nog meer krijgen. Sociaal.net.

¹⁹¹Plovie, E., Debruyne, P., Schrooten, M., & ys, R. (2020). Solidarity: wie ze het meest nodig hee, krijgt ze het minst. Sociaal.net. Beschikbaar op: <https://sociaal.net/opinie/wie-solidariteit-meest-nodig-hee-krijgt-het-minst/> (Geraadpleegd op 1 maart 2021).

¹⁹²Schrooten, M., ys, R., & Debruyne, P. (2019). Sociaal schaduwwerk. Brussel: Politeia.

¹⁹³Schuermans, G. (2020). *Zorgzame buurt moet bovenal oog hebben voor haar kwetsbare bewoners*. Sociaal.net. Beschikbaar op: <https://sociaal.net/boek/zorgzame-buurt-kwetsbare-bewoners/> (Geraadpleegd op 1 maart 2021).

¹⁹⁴De Donder, L., Hoens, S., Stegen, H. & Smectoren, AS (2021). Lokaal samenwerken in zorgzame buurten. Overzicht van 35 projecten met de steun van Fonds Dr. Daniël De Coninck. Brussel: Koning Boudewijnstichting.

functioning of society. Research in the UK¹⁹⁵ described it clearly: "The problem is not simply how much money goes into adult care, but where the money goes." In doing so, the authors formulated a number of recommendations. First, the government must take a leading role in the social mobilization of low-cost finance, so that it is not only large chains that are able to provide new services and institutions (eg residential care centers). Secondly, large (often commercial) players should not be bailed out by the taxpayer but must suffer the losses that are the result of their short-term actions and decisions. Return on investment has become a goal, which often must be realized in the short term. But it is precisely an unbalanced focus on efficiency that can have problematic consequences when unforeseen circumstances arise. To respond to the unexpected, we must replace the "just-in-time" philosophy with spare capacity and buffer¹⁹⁶.

The debate on the ownership of health care goes beyond the three-way division of "public - private - commercial". Here the idea of commons should be highlighted, where society is the owner of the care, where care is incorporated in local communities, as in "Zorgzame Buurten", where the government is co-carer and co-responsible. It's not just about the properties of the cures, but about helping shape that cure.

In the current model, financial health and profit maximization are still primarily pursued. This is accompanied by a talk of "scarcity" and "shortage" in a system that is built on debt and the payment of these debts by the people.¹⁹⁷ This leads to the implementation of cost reduction measures. The current crisis, the "cracks" of the system indicate the need for a different vision of assistance and of the place that assistance occupies in our society. A transition to a vision where care is central, a "care-centered economy" is needed¹⁹⁸. Praetorius refers to common definitions of economics as "the task of the economy is to examine how resources to satisfy human needs can be most effectively produced, distributed, used or consumed." These definitions, in turn, refer to the original meaning of the word "economy" or "oikonomia" as defined by Aristotle in his Politics. Economy as family contraction (oikos) and law or custom (nomos), so it roughly means "managing the family". An economic activity is therefore any activity that produces products or services that satisfy the needs of people. Care is therefore the essence of the economy, according to the concept of "care-centered economy." In a broader sense,

So De Donder, Kint and Smetcoren start from an integrated approach to assistance, welfare and housing as a guideline for the analysis of the care sector. In other words, assistance is not only medical, physical or psychological assistance, but concerns all areas of life: well-being, accommodation, leisure, work, education, mobility, safety, etc. The main goal for the care sector is therefore to move from curative to preventive care. This approach has an impact on the levels of scale at which care is organized: from the hospital as a basic unit to an increased focus on other bodies such as general practitioners. The trend towards socialization of care and the government discourse on the "Zorgzame Buurten" can be an attractive but misleading staircase.

¹⁹⁵Burns, D., Cowie, L., Earle, J. et al. (2016). Where does the money go? Financialised chains and the crisis in adult residential care. Report. CRESC Public Interest Reports. Manchester: CRESEC Manchester University.

¹⁹⁶Strickner, A., Novy, A., & Bärnthaler, R. (2020). De economie van het leven voor een goed leven. Green European Journal, 30 November 2020. Beschikbaar op: <https://www.greeneuropeanjournal.eu/de-economie-van-het-leven-voor-een-goed-leven/> (Geraadpleegd op 1 maart 2021).

¹⁹⁷Peeters, J. (2020). Economies in meervoud. Deel V. Commoning: van beheer tot veranderingspraktijk. Oikos, 95 (3), 76-98.

¹⁹⁸Praetorius, I. (2015). and Care-Centered Economy: Rediscovering what has been taken for granted. Heinrich Böll Foundation, Publication Series Economy + Social Issues, 16. Beschikbaar op: <https://www.boell.de/en/2015/04/07/care-centered-economy> (Geraadpleegd op 10 maart 2021).

Although the "Zorgzame Buurten" is an attractive discourse on solidarity, it essentially ignores the empirical observation that care is rooted in social relations or, conversely, in their lack. Focusing more on the neighborhood or the social network is therefore diametrically opposed to the reality of a large majority of city dwellers. De Donder, Kint and Smetcoren illustrate this with research in which more than half of the inhabitants of Brussels cannot count on a social network and therefore completely depend on the solidarity of the government. The Belgian scholars therefore support permanent investments in the "cold solidarity" of government and, moreover, for the enhancement and professional support of informal caregivers. De Donder, Kint and Smetcoren observed increased cooperation between the lines during the acute moments of the coronavirus crisis¹⁹⁹ which can be continued even further.

The Belgian scholars of the Foundational Economy are asking the question why not go back to a single political competence for the health sector? In order to increase the financial strength of potential new players in the healthcare market, the scholars argue that the government should take a leading role in the social mobilization of low-cost finance, so that not only large chains are able to provide new services.

The Scholars argue that this is necessary not only to improve the quality of care, but also to expand spare capacity in order to respond to the unexpected, such as with the current pandemic. It means that different financial logics must be applied that run over longer periods than the periods of rapid return on investment by the private sector. The condition of health workers also needs urgent review and, above all, re-evaluation. The wages of much of the long-term care workforce are well below the national average. This certainly applies to social workers and nursing assistants. Wages in the private sector are generally even worse than those in the public sector. The shortcomings are met by foreign health workers who often do not speak the language.

The Belgian authors of the Foundational Economy end by saying: a more fundamental transversal problem that becomes visible through sector analyzes is the lack of reflection on how to define a renewed socio-ecological contract between citizen and state. In fact, empirically based alternatives are possible in which the government, vis-à-vis citizens and private companies, plays a crucial role in guaranteeing basic social services. A different way of thinking about the economy means that new economic margins for action become visible and possible.

¹⁹⁹Primary (such as self-care, informal care, neighborhood help), primary (such as family doctors, home nurses, home care, pharmacists) and secondary (such as psychologists) and third-line care (such as hospitals).

CHAPTER 5

Olinda**5. Introduction**

Olinda is a collective project born in 1995 with the aim of opening the Paolo Pini Psychiatric Hospital in Milan, which, despite the law 180, known as the "Basaglia Law" of 1978, which decreed the closure of all Psychiatric Hospitals, was still open.

Olinda, composed of the Olinda Association and La Fabbrica di Olinda, a social cooperative society, has been operating for over 25 years in the field of social and work inclusion of disadvantaged people coming mainly from mental health. It has developed social entrepreneurship activities in the field of hostels, restaurants and culture. It manages OstelloOlinda, Jodok Restaurant-pizzeria, Olinda Catering and the TeatroLaCucina inside the former O.P. Paolo Pini. While it manages BistrOlinda inside the "Teatro Elfo Puccini" in Milan (in c.so Buenos Aires, the real commercial center of the city), the Mosso Restaurant-pizzeria in the former boarding school of Parco Trotter in Milan and the Fiore Restaurant-pizzeria in Lecco (the latter is an asset confiscated from the Mafia). The set of activities is set up as a local cultural system for social citizenship. La Fabbrica di Olinda is a type B social cooperative with the aim of creating job opportunities and social inclusion with disadvantaged people, especially people with mental health problems. Born as part of the project of closure, deinstitutionalization and transformation of the former Paolo Pini Psychiatric Hospital, it is now engaged in the development of urban regeneration projects in the urban periphery, discovering a large population of young people with inclusion problems (migratory background, school dropout, risky behaviors, mental illness). In carrying out its activity of social and work inclusion of disadvantaged people, the Cooperative has been able to observe how important are the paths that help young people to believe in themselves, and the learning processes that teach to be in a collective project. In this sense, participatory cultural and social workshops represent a powerful access to adulthood that motivates the choice "what will I do when I grow up?" This factor of participatory (pre-work) preparation is relevant for the personal growth of young people who live in a context where youth unemployment is rampant and for whom the direct transition to work is not only difficult due to the scarcity of opportunities, but also because it often represents too great an evolutionary step. As part of its production activities, the cooperative creates personalized paths of social and work integration of disadvantaged people. The personalized projects move on the three fundamental axes to promote practices of habilitation and social inclusion: working, living and socializing to rebuild access to citizenship rights. Observational, training and work internships, job grants and "on the job" job placements are carried out in the Cooperative and in external companies. The job training takes place as part of the social enterprise projects at P. Pini, where the Cooperative has started the public establishments Bar Ristorante Jodok, OstelloOlinda and TeatroLaCucina. In addition, BistrOlinda opened at the Teatro Elfo Puccini in Corso Buenos Aires in Milan, the FIORE Restaurant-pizzeria

in Lecco, which was seized from organized crime and finally the Mosso Restaurant-pizzeria inside the former Convitto Trotter in Milan, in via Padova.

The territorial area in which Olinda was born, is located in the north-west suburbs of Milan and has characteristics that refer to the presence of borders and fences of different types of spaces, both built and free.²⁰⁰

The former asylum consists of a set of thirty pavilions distributed in the green of an area of about 270,000 square meters², of public property, located north of the city of Milan, adjacent to an ancient historic center – Affori – and a large public district – Comasina.

The Comasina district is configured as a sort of enclosure for its characteristics of relative social marginality and mono functionality. The area of the former Paolo Pini Psychiatric Hospital was built in the 20s and housed in the early sixties ca. 1200 hospitalized and once it was separated by a continuous wall, today the whole area is freely accessible, and the various services are available to all citizens.

Overall, it is a territory at the center of strong transformative pressures, concerning both the physical-structural level and the social morphology. The extension of the metro line 3 to Comasina, the relocation of the Affori station (MM and FNM) and the simultaneous construction of an intermodal car park, is today the fulcrum of a project to rearrange the area that configures it as a hinge between the city and the first metropolitan crown. The prevailing mono functionality of the neighborhood makes the area poor in services and the few existing services tend to close in the early evening. Consequently, those who go out in the evening do not stop in the neighborhood that causes especially among young people a transmigration to the squares of the Center.

With the closure of the Psychiatric Hospital in 1999, the former Paolo Pini is now an important urban resource, with a large park, and an articulated system of reception and opportunities for participation on an area of almost 300,000 square meters.

The multisectoral character that P. Pini's conversion projects have developed in recent years has led to tangible and recognized results of social inclusion and cultural development. In particular, the combination of cultural, participatory and aggregative projects with social enterprise projects oriented to the implementation of public establishments (Bar, Restaurant, Hostel, Theater, etc.) has created interesting elements of urban regeneration.

In great proximity, always on the axis via Litta Modigliani is the Metropoli Shopping Center, a large consumer square, but strictly controlled.

Starting from the metaphor of the fence, it can be noted that the strong confinement and physical barriers also lead to immaterial barriers in the organizations present in the area that are expressed in a certain self-referentiality and fragmentation that tends to increase the sense of isolation and segregation of those who are active and take actions. The financial situation of Comasina, for example, reflects this metaphor of the fence. The sale in the 90s of over 70% of social housing to private citizens has led the new owners to consider their apartment as a space to be defended, increasing urban and social fragmentation even within their condominium. This financial situation closed, among other things, access to urban development tools for the Comasina and Pini districts such as, for example, neighborhood contracts where a public housing rate of at least 50% is expected.

The migratory aspect of recent decades has transformed the metropolitan suburbs. The Comasina, born from settlements intended for internal migration to the country, is now home to communities from the Maghreb, China, Sri Lanka, Latin America. This migratory phenomenon is reflected in the compositions of our theatre workshops, where out of ten participants, nine have a migration background. Participation in cultural life will therefore have to respect a careful transcultural approach. This transcultural aspect has brought the three schools in the area closer to the work we do at Pini. The two Technical Institutes (Lagrange and

²⁰⁰ Ingrid Breckner, Massimo Bricocoli, Corinna Morandi, Recinti e barriere nello spazio e nella mente in "TERRITORIO" 28/2004

Pareto) with over 2000 students who cross the area every day and the Sorelle Agazzi Comprehensive Institute with the childhood, primary and secondary sections. These three Institutes are part of the support network. The relationship between them and the cultural projects at Pini, led by Olinda, have greatly intensified in recent years. Schools and colleges are increasingly contacting Olinda to collaborate in participatory cultural projects (theater workshops, internships, etc.) both for groups and for individual students at risk of marginalization.

The goal of the social enterprise, declared since its conception, was explicit and ambitious: inspired by one of Italo Calvino's invisible cities, Olinda is a city that grows without creating suburbs. In the peripheries of a monocentric urban system, where cultural functions of a certain importance are all concentrated in a narrow and central domain, Olinda's goal is to make a city through collective action that radically assumes the meaning of social enterprise: to promote and support the social and professional integration of disadvantaged people through a system of opportunities in which everyone can use their personal skills and in the At the same time, it acts in the business market, which by its nature is competitive and fundamentally exclusive.

The spirit that has guided Olinda since the beginning has been to involve and involve in the first place a multitude of people, even if only as spectators. It was needed to give the city a reason to go beyond the front door and see the change up close. A Midsummer Night's Dream, the first public cultural project, a year of preparation, a city festival and a peaceful invasion of almost twenty thousand people. Since then, a festival called "Da Vicino Nessuno è Normale" is born and which, moreover, is one of the most important in the city.

5.1 Care on the boundaries of institutions: The project "Le mani in pasta"

The project "Le mani in pasta" involves the users of a psychiatric residential community of the Niguarda Hospital under the guidance of operators of the same Hospital in the production of fresh pasta. The activities are carried out at the Jodok Restaurant once a week. Disadvantaged people who participate in the activity receive a reimbursement of expenses calculated on the basis of the gain made in production: ordinarily € 4.00 each time, on the days of greatest production are given higher reimbursements. Fresh organic egg pasta is produced: tagliatelle, spaghetti alla chitarra, lasagnette ... white or flavored (spinach, nettles, tomato, coffee, cocoa, saffron ...). The products offered are expanded as experience grows. The production of fresh pasta is carried out on quantities ordered in the previous days by the Bio-social restaurant Jodok or by private customers who frequent the same Jodok or live in the district surrounding the former O.P. P.Pini, then the sold is produced. It is produced in small groups of 2 or 3 people in the same room for a total of about 10 psychiatric users at each meeting. Groups are made every day according to the preferences of the participants by matching more experienced and less experienced people. The collaboration with the Jodok Restaurant allows us to pursue the quality of the products and compliance with HACCP standards (hygiene rules and procedures for food production).

The project is guaranteed by the participation of two educators of the Niguarda Hospital, at each meeting, who lead the production units intervening, where necessary, to achieve the established production objectives or to introduce small organizational changes such as to allow a progressive growth of the people involved. To develop and expand the project, it is planned to include an educator of the social cooperative who collaborates with public operators. This is the qualifying point of the project that allows us to work on the borders between two institutions, one public and health, the other private social.

The participation of users can foresee different degrees of intensity, with a flexible programming linked to each individualized project, capable of providing spaces for progressive growth and moments of pause / slowdown of the required commitment. Particular attention is paid to the activation of processes of empowerment of the people involved, which takes into account the emerging or emerging skills. The proceeds of sales are used for the purchase of raw materials for subsequent production and payment of expense reimbursements. Part of the profit is set aside for the purchase of new equipment. Fortnightly, planning and verification meetings of the activities are carried out, in which the individualized projects within the activities are elaborated and verified, the connection with the sending team is made.

The elements of success:

- The realization in a welcoming and non-judgmental context, very centered with respect to the theme of the activity that is the production of food with recognition on the territory and a wide network of relationships with normal social contexts;
- The manual nature of the activity itself: "doing" well mediates the relationships that are established between the participants, whether they are users, operators, volunteers, visitors;
- The proximity to the workers of the Jodok Bar Restaurant with whom you cross during their respective activities: all equally committed to creating a service aimed at the public;
- The observation of disadvantaged workers "on the job" (at different levels of insertion) allows positive thoughts about possible future paths; strengthens the participants' capacity to aspire to project themselves into the future as workers
- The organizational flexibility of the group: different methods have been tested and ad hoc solutions have been found to overcome the difficulties, identifying and updating procedures for achieving stable product quality. In this, the constant quality of the production process has also been pursued and achieved;
- The participation of volunteers, trainees, visitors bring valuable resources for the realization of the activities and further contribute to the creation of the good climate of the group;
- The immediacy with which the process "production - sale - receipt of reimbursement of expenses" takes place, allows each participant to see their production capacity realized. Waiting until the end of the month and linking the receipt of salary with the work done daily is a difficult process to internalize for people with serious disadvantages;
- Social recognition, the person can feel more useful and recognized by seeing that the product made is appreciated by the people who buy it and / or consume it;
- the ability to recreate economic resources in a fairly simple way and with a short time, even for people who cannot access a paid internship for various reasons.

5.2 Olinda: Contradictions, Social Innovation and heterarchic enterprises

Olinda is reported as an example of SI (Social Innovation) by several authors and in particular according to Frank Moulaert²⁰¹: "*Olinda focuses its activities on providing for specific human needs: the need for alternative care and for breaking through the stigma of mental illness, focusing instead on the capabilities of patients to do something generative with their life*"²⁰²

Moulaert, in the case of Olinda, in accordance with his definition of SI "the creation, development and implementation of new ideas (products, services and models) that simultaneously meet social needs (more effectively than alternatives) and create new social relationships or collaborations" combines the satisfaction of human needs with care and capability approach. The activities that²⁰³ meet human needs are part of the activities of two entities that work in synchrony: Associazione Olinda and La Fabbrica di Olinda social cooperative. The existence of these two organizations, according to Vitale,²⁰⁴ represents one of the organizational means to manage the constitutive contradiction of Olinda, which is that between the logic of care and the logic of work. The presence of two very contradictory objectives within the same organization creates continuous tensions and conflicts, which offer space for reflexivity, organizational learning and resilience. Dualism lays the foundations for cultural and creative elaboration and therefore represents:

1. For internal organization, a way to circulate ideas, share problems and successes and rework a shared identity and mission.
2. For the environment, a means to increase visibility and communicate with the contexts in which one acts, and a tool for cultural exchange and the attraction of resources.
3. The dual definition of association and cooperative makes it possible to maintain the links between entrepreneurial objectives and social aims.

To address social exclusion, Olinda has attempted to create connections between opposites²⁰⁵ with a view to making them individually and collectively tolerable without concealing them, keeping open the contradictions and trying to establish continuous links between the experience of psychiatric users and the experience of users of the PH Park; between the need for welfare actions and a strategy of investments in the economic sector of production; between the neighborhood and the metropolitan area.

²⁰¹ Pradel Miquel M, Cano-Hila Ana Belén, Garcia Cabeza Marisol, Eds. Social Innovation and Urban Governance: Citizenship, Civil Society and Social Movements. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar; 2020;

Moulaert, F., MacCallum, D. (2019) Advanced Introduction to Social Innovation. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar;

Moulaert F., Swyngedouw E., Martinelli F., & Gonzalez S. (eds.), (2010), Can Neighbourhoods Save the City? Community development and social innovation. Abingdon Routledge;

Marisol García Cabeza, Cabeza Marc, Marc Pradel-Miquel: Citizens' creative strategies facing social exclusion: towards innovation in local governance? 2010

²⁰² Moulaert, F., MacCallum, D. (2019) Advanced Introduction to Social Innovation. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp.58.

²⁰³ Moulaert, F., MacCallum, D., Mehmood, A., & Hamdouch, A. (2013). The international handbook on social innovation: collective action, social Learning and transdisciplinary research. Edward Elgar Publishing, pp.8

²⁰⁴ Vitale, Tommaso, 2010. "Opening the Psychiatric Hospital and Bringing the City Inside. Contradiction and Reflexivity in a Case of Urban Innovation" SocArXiv bw856, Center for Open Science.

²⁰⁵ De Leonardis O, 2006, "Social Capital and Health" European Journal Of Social Quality 6 (2) 19 – 51

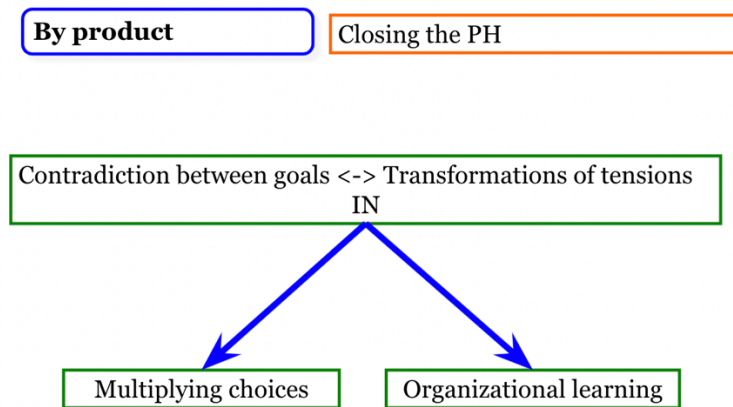


fig 21 from Vitale, Tommaso, 2010. "Opening the Psychiatric Hospital and Bringing the City Inside. Contradiction and Reflexivity in a Case of Urban Innovation" SocArXiv bw856, Center for Open Science.

Furthermore, keeping concessions open is a strategic aim declared and invoked by the deinstitutionalization of psychiatric hospitals. Moulaert, following Vitale ²⁰⁶, underlines how the origin of Olinda has its roots in the movement of deinstitutionalization of psychiatric hospitals, born in Trieste. In fact, a Swiss psychiatrist, Thomas Emmenegger, who had taken part in the deinstitutionalization movement in Trieste, moved to Milan to work at Paolo Pini, bringing with him a wealth of ideas, strategies and relationships acquired in the networks of the movement and in previous practical experiences of PH reconversion and social entrepreneurship start-ups.

Emmenegger convinced the Local Public Health Authority (USSL 37) to present an experimental project to the Education and Vocational Training Sector of the Lombardy Region, including a vocational training organization (ENAIIP). In addition, it was possible to mobilize resources from EU programmes (especially FSE) involving other bodies such as the "Associazione Lavoro e Integrazione" which was the promoter of the OPEN project co-financed by the Community Initiative Employment-Horizon and aimed at contributing to the conversion of the former psychiatric hospitals Paolo Pini in Milan and Antonini in Mombello, through the development of new social enterprises in psychiatric hospitals. The Association, as part of the OPEN project, carried out "second level" actions and services in favor of the initiatives managed by the social cooperatives Coopwork, "Associazione Olinda," "La Fabbrica di Olinda", "I Sommozzatori della terra", "Cooperativa Lotta contro l'Emarginazione" within these areas.

Vocational training, to develop the skills of users of psychiatric services and facilitate their integration into the world of the labour market, was not an objective in itself. It was the first step in a broad social entrepreneurship strategy. One of the main ideas of this strategy is that, to counteract the separation of PH from urban life, it is important to work on the PH thresholds, making them permeable, increasing the number and quality of people who can enter and the number of patients who can leave the institution. At the same time, the Olinda Association was formed to mobilize more human resources in the experimental project, attracting many people from outside to deinstitutionalize P. Pini. This process involved many professionals (designers, craftsmen, technicians) as well as "ordinary" people from all over the metropolitan area and from all over Lombardy.

In this first phase, relations with the health authorities, in particular with the Niguarda hospital and with the Municipality of Milan (in particular the Department of Culture), together with the Province and Region, are particularly intense. All these activities have made it possible to define

²⁰⁶ Vitale, T. (2010). Building a shared interest. Olinda, Milan: social innovation between strategy and Organisation learning. In F. Moulaert, E. Swyngedouw, F. Martinelli and S. Gonzalez (Eds), Can Neighbourhoods Save the City? Community Development and Social Innovation (pp. 81-92). London: Routledge.

the PH situation as problematic, giving the opportunity to introduce in Milan innovations already implemented in other cities by the deinstitutionalization movement. According to Vitale²⁰⁷, these activities produced a process of "enrolment" according to Callon's definition²⁰⁸. Enrolment means that the actors define each other's roles. Olinda has promoted the redefinition of the role of external actors and this has led to the formation of an alliance of some doctors and social workers of the institution, with some market entrepreneurs, some university professors and people from show-business, as well as ordinary people and users of psychiatric services who followed training courses and the same patients of the PH. It is important to underline how many ordinary people, like myself, were also attracted by the possibility of making culture and taking advantage of culture, as Olinda from the beginning tried to bring theatrical performances (such as Marco Paolini's "Vajont") and cinematographic performances inside the psychiatric hospital. It was essentially the research for a "cultural citizenship" in the sense described by Isin and Wood²⁰⁹. It was not an extended network, but it had completely different boundaries from Milan's traditional coalition network for mental illness policies and services. This process led in 1998 to the establishment of La Fabbrica di Olinda social cooperative, made up of users of psychiatric services who had followed the professional training courses of Enaip in the field of catering and carpentry and ordinary citizens who saw in the cooperative the opportunity to carry out a collective enterprise in the form of a social enterprise. These "risk takers"²¹⁰ choose a form of enterprise such as the type B social cooperative, because it allows you to collectively manage the company and guarantees that at least 30% of the working members are disadvantaged people for the purposes of Law 381.

The contradiction between the logic of work and the logic of care, according to Vitale²¹¹, gives shape to an organizational style of reflective fallible learners according to Ostrom's definition. As in many other social innovations, Olinda's people²¹² "learn as they act and from experience, and hence have the potential to act as creative transformers"²¹³. Therefore, what is clear in the Olinda case is the considerable circulation of cognitive resources and knowledge within the organization, and in particular the strong emphasis on reflexivity in organizing, involving and combining human resources from different scales and from areas traditionally far from that of social service (fashion, design, art, entertainment) to respond to its contradictory purposes²¹⁴. In this sense, the contradictions of ends, at the heart of the social entrepreneurship strategy, support a high degree of reflexivity. Learning and resilience are mainly due to organizational style, and connections with a wider social movement.

As Moulaert et al²¹⁵ pointed out, movements for change are at the heart of social innovation dynamics, especially because of their vision of organizational culture. As we have seen, the fact that Olinda refers to a tradition of social innovation coming from a social movement, obviously does not mean that she simply reproduces this tradition in the Milanese context, but that Olinda

²⁰⁷ Vitale, Tommaso, 2010. "Opening the Psychiatric Hospital and Bringing the City Inside. Contradiction and Reflexivity in a Case of Urban Innovation" SocArXiv bw856, Center for Open Science.

²⁰⁸ Callon M, 1986, "Some Elements of a Sociology of Translation", in Power, Action and Belief. Ed. J Law (Routledge, London) pp. 196 - 223

²⁰⁹ Isin, E.F. and Wood, P.K. 1999. Citizenship & Identity. London: Sage.

²¹⁰ De Leonardis O, Rotelli F, Mauri D. L'impresa Sociale. 2. ed. Milano: Anabasi; 1994

²¹¹ Vitale, Tommaso, 2010. "Opening the Psychiatric Hospital and Bringing the City Inside. Contradiction and Reflexivity in a Case of Urban Innovation" SocArXiv bw856, Center for Open Science.

²¹² Ostrom E, Ostrom V, 2004, "The Quest for Meaning in Public Choice" The American Journal of Economics and Sociology 63, pp.118

²¹³ Gonzalez S, Healey P, 2005, "A Sociological Institutional Approach to the Study of Innovation in Governance Capacity" Urban Studies 11, Pp. 2065

²¹⁴ Vitale T, 2009, "Politique des évictions. Une approche pragmatique", in Cantelli F., Roca i Escoda M., Stavo-Debaugé J., Pattaroni Hotels L. (Eds), Sensibilités pragmatiques. Enquêteur Sur The action publique, Brussels, P.I.E. Peter Lang,

²¹⁵ Moulaert F, Martinelli F, Swyngedouw E, Gonzalez S, 2005), "Towards Alternative Model(s) of Local Innovation" Urban Studies 11 1969 - 1990

"translates" it, modifying and adapting it in a peculiar way. Thus the Olinda case confirms that social innovation depends on the path and the context as Moulaert states.²¹⁶

As Moulaert stressed, movements for change are at the core of the dynamics of social innovation, especially for their vision of organizational culture. As we have seen, the fact that Olinda refers to a tradition of social innovation coming from a social movement, obviously does not mean that it simply reproduces this tradition into the Milan.

This contradiction and the process of deinstitutionalization of P.Pini means that Olinda as a whole, association and cooperative, can be considered a heterarchic enterprise according to the definition of the FE. The heterarchy underlines the importance of a "lateral" control of the company, open to interests, projects and heterogeneous resources, which therefore accounts for its activity towards a multiplicity of actors who judge it on the basis of criteria of relevance, orders of value and different metrics²¹⁷. Principles which, unlike hierarchy, cannot be sorted on a 'more important-less important' scale. It therefore recognizes the centrality of a plurality of orders of value, which facilitate the spread in society of dissonant quality conventions (organization of diversity), as well as heterogeneous associative forms (diversity in organizations), as well as the action of entrepreneurs capable of combining this diversity. Entrepreneurs of this type legitimize their action by submitting to public and deliberative "reports", in which the different orders of value and the actors who embody them confront each other in the name of mutual, cognitive and normative incommensurability.

In analytical terms, the organizational model of heterarchy refers to the transition from the current model of corporate governance to one based on the collective governance of the company.

The heterarchic enterprise thus becomes, in substantial terms, an organized social group pursuing economic, political, social and cultural objectives like as Olinda.

Territories, on the other hand, are today also characterized by alternative forms of production, organization and distribution in the sectors of the foundational economy. These practices can be configured as real emerging regulatory forms that touch areas of application differentiated, including, among others: the management of common resources (land, water, landscape, local knowledge), solidarity economy districts, short agri-food supply chains, experiences of local closure of renewable energy supply chains, recovered factories, experiences of radical social innovation. These experiences are realized through different proprietary regimes and collective property rights, the supply of commons-type goods and practices of reconnection between value and values.

5.3 “Seminatori di Urbanità” and performative citizenship

This process of deinstitutionalization of the Paolo Pini Psychiatric Hospital is also linked to the concept of "performative citizenship" typical of the FE that we saw in the chapter 2. In fact, we have citizens, with different social and professional backgrounds, who create mutual alliances to defend local common goods and claim rights that had not yet been fully recognized in the territorial context in question and that are recognized through the participation of those directly concerned in this process.

The "performative citizenship" crosses not only its origins, but the whole process conducted by Olinda in its history, in relation to the space of the former O.P. Pini. Let's take the case of the green area of the former PH, intended as a common good for Milanese citizens. The image of

²¹⁶ Moulaert F, Martinelli F, Swyngedouw E, Gonzalez S, 2005), "Towards Alternative Model(s) of Local Innovation" Urban Studies 11 1969 - 1990

²¹⁷ Boltanski, L. - Thévenot, L. 1991 De la justification. Les économies de la grandeur, Gallimard, Paris.

this place as a park is very strong, from a strictly spatial point of view, although it is not recognized as a public green space in terms of intended use.

Since the closure of the asylum the disinvestment in greenery has been gradual, the green space has no longer been considered – as it has been for a time – useful (for the health of the sick, for occupational therapy, for the aesthetics of the asylum). For many of the public entities that share ownership, it has become above all a cost. However, the presence of Olinda with its social enterprise strategies and the establishment, in 2005, by the Association Il Giardino degli Aromi, of the ²¹⁸"Libero Orto", a community garden participated by Milan citizens, have rewritten its meaning and potential, especially in terms of common good linked to the issue of social and environmental sustainability.

The former PH P. Pini, in 2012, was divided between ASL, the Niguarda Ca 'Granda Hospital, the Provincial administration that owned the area where the schools are located (the Vilfredo Pareto agricultural institute and the Lagrange hotel institute) and part of the area where there are numerous associations and social enterprises, including Olinda and Il Giardino degli Aromi.

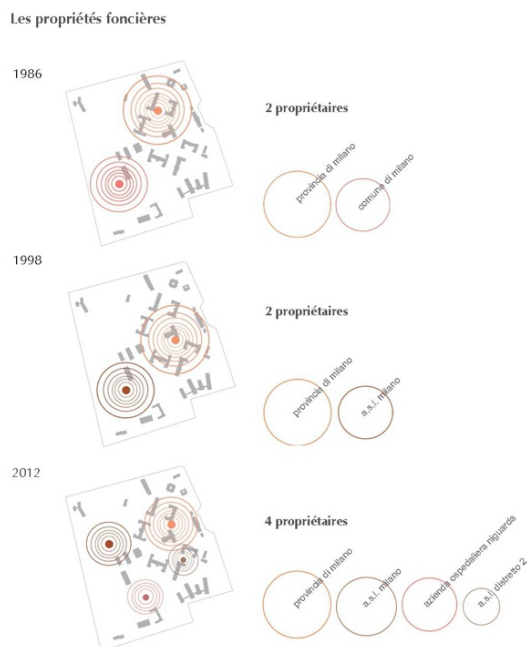


fig 22 from Massimo Bricocoli and Alessandro Coppola: Off Limits. The réemploi of a large function UrbaineThe Cas de l'ancien kindergarten psychiatrique Paolo Pini à Milan, April 2013: in Bricocoli M., Savoldi P. (2013), Urban planning de Projet En chantier_projets Urbains Sous Observation, DASTU research report for Plan Urban planning Construction Architecture, Paris.

This area has been the subject of various threats in 2012. On the one hand, the Province of Milan had put on the agenda a residential development project that would invest, in the southern part of the site, an important portion of the place that corresponds to the current urban gardens and an agricultural area that the Pareto school uses as a training ground for its students.

²¹⁸ The association was born from an initiative of Olinda, in the early 2000s, thanks to funding from the European Social Fund, but is now fully autonomous. The association now manages several vegetable gardens located in the former enclosure of the old hospital for a total of about 200 gardeners, many of whom live in the neighborhood. The model chosen by the association is that of shared gardens: alongside individual gardens, there are also areas of collective cultivation – whose crops are sold at the Jodok Bar Restaurant and a vegetarian restaurant in the city center. A Alongside the parcels allocated to those participating in the initiative, there are a number of areas used collectively. The assignments of the parcels are subject to adherence to the moments of care of the common areas and to participation in meetings in which the shared regulation of the garden is updated and the modalities of cultivation. A The public of citizens with varied profiles frequents the gardens, which are a completely exceptional place in this part of the Milanese suburbs, and the proximity of the neighborhood is an indisputable factor of attractiveness.

The Local Health Authority (ASL), on the other hand, during the reorganization of its buildings, had presented a feasibility plan, which involved the transfer of the vast complex of its functions and services in the center of Milan in the various pavilions of the park of the former PH.

These were two interventions which, although not directly responding to the objectives of economic development, highlighted an orientation in which public institutions put their own assets at stake. According to Bricocoli and Coppola²¹⁹ in the case of the Province, the intervention was clearly oriented to the construction of the electoral consensus of a certain segment of the population and, in this regard, in fact provided for a rather modest component of social housing. In the case of the ASL, the transfer to the Pini site would have made it possible to free up expensive buildings in a central position on which expectations of economic development were nourished.

The "Litta Modignani" transformation area of the urban plan includes both areas still belonging to the perimeter of the former hospital and external areas. As far as the external areas were concerned, the most substantial part was what was considered a void, an area without any function, an unused space that separates the different parts of the neighborhood, an element to be rethought and redesigned: it is 7 hectares of former agricultural land, abandoned after the last use as poplar grove, on which more than 1000 trees of different essences have grown²²⁰. It is a real forest, an area that fully falls within the definition of "third landscape" provided by Gilles Clement as "waiting space, administratively undecided, waste space, retro", "uncultivated", "a land abandoned by man after being worked", a "residue"²²¹

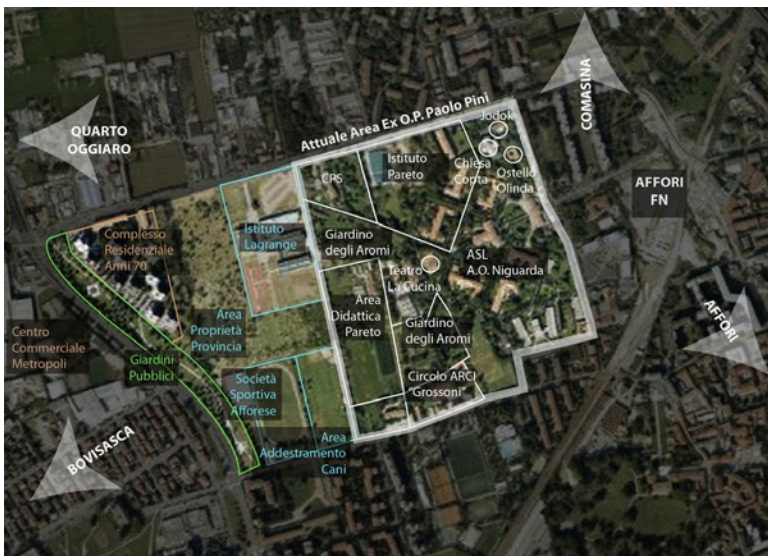


Fig. 23 from Marina Reissner "Oltre il Pioppeto": un intervento sulle aree urbane vuote tra formale e informale" in Chiara Lucchini (a cura di) "Pratiche, Progetti e Politiche per la Città dismessa" Politecnico di Torino Dipartimento di Architettura e Design, 2017

Once the fate of the area was made official through the publication of the urban plan, a working group was formed, composed of citizens, who decided to undertake a series of actions to protect the park of the former PH Pini from possible building speculation. The group has decided to give life to a series of initiatives to make known to the inhabitants of the neighborhood and the

²¹⁹ Massimo Bricocoli and Alessandro Coppola: Off Limits. The réemploi of a large function Urbaine The Cas de l'ancien kindergarten psychiatrique Paolo Pini à Milan, April 2013: in Bricocoli M., Savoldi P. (2013), Urban planning de Projet En chantier_projets Urbains Sous Observation, DASTU research report for Plan Urban planning Construction Architecture, Paris.

²²⁰ Marina Reissner "Oltre il Pioppeto": un intervento sulle aree urbane vuote tra formale e informale" in Chiara Lucchini (a cura di) "Pratiche, Progetti e Politiche per la Città dismessa" Politecnico di Torino Dipartimento di Architettura e Design, 2017

²²¹ Gilles Clement, Manifesto del Terzo Paesaggio, Quodlibet 2005

city the history of this place bringing out its most "hidden" characteristics. The idea was to "tell a different story from that of the Province and the Plan of Government of the territory, highlighting the resources already present and thus proposing a different way of thinking about this area.

The actions that could have started from such a context, rich in relations with the neighborhood, could be set on a battle to avoid construction on the inside of the current walls of Paolo Pini. Right from the start, however, the "spontaneous heritage" of the territory behind Paolo Pini was taken into consideration, in fact a fundamental area for the creation of a microclimate adapted to the different cultivation activities. The first step, therefore, was to consider the forest area as an integral and fundamental part not only of the history of the former hospital, but also of the various activities present today within it.

Starting from this geography, a series of activities are developed with different timing and objectives, the sequence of which produces different consequences on the perception of the area by the different actors involved and whose purpose is to be able to confront local institutions in order to take part and have a say in the decisions on this part of the city.

To this end, the group of citizens sets, since December 2012, a collection of signatures, which is based on a strong network of contacts mainly linked to all the activities carried out by the associations and Olinda within the Paolo Pini. A series of supporting actions had formed the basis on which a different image and therefore a different value of the place began to be built.

The first step organized was that of mapping the trees of the forest, with the participation of citizens and some students and teachers of the Pareto agricultural institute. The result was a map that represents the diversity of species, the consistency of the forest, the ability to connect the neighborhood. This map is the first tool to propose a vision opposite to that of the "empty place", to overturn the perception of a space that is described as a space of result, to be rethought, to be used as a basis for a new identity of the neighborhood. In this way we try to show the area with the same force as a defined project, which is already present and which only needs to be recognized.

The second step was to name the forest. Give a name to this area, serve to identify it, make it recognizable to all. The idea of calling the park "POP – Parco Pini Oltre il Pioppeto" is launched. These two steps therefore begin to give recognizability to a place that until then had been invisible in the urban plan. It is therefore an operation of clear geographical identification. To constitute a new value is instead the work of reconstruction of its history, linked to the activities of the former hospital and the recognition of its environmental and ecological value both in terms of flora and fauna, which is built through a series of meetings and exchanges of information with citizens. Finally, to define its role as a public space through initiatives, meetings and events so as to demonstrate its usability right away. We are therefore working to bring out its cultural, social and environmental value.

The history of the place is accompanied by two analyzes carried out voluntarily by an agronomist and Lipu. In both cases, a scientific approach is applied to identify the value of the area in all respects. In the first case, the environmental value is studied in terms of benefits of the urban environment and environmental quality in relation to the different micro-habitats present (vegetable garden, orchard, park with the presence of at least 50 different species) and in terms of ecological corridor (as a relationship between the different green areas of the northern sector of Milan). In particular, the study tried to calculate the environmental damage due to the possible realization of the project proposed by the Province of Milan.

In consideration of this analysis, it can be said that the urban park (about 7 ha) provides ecosystem services every year for a value varying between € 43,000 and € 240,945. The

gardens and orchard (about 3 ha) provide ecosystem services every year for a value ranging from € 42,069 to € 128,190²²².

A second study is carried out by Lipu, which deals with the monitoring of fauna and in particular of birds (sedentary, seasonal, migratory), which highlighted the presence of numerous species including some, present only in contexts with high environmental quality, indicating the importance of the place in terms of ecological connections. All these elements overturned the image offered by the plan instrument and the program agreement for which the Litta Modignani sector was a marginal context to be redeveloped.

At the same time, a collection of signatures was carried out, which started at the end of 2012 and collected 23,000 signatures in about six months. The outcome of this collection was brought to the meetings that were held in black with the Municipality and the Province. In particular, it involves if the Municipality, which has no property titles on the area, through the Department of Urban Planning. the councilor De Cesaris, during one of these meetings extended to the many actors involved on the site of the Pines, to the components of Olinda, to the teachers of the Pareto School Institute, and to some politicians, put the attention on the figure of the park as a reference image on which to report the definition of an alternative project. On the other hand, in the same assembly, it emerged that the action of the Municipality against property titles on the site held by other subjects - including public - was limited to the exclusive protection of the provisions of the plan, but could not – formally – condition the choices of reuse of buildings and sites, if they comply with the constraints of urban easements. In the specific case of the residential interventions envisaged by the Province, the administration had been able to immediately contain the planned residential extension and impose the protection of the sites intended for gardens. Instead, in the case of the possible reuse of existing pavilions by the Local Health Company, it was rather the economic factors and the weakness of the market that prevented the ASL plan. So at the beginning of September 2013, there was the decision by the Municipality of Milan to request the landscape constraint for the entire area, starting from the documentation collected by the group of citizens called "Seminatori di urbanità". Shortly afterwards the Province decided whether to temporarily suspend the project on the area.

²²² Francesca Neonato, Report del valore totale degli impianti arborei, orti e frutteti dell'area del Giardino degli Aromi, dell'Istituto Pareto e del "Comparto Modigliani Litta", Milano Affori. Il filmato dell'intervento riguardante lo studio ambientale portato avanti dall'agr. Francesca Neo- nato si trova al seguente link: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z6MIHKzfGUE>

Sabato 14 settembre 2013 alle 15:00
 presso la **biblioteca Affori di villa Litta**
 viale Affori, 21 - Milano

Parco Pop: raccolta di idee per un parco partecipato

Pini Oltre il Pioppeto non è un luogo vuoto e non deve essere edificato!
Un incontro pubblico e aperto a tutti
 per fare il punto sul progetto edificatorio
 e progettare insieme il Parco Pini Oltre il Pioppeto!
 Ingresso libero fino ad esaurimento posti

Da sempre terreno agricolo, da quando si è costituito l'O.P.P. Pini coltivato dalle persone che erano ricoverate in ospedale, poi divenuto pioppeto, oggi è un bosco-radura con erbe e alberi spontanei (più di 1000).

È rifugio di moltissimi uccelli, ricci e passaggio per volpi e lepri. È assolutamente indispensabile per tutte le attività sociali che ci sono nel parco del Pini, indispensabile per la biodiversità degli orti comunitari e per la scuola di agraria, per gli alberi monumentali che sono nel parco e fanno di tutta l'area - dall'ex O.P.P. Pini al pioppeto - un'area di grande valore paesaggistico, sociale e culturale. Connette noi animali-umani al resto della natura. Connette tutti noi a un corridoio ecologico che, se ci soffermiamo un attimo a riflettere, potrebbe cambiare Milano.

Pensiamo a tutta questa area come un grande rifugio che può essere ricollegato di nuovo dall'interno: passando per la scuola agraria e con passaggi a finestra attraverso il muro che circonda il Pini. Diamo rifugio a volpi e galline, diamo rifugio a yin e yang: uniamo, collaboriamo, camminiamo come una comunità che non si perde nulla durante il proprio muoversi e costruisce una nuova urbanità. Si allarga, riflette, medita e non consuma territorio.

Un parco partecipato può essere un luogo che ci aiuta a essere di nuovo dentro la natura.

Chiamiamo tutti a partecipare alla raccolta di idee:
 gli artisti delle comunità psichiatriche che usufruiscono di questo luogo, gli studenti dell'agrario e non solo, paesaggisti, agronomi, architetti, disegnatori, bambini, artisti e abitanti del territorio che ben conoscono il luogo, chi lotta per una città a misura del vivente e quindi non si sente "al di sopra" degli altri essere viventi.

**Fermiamo il cemento.
 Seminiamo una nuova urbanità!**

Fig 24

All this process was concretized in the project "ecological corridor to the North Park" of the Participatory Budget of the Municipality of Milan, voted online by the citizens of Milan, which aims to create a "green arch" by arranging the abandoned areas of the Bruzzano, Comasina, Affori and Bovisasca districts and creating a large naturalistic space within the Milanese urban fabric, with a required budget of € 500,000.

Il nuovo parco partecipato a Milano

Pini Oltre il Pioppeto

...dall'incrocio tra via Bovisasca e via Assietta, attraversare i giardini, andare oltre... entrare nel bosco...

centro commerciale Martesapi
 via Bovisasca
 via Litta Modignani
 Istituto V. Pagola
 Hotel
 via Bovisasca
 MM5 Affori FN Linea gialla
 Affori FN stazione
 O.P. Paola Pini
 *Giardino dagli amici
 via Assietta
 *Quarta Village
 Quartoggio FN stazione
 centro commerciale Conrad

seminatori di urbanità
 seminatori di urbanità@gmail.com • parcipop.org

Fig. 25



Fig.26

Two issues are interesting in this case: the ways in which the administration makes choices on the ground and the emerging capacities of the third sector and citizens to take part in decisions about the city. In the case just described the complete difference between the way of looking at the area of the former O.P. Pini, coming from the Public Administrations that own the area, and that of the local community is evident. According to Bricocoli and Coppola²²³, the plurality of behaviors and philosophies that have guided the action of public institutions in this affair, leads us to think of a notion of "public" in the plural. In addition, the rather limited role of the town planning regulation can be observed. As the Councillor for Urban Planning De Cesaris had repeatedly reiterated in this affair, "it is not urban planning that can come into play, it is not an urban project that we must face. Rather, we have a multiplicity of projects to which we must give visibility. Only then, only later, with the pressure of many, can we imagine that an urban variant proceeds to found, consolidate, strengthen and guarantee the permanence of new uses over time".

However, this gap has taken on weight only when the local community has assumed the necessary "strength", through the various actions carried out by the group of "Seminatori di Urbanità", in questioning the decisions taken by the public administrations. Initiatives such as those of the "POP" Park highlight the emergence by the local community, composed of citizens, associations and social enterprises, of the ability to manage resources of different kinds and therefore build moments of exchange at the neighborhood level and with local institutions. Therefore, this process testifies to the development of "performative citizenship" in the sense of the Foundational Economy, as it has been the basis for the development of new citizenship practices that revolve around the defense and management of local commons²²⁴

According to Barbera²²⁵ there is a solid body of work that shows that self-organizing groups and communities are able to manage common resources at the local level²²⁶. According to Ostrom²²⁷, the complex relationships between global commons and social and environmental

²²³ Massimo Bricocoli and Alessandro Coppola: Off Limits. The réemploi of a large function UrbaineThe Cas de l'ancien kindergarten psychiatrique Paolo Pini à Milan, April 2013: in Bricocoli M., Savoldi P. (2013), Urban planning de Projet En chantier_projets Urbains Sous Observation, DASTU research report for Plan Urban planning Construction Architecture, Paris, pag.15

²²⁴ Barbera, F., Negri, N. and Salento, A. (2018) 'From individual choice to collective voice, foundational economy, local commons and citizenship', *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia*, 59(2):371-397.

²²⁵ Barbera F, Jones IR. The Foundational Economy and Citizenship: Comparative Perspectives on Civil Repair. Bristol: Policy Press; 2022.

²²⁶ Araral, E. (2014) 'Ostrom, Hardin and the commons: A critical appreciation and a revisionist view', *Environmental Science & Policy*, 36: 11-23.

²²⁷ Ostrom, E. (2010) 'Polycentric systems for coping with collective action and global environmental change', *Global Environmental Change: Human and Policy Dimensions*, 20(4): 550-7.

sustainability require multi-level and polycentric solutions as happened in the story of the POP Park.

In this light, the Foundational Economy can be the basis for the development of new citizenship practices that revolve around the defense and management of local commons. These authors²²⁸ envision ways to create spaces for sharing and cooperation that spring from a new democratic citizen they call "the ordinary citizen," where networked identities and alliances defend common resources. They frame local commons within the fundamental economy as a civic infrastructure that serves daily domestic needs through networks and branches among populations. Moreover, they draw a connection between local commons and citizenship in the Durkheimian sense, in terms of "effervescent rites", which enact collective action capacities, such as that which occurred with the POP Park affair, and have positive feedback loops linking the demands of everyday life to conceptions of an equitable society.

5.4 Olinda and Culture

Culture appears to be a crucial point to be analyzed also because it is one of the main frames of Olinda. Serena Vicari²²⁹ states that there are several reasons that give culture an important role in the regeneration process. A first reason is that culture is today an economic fact of very significant dimensions and cultural production is largely localized in cities. Furthermore, cities are the privileged places of cultural consumption which has increasingly grown. Another reason is that culture offers the city a powerful contribution to its image, so that they are built e.g. museums that function as an attraction for investors and tourists but which at the same time could also be enjoyed by the resident population.²³⁰ The successful outcome of this process is given the name of Guggenheim effect. Another reason lies in the potential of culture as a factor of social integration and expression of groups and communities. It is a function that is recognized growing importance in correspondence with the intensification of the processes of individualization, the loosening of traditional social ties and the sense of belonging to a community and the difficulties of communication and mutual recognition of the multiple identities that make up the mosaic. urban.

Cultural regeneration was split by Evans²³¹ in 3 subtypes:

1. Culture led regeneration: the regeneration of an area is driven by a high-profile cultural institution, such as a new museum or a leisure facility such as the Genoa Aquarium.

²²⁸ Barbera, F., Negri, N. and Salento, A. (2018) 'From individual choice to collective voice, foundational economy, local commons and citizenship', *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia*, 59(2):371-397.

²²⁹ Serena Vicari Haddock, Frank Moulaert (a cura di). *Rigenerare la città. Pratiche di innovazione sociale nelle città europee*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2009 capitolo I pp.

²³⁰ Serena Vicari Haddock, Frank Moulaert (a cura di). *Rigenerare la città. Pratiche di innovazione sociale nelle città europee*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2009 capitolo I pp.30

²³¹ Evans G. Measure for measure: Evaluating the evidence of culture's contribution to regeneration, in «Urban Studies», 42, 5-6, pp. 1-25 2005

2. Cultural regeneration: in this model, the promotion of cultural activity is the subject of a strategy for certain urban areas, often including other initiatives of an environmental, social and economic nature. This is how the districts of cultural production and consumption are born. At the heart of this model is a greater focus on culture producers and local art communities.

3. Culture and regeneration: here cultural policy is not integrated into strategic planning, nor is it promoted or has a recognized role in the regeneration process. The culture here is connected to the local symbolic and identity heritage as well as in interventions for the improvement of the quality of the environments of the daily life of the neighborhoods or cultural initiatives connected to particular communities aimed at developing social inclusion.

"As regards the experiences of cultural regeneration policies in general, we have a very large literature describing their positive effects on the city, but on closer inspection the evidence of this success in economic, social and environmental terms is all other than solid"²³².

Culture-led regeneration projects have accelerated the fragmentation process instead of opposing it; the interventions concentrated in one area necessarily led to the penalization of other areas of the city which were less attractive for the private investor, contributing to the consolidation of "islands" of wealth opposed to vast spaces of physical degradation and social marginalization. "Alongside the great temples for culture, in areas previously abandoned and of no interest to investors, prestigious residential districts were born," fragments of the city "which attracted new inhabitants, mainly high-income young people employed in advanced sectors"²³³

"Culture-led regeneration: We must first of all note that some of these projects have proved to be not economically sustainable over time as they generate income lower than what is required for their survival. Although failures are still less systematically analyzed than successes, they question the supposed replicability in every city of cultural regeneration programs of this type; bankruptcies even in major metropolitan areas"²³⁴

"The lack of involvement of the communities concerned appears particularly problematic for cultural policy"²³⁵ and moreover "To this is added the fact that, even for culture-led regeneration, the objective of a substantial increase in employment is not achieved, at least in terms adequate to justify the extent of investment in these policies. In fact, in terms of employment, the effects of this type of regeneration programs have turned out to be quite modest in quantity and quality, since they are generated mainly in the hotel and restaurant sector, with the growth of what has been called the cappuccino economy²³⁶, where they prevail. low-income, part-time and unsecured jobs.

"The evaluation of second and third types of cultural regeneration programs (the models of cultural regeneration and culture and regeneration) is more complex and difficult, because, contrary to the transformations in the physical fabric of the city and those in its economy, the measurement of which there are consolidated sets of "hard" indicators, cultural activities affect some aspects of the quality of life of the city and its level of social integration, which can only be captured by indirect, "soft" measures, dependent on the context and therefore ineffective from the point of view of comparative evaluations of "what works and where" with respect to the social integration objectives of these regeneration policies. "

²³² Serena Vicari Haddock, Frank Moulaert (a cura di). *Rigenerare la città. Pratiche di innovazione sociale nelle città europee*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2009 Pag. 42

²³³ Serena Vicari Haddock, Frank Moulaert (a cura di). *Rigenerare la città. Pratiche di innovazione sociale nelle città europee*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2009 Pag. 42

²³⁴ Serena Vicari Haddock, Frank Moulaert (a cura di). *Rigenerare la città. Pratiche di innovazione sociale nelle città europee*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2009 Pag. 42

²³⁵ Jacobs J. *Dark age ahead*, New York, Random House. 2004

²³⁶ Mooney G. *Cultural policy as urban transformation? Critical reflections on Glasgow, European city of culture 1990*, in «Local Economy», 19, 4, pp. 327-340. 2004

"The main thrust is towards a « high » culture, rather than towards different cultures, towards passive consumption, rather than widespread production, towards elite tourism compared to residents. In most cases, the consequence is that the involvement of local communities and the cultural representations they have of the places where they live are the missing elements in the process. But the lack of participation and involvement of local communities places severe limits on the process of cultural regeneration. In fact, many experiences show that the culture of a community, the cultural practices that express daily life can be a source of regeneration - in their sense of identity, in the exercise of citizenship rights,

"We have seen how the majority of the urban regeneration policies analyzed have missed the two general objectives of urban policy: stimulating economic growth and achieving equity and social integration."

"Urban regeneration policies often prove ineffective in countering the reproduction of those same forms of exclusion. On the one hand, the call to participation often remains rhetorical, an objective that must be declared in words but from which adequate actions and strategies do not follow. On the other hand, the lack of transparency, accountability and legitimacy of many governance practices are not thematized as a problem, and, consequently, there is no room for innovative ways of democratic anchoring of governance networks that can effectively offer wide potential for activation. and participation.

Finally, regeneration policies favor a narrow vision of culture, whose role is expressed in nourishing the production of cultural industries or in favoring the consumption of its various forms. Instead, the call to a broader definition of the concept of development necessarily calls into question a conception of the cultural and symbolic sphere that contains a plurality of cultures and ways of life. In the contemporary city central components of this concept are the recognition of the diversity of cultural orientations and the promotion of coexistence in mutual respect. "

Faced with these criticisms, we must ask ourselves what the right type of culture can be to carry out urban regeneration and Social Innovation

For Olinda, culture is a vector of regeneration and must be investigated above all with respect to Appadurai's concept of "capacity to aspire"²³⁷. This concept refers to the ability that individuals have to make connections between what they are and what they could be, between their current life and the possibility of accessing a different, better life. It is not a question of an equally distributed capacity: some are immediately accustomed to thinking of their life - of poverty, exclusion, deprivation - as an inevitable destiny; and immediately they learn their inability to be other than what they are, to consider themselves as undeserving, incompetent, incapable. Appadurai has worked in India with associations of "homeless" and poor who carry out the humblest activities for a living, dealing with the shit of others. And she saw the way a "politics of shit" can be built, expression of one's judgment not only in the form of a protest but also of a proposal to be taken into account in the decision-making process. Ability to aspire and voice, Appadurai tells us, reinforce each other.

For example, the non-school Theater Workshop, organized by the Olinda Culture sector, aimed at teenagers has precisely this purpose. This theater workshop was created in 1991 by the Teatro delle Albe in Ravenna as an educational experience aimed at adolescents, in connection with local and school associations and institutions. The meeting with Olinda takes place in 2008 and produces interesting effects precisely with respect to the "capacity to aspire". Reading classic theater texts and then reinterpreting them, adapting them to their own life experiences has the purpose of giving the possibility that the most marginalized and excluded young people can give positive narratives and at the same time have faith in the future in order to aspire to a

²³⁷ Appadurai A. Il futuro come fatto culturale, 2014 Raffaello Cortina; Appadurai A. Le aspirazioni nutrono la democrazia, 2011 Et Al Edizioni

job, to a degree and so on. In this way they also have an orientation ability “the ability to have aspirations is an orientation ability. In each society, the most privileged, in order to explore the future more frequently and realistically and share that knowledge, have simply used the map of that society's norms more regularly than their weaker and poorer neighbors. The poorest members, precisely because they lack the opportunity to practice the use of this orientation capacity (since their conditions allow both few experiments and less ease of imagining alternative futures), have a more fragile horizon of expectations ” *they simply used that society's map of norms more regularly than their weaker and poorer neighbors. The poorest members, precisely because they lack the opportunity to practice the use of this orientation capacity (since their conditions allow both few experiments and less ease of imagining alternative futures), have a more fragile horizon of expectations*”²³⁸ which can allow him to get out of conditions of poverty or marginality. Among other things, even if the non-school is also attended by young people from the Manzoni classical high school in Milan, most of them are young migrants, therefore not citizens, who in the current socio-political conditions could be destined to become invisible, the men in the walls of which Petrillo speaks²³⁹. The same young migrants who, after having done the non-school theater workshop, decide to do an internship in Olinda's restaurant and maybe then find a job. In this sense, the path that Jahouar has made is particularly interesting, starting from the non-school theater laboratory, as he told me in the interview: *“I'm from Melegnano and I was doing theater in an after-school school in Melegnano ... one of the guides from the non-school, Monica Barbato who knew Alessandro Argnani delle Albe who ran the non-school laboratory in Olinda, finished the Melegnano workshop, told me let's go to Milan to not school ... it was summer 2011 ... I was in the first year of high school ... I was 14/15 years old ... and I went to non-school until 2017 ... actually 2018 and the last year I did the guide ... in the meantime I graduated as a technician of business services ... then in 2018 I started working ... of the non-school I liked the fact that we worked with the kids in a certain way and that it was a theater workshop ... but we didn't aim at the theater ... we aimed at playing together... to be with other kids in different ways... there were kids of different ages and backgrounds”* From these first words a characteristic of the non-school is highlighted, which is that of being together, always doing theater, but in a different way, for example. from the after-school theater that Jahouar attended in Melegnano, where as Jahouar and Monica Barbato himself will tell me, the boys were all children of migrants and with some problems. On the other hand, the non-school is also frequented by the students of the Manzoni classical high school in Milan. Furthermore, as other young people will confirm in the interviews, in the non-school, like Juan and Giulia, the theatrical texts were reinterpreted by the children adapting them to their reality and this involved them in a particular way. Jahouar also continues the story of his life: *“before taking the diploma in fourth grade I came to do a school internship in the administration of Olinda and in the meantime I gave, sometimes, even a hand to the Jodok at lunch, so as not to stay in administration ... then at high school I was rejected and I repeated the year ... Alba the manager of Jodok pushed me to study to take the maturity the following year ... And then I enrolled in university... I didn't know what to do... I enrolled in the Faculty of Sociology but after a year I left... in 2014 I also participated as one of the leading actors in Mirko Locatelli's film “Foreign bodies” always through Olinda and non-school, then the path of actor did not interest me that much ... in 2017 I got a part-time contract with Olinda for the restaurant in Cascina Triulza”*. Jahouar currently has a full-time contract as manager of the BistrOlinda at the Elfo Puccini Theater and seems to have found his own stability. Of his path it is important to note how he, coming from the suburban belt of Milan, is attracted by the system of opportunities that Olinda offers him and that he does not find, together, in other contexts. The extreme closeness and connection

²³⁸ Appadurai A. Il futuro come fatto culturale, 2014 Raffaello Cortina, Milano pag. 259

²³⁹ Petrillo A. La Periferia nuova. Disuguaglianza, spazi, città. Franco Angeli 2018

between training opportunities, culture, being in the company of others (other than him) and job opportunities seems to be the right solution, which allows him to experiment over time, in different roles and to increase his capacity to aspire. Therefore it is the presence of this system of opportunities and above all the close connection between culture and job placement that can produce effects of increasing the "capacity to aspire". So it is the presence of this system of opportunities and above all the close connection between culture and job placement that can produce effects of increasing "capacity to aspire". Jahouar's path can be defined as a path of "performative citizenship" that is gradually making him learn the possibilities and rights he could have

Another interesting path, always starting from non-school, is the one made by Ilaria: *"I started in 2014 ... it was my last year in high school ... I did the Manzoni classical high school ... our teacher insisted a lot that we participate in the non-school ... then my other friends signed up and ... then also the fact that I both have always been very shy ... and the last year in particular was as if I felt the need to challenge my shyness, so I said oh well this is the perfect opportunity. At the beginning the non-school was done inside the high school ... then we went to Comasina for the first time and I remember that ... we saw the others as all strange ... then we were told that there were girls from the community, so all the other girls for us were girls from the community .. the things that struck me about this experience? then one of the plots ... the thing that struck me more and more are these absurd friendships that were created these absurd plots of people who were completely at the antipodes, who then got along with them and managed to create friendships the second is that it was a harmonious place and third the artistic quality.*" From here emerges the juxtaposition between different worlds and cultures that the non-school theater laboratory carries out. The "intertwining" is the essential point as they generate new relationships between young people who would have been very unlikely to be together. In fact, Ilaria always says *"... at the first meeting ... I remember ... the foreign kids just told us: go back to the classical high school ... and then in the end instead we all went to get the kebab ... or they came to celebrate with us in the high school ... or Juan was sleeping in Ludovico's house ... and then the foreign kids and those from the Communities went to the house of this high school friend of mine, who was out of school ... who has a huge house on two floors they were in the center of Milan and were shocked"* The invitation to come home from the kids of the classic to the other kids testifies to how the non-school functions as a generator of mixité and a rapprochement between different worlds and of rapprochement between different worlds and therefore also as an exchange of identification services (marking services) in the sense indicated by the anthropologist Mary Douglas²⁴⁰ that can lead to a "recognition" in the sense indicated by Honneth²⁴¹.

Ilaria herself met her current boyfriend, Fode Souare, a boy from Guinea, who lived in a Community of Lambrate, at the non-school she attended for three years and as he says *"... before I was right inside a hole, I was very ashamed thanks to the theater now I'm no longer ashamed ... I know the language... I know several people... the second year we did Romeo and Juliet... because inside the group I was the only one who was engaged... and Juliet was therefore Ilaria"*. The non-school thus gives the opportunity to build new forms of sociality where interpersonal relationships are defined, confirmed and transformed day by day. And where you can value differences, live them as an opportunity for mutual enrichment rather than as a problem. The meeting between the two guys in the interview has produced generative effects first of all on Fode Souare, because as he will tell me in the interview, it is spurring him in his aspirations, that is, to seek a future job as a chef. On the other hand, it has also produced generative effects on Ilaria who tells me: *"The non-school has given me skills for work ... I now work in an Italian school for foreigners, Asnada... and at the same time I attend psychology... At Non Scuola you met*

²⁴⁰ M. Douglas, B. Isherwood, Il mondo delle cose. Oggetti, valori, consumi, tr. it. il Mulino, Bologna 1984, pp.83

²⁴¹ Honneth A. Riconoscimento: Storia Di Un'idea Europea. Milano: Feltrinelli; 2019.

people from all over the world with different cultural backgrounds... even second-generation boys... coming from a classical high school in the center of Milan, I have never known diversity". Also, Fode Souare tells me "... Since last year I started traveling the world to go to work.... in Italy... abroad... in Mykonos... I met several starred chefs who call me to help them... the most important chefs of Puglia. . .the most important chef in Naples, Carmine Faraone who travels all over the world, three Michelin stars ... That's how it started... I had these contacts calling me to go and help them... I want to become a chef... I would like to open a restaurant both in Italy and in Guinea for my cooking creations make a theater in Guinea for children that I would like to call Olinda because it helped me a lot ... " And what surprises me is this strong positive imaginative projection on his future that is also common to the other interviews done. In fact, Giulia tells me about her aspiration in the creation of a social promotion association in Novate Milanese, "Point of Youth", which wants to try to include young people through culture; Ludovico and Juan of their cultural aspirations, not only in the theater; Lucia tells me about her aspirations to work in the organization of cultural events and tells me "In 2016 I started working at Olinda. I also started writing projects... What convinced me to stay? I was convinced by the planning... as a protagonist".

All aspirations that can refer to a desire for "cultural citizenship"²⁴² which according to Leccardi²⁴³ represents a form of youth civic engagement of growing strategic importance, where citizenship is also defined in terms of the right of access to the production, distribution and consumption of cultural goods. We have already seen how this desire for "cultural citizenship" is also the basis of Olinda's collective enterprise, but also in the case of young people it joins the desire for job capability. Fode Souare not only talks to me about cultural aspirations but also about other aspirations related to the activity of chef and we have seen how Jahouar's path combines cultural aspirations with work aspirations that allow him to have an income and remain independent from the family of origin. So Olinda's system of opportunities for young people makes "cultural citizenship" a bridge for other forms of citizenship, and allows them to try to plan the future. What the interviews highlight is that it is a question of imagining the future in projects that go on over time, in contrast to the description of today's young people as anchored in an "absolute present"²⁴⁴ or "extended present"²⁴⁵.

that is, that temporal space that borders the present and that acquires new value with the growth of temporal acceleration, favored in turn by the speed of technological times and the need for flexibility that is their corollary. In this perspective, no longer the future but the nearest present, that period of time short enough not to escape human and social domination, but also sufficiently large to allow some form of projection into the future would become the new time of action.

In this scenario, Leccardi's²⁴⁶ identification with a set of socially regulated stages that lead progressively towards the adult world is lost, because the very idea of project is lost, as a form of selection, subjectively constructed, among the multiple 'virtual futures' available, capable of distilling from the desires that substantiate them, achievable objectives.

The obligation to 'individualize' biographies – in search of the most suitable biographical solutions to resolve the contradictions of the moment – characterizes, as a consequence, the historical phase in which we live. The decisive transformation, however, consists in the loss of the possibility of anchoring the experiences that young people have in the world of social and

242 Isin, E.F. and Wood, P.K. 1999. *Citizenship & Identity*. London: Sage.

243 Leccardi C. *Youth Cultures in the New Century: Cultural Citizenship and Cosmopolitanism in Feixa C*, Leccardi C, Nilan P, eds. *Youth, Space and Time: Agoras and Chronotopes in the Global City*. Leiden: Brill; 2016. doi:10.1163/9789004324589. PAg. 120

244 Heller, A. 1999. *A Theory of Modernity*. Oxford: Blackwell

245 Nowotny, H. 1994. *Time: the Modern and Postmodern Experience*. Cambridge: Polity Press; Leccardi, C. 2012. "Young People's Representations of the Future and the Acceleration of Time. A Generational Approach." *Diskurs Kindheits- und Jugendforschung* 7: 59-73.

246 Leccardi C. *Ridefinizione del futuro e nuove individualità giovanili*. *Società degli individui* (la). 2006;25(25). Pag.91

political institutions. At the center of this crisis, for young people, there is therefore the disconnection between life trajectories, social roles and links with the universe of institutions capable of giving stable form to identity. Existential autonomy dissociates itself from the acquisition of social and economic independence. Despite this, according to Leccardi there are some young people who adopt the "strategy of indeterminacy", that is, the growing ability of young people with greater reflective resources to read the uncertainty of the future as a multiplication of virtual possibilities, and the unpredictability that is associated with the future as an additional potential instead of as a limit of action. However, it has scarce social and cultural resources and seems to suffer above all the loss of the progressive future and the traditional planning of early modernity. To put it in Appadurai's terms²⁴⁷, the richest can count on a more diverse set of experiences, know their desires and aspirations and have the necessary means to achieve them. They are better able to navigate the future because they have a "cultural map" within which to locate their aspirations. In contrast, the poor move within a narrower horizon and are less able to maintain control over their needs, to produce narratives through which a set of goods and services are related to wider social contexts and systems of norms and beliefs.

For these young people, the future is out of control, it can only be eliminated, erased to make way for a present devoid of charm. In their case, as Castel said, we are faced with a form of individualism "by default": here the individual does not possess the necessary supports to build his own autonomy, and is crushed on an identity without temporal depth.²⁴⁸

Olinda's system of opportunities, on the other hand, provides those with scarce social and cultural resources with adequate support to begin to imagine and glimpse possible futures. Appadurai contributes to further developing the role of imagination in the contemporary global scenario. Not only that, it is understood that in order to imagine competences and abilities are needed and that they are unequally distributed among the different groups of a society. -posing what might be called the question of the "ownership of the means of imagining" - but strongly emphasizes that the ability to imagine how it is today, in a context of complex global interconnections, a peculiar organized social practice, capable of creating or inhibiting specific forms of action: "*The image, the imagined, the imaginary-these are all terms that direct us to something critical and new in global cultural processes: the imagination as a social practice. No longer mere fantasy (opium for the masses whose real work is elsewhere), no longer simple escape (from a world defined principally by more concrete purposes and structures), no longer elite pastime (thus not relevant to the lives of ordinary people), and no longer mere contemplation (irrelevant for new forms of desire and subjectivity), the imagination has become an organized field of social practices, a form of work (in the sense of both labor and culturally organized practice), and a form of negotiation between sites of agency (individuals) and globally defined fields of possibility..... The imagination is now central to all forms of agency, is itself a social fact, and is the key component of the new global order.*"²⁴⁹

The field of imagination, a very "field", made up of powers, accredited figures²⁵⁰, its own rules; a relatively autonomous social world, becomes the place in which a varied repertoire of "soft lives" is produced which become plausible models of "real lives".

Interviews with young people participating in the non-school can see the connexions between image and action: how what is imagined intervenes in keeping or inhibiting specific forms of action. In this case, it is useful to distinguish between images in action - understanding as what one can think and the context in which one thinks - and await-what one may want, including the impulse action for the sake of achievement. Aspiration is the "political" dimension of the

²⁴⁷ Appadurai, A. *Le aspirazioni nutrono la democrazia* (a cura di O. De Leonardis) Milano, et al./edizioni. 2011

²⁴⁸ R. Castel, *Les Métamorphoses de la question social: Une chronique du salariat*, Fayard, Paris 1996.

²⁴⁹ Appadurai A. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press; 1996. pp.31

²⁵⁰ Bourdieu, P. *Sul concetto di campo in sociologia*, Armando, Rome, 2010

imagination: a strategy of action oriented towards the definition of common rules, public space and shared reality. If the imaginary constitutes the future-oriented cultural dimension, the aspiration can be seen as the political dimension, as it is, through public practices with normative purposes to build the imagined future. The ability to aspire can therefore be defined as the ability to transform the social imaginary into political action, to collectively pursue what is considered to be a "good life.": «*aspirations to the good life tend to quickly dissolve into more densely local ideas about marriage, work, leisure, convenience, respectability, friendship, health, and virtue*». ²⁵¹

The ability to aspire from these interviews does not appear to be a prerequisite for interaction. Rather, the interviews bring to the fore the practices through which "capacity to aspire" is produced. Appadurai refers in particular to ritualized social performances, that is, to generative practices of "new ways of feeling and living together" that change the terms of recognition or, as is clear from the interview with Ilaria and Fode Souare.

According to Appadurai and other scholars²⁵² who have studied his thought, it is in these situations that the ability to aspire can be activated, activating a change that involves the collective and normative context in which action and imagination take shape. From this point of view, the agency's production has a collective dimension. Capacities, Appadurai argues, are never isolated and are always part of local sets of values, ends, means. Imagination itself is "a collective, social fact", a property of the collective and not just an individual faculty. Imagination, according to Appadurai, is a fundamental engine of collective mobilization²⁵³ and the escape from situations of poverty is the result of a context of interactions to which visions of the future, agency, voice are built simultaneously.

The peculiarity of imagination and the ability to aspire consists in highlighting the importance of dimension and with the letter, of sharing and of meanings. Imagination and aspiration to "think together" are the ability to think otherwise, to find alternatives to what exists. Young people who participate in non-school and who then eventually take part in work capability paths in the cooperative develop this ability to imagine and aspire together collectively in the context of a collective enterprise that takes place locally. Many studies on young people show that they are immersed in a "present" that becomes a viscous trap in which the potential to "become" individual and collective is dispersed. To emerge from the "present" and one must know how to transform one's desire for a better life into what Appadurai calls an aspiration, namely: "*voice must be expressed in terms of actions and performances which have local cultural force*". ²⁵⁴

Appadurai links the construction of the sense of the future to a complex cultural capacity that flourishes and survives only if it can be practiced, used repeatedly and explored through hypotheses or disputes. This capacity, distributed unequally between rich and poor, allows the map of norms to be realistically used to explore the future to build up reserves of alternative futures to draw on if the path chosen to realize one's desires proves impracticable, to the test of experimentation. Here, according to Rampazi, there is a ²⁵⁵ perspective that opens up to the future without however forcing it into opposition to an abstract image of a life project marked by a linear sequence of predictable, cumulative, irreversible stages typical of the idea of a project that has become established. in modern Western thought. Appadurai leads rather to

²⁵¹ Appadurai A., " *The Capacity to Aspire: Culture and the Terms of Recognition*" in Rao V, Walton M. *Culture and Public Action*. Stanford Calif.: Stanford University Press; 2004.

²⁵² Bifulco L. Melinda e Melinda in De Leonardis, Ota, Deriu, Marco. *Il Futuro Nel Quotidiano. Studi Sociologici Sulla Capacità Di Aspirare*. Egea; 2013. Pag.156

²⁵³ Appadurai A. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press; 1996

²⁵⁴ Appadurai A., " *The Capacity to Aspire: Culture and the Terms of Recognition*" in Rao V, Walton M. *Culture and Public Action*. Stanford Calif.: Stanford University Press; 2004. pp.67

²⁵⁵ Rampazi, M. Una questione di rispetto. La costruzione del futuro nell'esperienza dei giovani in De Leonardis, Ota, Deriu, Marco. *Il Futuro nel quotidiano. Studi sociologici sulla capacità di aspirare*. Egea editore; 2013. pp 85

think of a planning in progress, where the ability of individuals to navigate within a map full of nodes and passages translates both into successive strategic adjustments of action, and into a broader process of cultural change thanks to the production of narratives, through which a set of goods and services is related to wider social contexts. The links between personal strategies of action and production of narratives highlights a crucial aspect of this specific way of projecting oneself into the future: aspirations, while linked to the ability of individuals to navigate, are never simply individual. According to Mandich, in ²⁵⁶ the field of research on the condition of young people, there is agreement on the need to recognize that the future cannot be conceived, as in modern and neoliberal societies, as an exclusively individual matter. The ability to aspire is, for the most part, the ability to participate in the production of collective discourses about the future.

Olinda uses culture to create "capacity to aspire", not only in young people but also in the adult inhabitants of the suburbs surrounding the former Paolo Pini Psychiatric Hospital, as those who live today in Comasina consider Pini as a resource. As Bricocoli and Coppola say "The affirmation, the accreditation of the cultural program, of reuse, advanced by Olinda is now consolidated and the clientele that turns to the services offered is today very varied and international, but what seems to mark a new phase in the evolution of the projects is precisely a progressive and rapid adhesion by local subjects active in the immediate context. In a focus group held at their headquarters, president and representatives of the Comasina District Committee, described the Pini area as an important cultural park, full of activities of city importance: "it is *not the Comasina park, it is the park of the whole city, people from all over come to attend it. Of course, for us it is a close and important presence, but it is to the whole city that it is addressed*". Together with a rather unusual proactive attitude compared to the generally demanding tones of many neighborhood committees, the discussion highlighted how today the negative image that the asylum had deposited on the surroundings is outdated. Although it was already a term of reference for the neighborhood, today the proximity to the former Pini has become a sign of positive and qualifying distinction".²⁵⁷ It could perhaps be said that the inhabitants of Comasina receive "marking services" in the sense indicated by the anthropologist Mary Douglas²⁵⁸ when citizens from all over come to attend Olinda to attend cultural performances, have lunch and dinner at the Jodok Restaurant and stay at Ostello Olinda.

What we have described also comes close to other models that focus on capacity to aspire in the field of culture, learning and innovation. For example. The concept of Platform Spaces²⁵⁹: Platform Spaces are cultural and creative places where social innovation plays a key role in community engagement activities, as well as generating horizontal/collaborative interactions between different stakeholders and their interests, aligning with territorial development goals. The four aspects that define Platform Spaces are at the intersection of three topics:

- the governance and management of cultural heritage and spaces;
- the management of economic activities linked to art, culture and creativity;
- social innovation, the promotion of collaborative and experimental governance schemes to define approaches and objectives for territorial development.

Platform Spaces must actively engage cognitive skills, creativity and community engagement in new ways to respond to marginalization and pursue sustainable development through a

²⁵⁶ Mandich G. Modes of engagement with the future in everyday life. *Time & society*. 2020;29(3):681-703. doi:10.1177/0961463X19883749

²⁵⁷ Massimo Bricocoli and Alessandro Coppola: Off Limits. The réemploi of a large function Urbaine The Cas de l'ancien kindergarten psychiatrique Paolo Pini à Milan, April 2013: in Bricocoli M., Savoldi P. (2013), *Urban planning de Projet En chantier_projets Urbains Sous Observation*, DASTU research report for Plan Urban planning Construction Architecture, Paris.

²⁵⁸ M. Douglas, B. Isherwood, *Il mondo delle cose Oggetti, valori, consumo*, il Mulino, Bologna 1984.

²⁵⁹ Tricarico L, Jones ZM, Daldanise G. Platform spaces: when culture and the arts intersect territorial development and social innovation, a view from the Italian context. *Journal of Urban affairs*. 2022;44(4-5):545-566. doi:10.1080/07352166.2020.1808007; Fulghesu F, Missikoff C, Tricarico L. Spunti per un'agenda territoriale su educazione e cultura: contesti di apprendimento inclusivi e pratiche di innovazione sociale *Archivio di studi Urbani e Regionali*. 2022; Liii(133):130-154. doi:10.3280/ASUR2022-133006 6

capacitation approach. These capacities are complex components of a collective identity that a community can develop through learning models and approaches for the co-creation of territorial development strategies.

In this vision, the concept of "learning context" developed by Tricarico and others is central: according to these authors this concept is linked to the ability of individuals belonging to a local community to act consciously and directly in relation to the territorial context in which they live. The organizations that support and operate in these new places of learning adopt co-creation techniques to give shape to opportunities for vision and collective awareness of the future, investing in the skills necessary to design the latter so that it can respond to perceived challenges and problems by enhancing their own resources and vocations, preserving the free and democratic expression of those who live there.²⁶⁰

5.5 Special Public Private Partnership

But culture is also used by Olinda in a more strategic way to obtain the development effects of the Olinda project and of "collaborative governance" with institutions, above all the health ones. As Thomas Emmenegger, president of "La Fabbrica di Olinda" tells me: *"who has allowed us to develop has always been culture, even if from the point of view of the volume of activity and turnover it was never that of the majority ... who allowed us to innovate, make investments, think about the future, launching new ideas have always been tools linked to culture"* So the calls of the Cariplo Foundation that financed Olinda for several years are for the most part calls linked to culture. Furthermore, the relationship with the various public properties of the former OP Paolo Pini has always been very difficult. Niguarda Hospital, Local Health Authority (currently called the Milan Health Protection Agency) and the Province of Milan (currently called the Metropolitan City of Milan) are the public owners of the area. Often in conflict with each other for the different spaces of the former OP, only in certain years did they regularize their relationship with Olinda, as did the Province of Milan in the years in which it was the owner of the buildings. As Thomas Emmenegger tells me: *"still in the field of culture ... a new tool was born from the ministry of culture to enhance the cultural heritage of Italy's cultural properties ... the theme there is that Italy One of the richest countries from the point of view of public cultural heritage but also one of the most disastrous ... therefore the ministry of culture has proposed you to make public cultural assets available ... protected and / or abandoned free of charge in exchange for the valorisation of these objects ... that is, I give you a protected property you me you restructure it and I make you 1 contract for 25 years and I don't ask you for anything in return ... This was a very, very strong paradigm shift ... the only area where it was possible to use public assets without having to pay were assets confiscated from organized crime ... there the law on confiscated assets provides that public administrations can make contracts with non-profit organizations free of charge ... the only limitation of this law on confiscated assets is that the duration of these contracts are only 6 + 6*

²⁶⁰ Fulghesu F, Missikoff C, Tricarico L. Spunti per un'agenda territoriale su educazione e cultura: contesti di apprendimento inclusivi e pratiche di innovazione sociale Archivio di studi Urbani e Regionali. 2022; Liii(133):130-154. doi:10.3280/ASUR2022-133006

years of contract and you have a limited investment time ... this is what happens in Lecco, at our pizzeria, where after the first six years we renewed for another six and there in theory the municipality should make a new call, after another six years... and also in the case of the trotter we have 17-year contracts finished these 17 years in theory even there again the public administration should make a new call....instead this instrument of the special public / private partnership, as it is called, provides for much longer durations, 25 years renewable for another 25 years ... but they are all projects related to real estate and all sides of culture and we were lucky, in the sense that we have always aimed with respect to the theater to respect the aspects of protection from the point of view of the Superintendence for which we can now say to the Niguarda, do you want your Paolo Pini heritage to be protected, we have given a strong cultural connotation for which it is fully part of the Ministry of Culture's device... when we made this proposal to our great surprise we found the hospital management willing to take this aspect into consideration. The problem was that even if the general manager, the hospital management were in favor, it was still something that was never done ... by the region or by a hospital ... a contract of this type, so Niguarda didn't feel like it. to decide ... they said but in order to move forward we must have permission from the region ... which means both the councilor for Welfare and the director general of the region had to give a political and technical response ... so the Niguarda management wrote in the region to Letizia Moratti ... exposing the project, asking if they could ... just before Christmas the answer came: Lombardy Region says ok, go ahead "hospital company ... a contract of this type, so Niguarda didn't feel like deciding ... they said, but in order to move forward we must have permission from the region ... which means both the councilor for welfare and the director general of the region had to give a political and technical response ... so the Niguarda management wrote to Letizia Moratti in the region ... exposing the project, asking if they could ... just before Christmas the answer arrived: Lombardy Region says ok, go ahead "hospital company ... a contract of this type, so Niguarda didn't feel like deciding ... they said, but in order to move forward we must have permission from the region ... which means both the councilor for welfare and the director general of the region had to give a political and technical response ... so the Niguarda management wrote to Letizia Moratti in the region ... exposing the project, asking if they could ... just before Christmas the answer arrived: Lombardy Region says ok, go ahead "councilor for welfare as the general director of the region had to give a political and technical answer ... so the Niguarda management wrote to Letizia Moratti in the region ... exposing the project, asking if they could ... just before Christmas the answer arrived: Lombardy Region says ok , go ahead "councilor for welfare as the general director of the region had to give a political and technical answer ... so the Niguarda management wrote to Letizia Moratti in the region ... exposing the project, asking if they could ... just before Christmas the answer arrived: Lombardy Region says ok , go ahead...the result is that we were able to define a 25-year partnership, renewable at no charge... it's the first time in Italy that Healthcare has done something of this kind... this in my opinion could also be a open track, for other places and I also think to the old asylums... in order to have a tool to be able to program this thing there is also something in there that speaks of the so-called "co-planning", which I put in quotation marks, because we made the proposal to the Hospital Niguarda... and then it was fine with them."

So, culture has functioned as an element of social innovation, as far as "collaborative governance" is concerned, as it has had effects on the highest political level (Moratti's assent to the proposal testifies to this). And it did so through a regulatory instrument, in this case it is "art. 151 Paragraph 3 of Legislative Decree 50/2016", born in the field of cultural heritage care. So today Olinda has a 25 year contract²⁶¹ with A.O. Niguarda, on loan for free use. In this way, culture has linked "collaborative governance" directly to the local, to the needs of the local organization, giving the possibility to create, if this process is fully implemented, a bottom-linked governance to the former PH P.Pini.

²⁶¹ Annex 3

This is also where the time horizon of social innovation initiatives comes into play. So, the time horizon also has a strong impact on the logic of consensus that they try to build around their own action. While the projects carry within them a fundamental flaw, which are in the end, and the time horizon they set themselves does not allow to deal coherently with the problems indicated. They are term-in-law, that is, they allow you to build initiatives, services, forms of relationship that are destined to disappear with the end of the project. They are not sustainable in the long term and have effective reporting constraints so short-term that they do not even allow us to think about their sustainability over time. The contingency forced by the projects displaces medium and long-term investments, in particular for the reuse of public spaces that require expensive structural interventions. It's an analogy with what the Belgian scholars²⁶² of the Foundational Economy argue, namely that different financial logics must be applied that run over longer periods than the periods of rapid return on investment by the private sector.

Vitale²⁶³ quoted a phrase that the president of Olinda repeated on several occasions, in interviews as well as in focus groups, or in the returns of the interim reports of this research: *«We want to make projects that last for a period of thirty years.»*; *«to imagine projects that think together about the different aspects of people's lives, living, working, having rich and plural relationships, we look at the long term»*; *«We do things knowing that they will bear good and even unexpected fruits, but in a lot of time.»*

The very fact of having to combine the three objectives of social innovation (satisfaction of needs, empowerment, transformations of democratic governance methods) poses the problem of the time horizon and prevents us from looking only at a presentist horizon, because social innovation initiatives must articulate different objectives, allocating their resources not so much to distribute them over three sectors of activity, but making sure that the same action pursues the three objectives, that the same action combines three different logics, each of which has its own temporality. People's times never coincide with the times of organizations, nor with the times of policies, and this becomes exasperated and becomes a source of tension (and reflection) where the people in question are particularly fragile and impoverished, and we do not want to contain and care for them but promote their possible autonomy. All this, the specificity of daily action, prevents us from looking only at a precise horizon, crushed on the present, because it poses to the methods of governance the problem of making compromises based on the times of individuals who cannot immediately adapt to the required parameters.²⁶⁴

The strength of social innovation initiatives consists in articulating work with people and work on the ways of governance, which allows to keep open a time horizon also in the medium and long term, and to have a political culture based on continuous and not discrete logics. There are organizations, such as Olinda, that start from working with people, even the most disadvantaged, and from there understand and engage in the transformation of governance mechanisms that require a long time.

The articulation of work with people and work on regulatory mechanisms and governance mechanisms is made more difficult by the problems of legitimacy that always arise for innovative initiatives.

They are constantly seeking consensus, repeatedly trying to gain legitimacy for themselves and the people with whom they are related. But the logic of accreditation and political consensus

²⁶² David Bassens & Sarah De Boeck (red.) DE ESSENTIËLE ECONOMIE Motor voor een sociaal-ecologische transitie, April 2022, ASP publisher

²⁶³ Vitale T. "l'impatto istituzionale dell'innovazione sociale" pp. 190 in Vicari Haddock Serena, Frank Moulaert (a cura di), Rigenerare la città. Pratiche di innovazione sociale nelle città europee, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2009
Doi: 10.1401/9788815144225/c5"

²⁶⁴ Moulaert F. and Scott A.J. (a care of) 1997 Cities, Enterprises and society on the eve of the 21thcentury, London, Pinter.

are increasingly shaped by the local media and respond to criteria of short-term effectiveness and effectiveness: they must "do" and show that they do and succeed at the very moment in which they carry out the action. The results must be simultaneous with the action. In this way, only actions that represent a value in themselves, that are already a product, that are not important for what they produce in the medium to long term, but for what they produce instantly, are rewarded.

In the case of social innovation initiatives we observe a collective actor who a) in order to gain consensus and power mobilizes to support an issue or an issue for which citizens and inhabitants of a neighborhood have not shown spontaneous attention to the dynamics of public opinion; b) to do so it constructs forms of objectivity (a proof of reality) that show (or, even better, demonstrate and prove) the evidence of its action, informing about the criteria of effectiveness and effectiveness of this; c) if the criteria of effectiveness and effectiveness consistent with its main logic of action are unable to find adequate communication tools, it produces ad hoc initiatives that reduce complexity and make its criteria of effectiveness and effectiveness discreet.

From this point of view, social innovation can be defined in a more precise sense, as the result of a process that introduces system discontinuities, modifying, even if only incrementally, the previous modes of governance in one or more sectors.

This conception of social innovation is politically demanding, because it is not limited to considering only the satisfaction of certain needs or the support and promotion of the capacities of individuals and groups, but also requires looking at institutional impacts. To be able to talk about social innovation, it is not enough for an initiative or an organization to be creative on a social level, capable of experimenting with new services by conveying a fairer conception of the political-society relationship and a participatory idea of regulation. There is also a need for a change in the balance of power and a change in governance modes and accountability processes.

In more analytical terms, Vitale²⁶⁵ describes consensus-building for institutional change in four steps, or more precisely four processes, not sequential:

1. The creation of aggregation effects. The initiatives combine heterogeneous resources aimed at opening communication spaces that allow very different actors to relate, to be interested in each other, and each to a common theme; to define roles reciprocally, to then network, coalesce and in some cases assume a repertoire of action and some elements of identity in common
2. The production of a form of representation shall: The initiatives name and define a theme and a stakes, and in doing so produce a direct cognitive effect, based on conventions. In this way they provide a categorization grid. A good part of Olinda's history can be interpreted in this way that, starting from a group of operators rooted in the history of the deinstitutionalization movement, she first organized the "Festa Sogno di Mezza Estate" (which led to a first week-long opening of the gates of the PH P.Pini), then the Festival "Da Vicino Nessuno è Normale" and moments of sociality aimed at the entire metropolitan city to break the isolation of the psychiatric hospital and make visible the problems of psychiatric asylums in Milan, extending their relationships well beyond the restricted policy community of psychiatry.
3. Building alliances with public decision-makers, at multiple levels. SI initiatives to act develop a 'top-down competence', which takes into account the degree to which local government

²⁶⁵ Vitale T. "l'impatto istituzionale dell'innovazione sociale" pp. 190 in Vicari Haddock Serena, Frank Moulaert (a cura di), Rigenerare la città. Pratiche di innovazione sociale nelle città europee, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2009
 Doi: 10.1401/9788815144225/c5"

suppresses or facilitates collective claims. They do it, we call it, by climbing up the scale, bringing with them the network of bottom-up initiatives with which they are connected.

4. The induction of a form of translation acceptable to the public administration. The theme posed by social innovation initiatives is defined in a way that can be treated by the public administration, problematizing it and reducing it within a vocabulary recognizable by pre-existing political, technical and administrative codes. This is the case of Olinda's contract with the Niguarda Hospital where the use of the regulatory instrument art. 151 Paragraph 3 of Legislative Decree 50/2016 served to make this public-private agreement acceptable to the Public Administration.

According to Vitale²⁶⁶, Olinda was limited in her ability to be a strategic actor. It had difficulty in moving from a short-term horizon to a medium- or long-term horizon; it lacked the necessary conditions to do so, particularly as regards its position in the future. Olinda's activities, both social and productive, take place inside the buildings of the former PH, whose ownership was not clear. Since the closure of the PH, the authorities had not established the division of ownership of buildings and land, which were the subject of dispute by the Province, Region and Hospital.

In practice, Olinda thus had its offices, as well as a restaurant and a hostel, on public property whose ownership was unclear and its right to use them was not guaranteed by any form of written contract. However, the use of the area and its buildings was not considered an illegal occupation, as it was supported and recognized by local institutions. However, this uncertainty makes it very difficult to invest in the spaces and buildings it uses and to acquire a more strategic long-term vision. Now, with the new 25-year contract, Olinda has the opportunity to invest in the spaces she uses and thus have a long-term strategic vision.

5.6 “Mosso” former boarding school Trotter

The Mosso restaurant-pizzeria of La Fabbrica di Olinda is part of a more general project, born from a call for tender from the Municipality of Milan which had as its objective the redevelopment of the former boarding school Trotter of Milan, located in Padova street. The case is important to explore because it highlights the problems that arise in a public/private partnership between social enterprises, public institutions and private institutions that finance the intervention

In the case of the former Trotter boarding school, the public notice was born from the collaboration between the City of Milan and the Cariplo Foundation, within the framework of the intersectoral programme of the Foundation “La città intorno”. The project is realized thanks to a contribution of “Fondazione Cariplo” and the co-financing of the temporary association of companies (ATI), consisting of Social Cooperative Society “La Fabbrica di Olinda”(leader of the ATI), Social Cooperative Society “Centro Servizi Formazione” (CSF), Social Cooperative Society of Solidarity Comin, The Cultural Association of Social Promotion “Salumeria del Design” and

²⁶⁶ Vitale, Tommaso, 2010. “Opening the Psychiatric Hospital and Bringing the City Inside. Contradiction and Reflexivity in a Case of Urban Innovation,” SocArXiv bw856, Center for Open Science.

the Ludwig Officina Cultural Association of contemporary languages. The ATI is the implementing entity of the project. The project aims to make the former boarding school of Trotter a workshop of citizenship with a strong vocation to social and cultural citizenship. An open citizenship workshop, where you welcome without looking at the origin, the degree of culture or the level of suffering, where the services and products of the project integrate with the territory and become a system of opportunities where people can learn their cultural abilities and in particular the ability to desire and aspire. These propositive abilities of the subjects, or said in technical terms, these processes of activation of the subjects, will be the raw material to reinvest in the same plan. This investment gives energy to the processes of participation, understood as intercultural and intergenerational work. The citizenship workshop is a marketplace, understood as a laboratory of relationships, economies and emotions, where I can apply what I can do, approaching the world of work, learning a trade, find a job, even for those who on the traditional ways of access to work never entered or found the access road barred. The citizenship laboratory offers job opportunities, creates jobs for those who have been excluded. Social inclusion is therefore not only a factor of civic good" for the territory, but also a factor of competitiveness for the project itself. The citizenship laboratory attracts the intelligences of the territory, that contribute to form practices and processes of excellence that speak and practice the research of raw materials both to make good participation and to make good food. The laboratory aims to help make the contradiction between excellence and accessibility practicable by creating a sort of "popular excellence".

Via Padova, in the heart of which the project is inserted, is an area characterized by a compact urban fabric capable of renewing itself and which has evolved over the last century due to successive waves of migration.

A popular working-class phase between the early twentieth century, the Second World War and the years of the economic boom was gradually followed by the presence of foreign communities from all over the world.

For about five years we have been faced with a territory at the crossroads with two speeds; on the one hand the thrust of the NoLo effect and on the other the Via Padova of punctual fragilities characterized by large pockets of socio-economic poverty.

As reported by the field research of the DASTU of the Milan Polytechnic (carried out as part of "LaCittàIntorno" - Fondazione Cariplo) we are in the midst of "a historical area disputed between different identities and souls". The area winds around vertical linear routes (Via Padova, Viale Monza, Via Porpora and Viale Palmanova) and core centers of gravity (Casoretto, NoLo, Turro, Gorla, Cimiano, Crescenzago, Greco).

The NIL (Nucleo di Identità Locale) Padova (about 37,000 inhabitants) and Loreto (about 45,000 inhabitants) are characterized by a high number of inhabitants, by a high presence of foreigners (from 19% as an average value of the city of Milan to 34 % of the two NILs with residential areas of higher concentration from 45% to 65%) and by a significant and growing presence of young people (between 20 and 39 years old, almost 15% more than the Milanese average). The 2017 text by Costanzo Ranci on the "White Flight" phenomenon in Milan (Italian families residing in more peripheral neighborhoods move their children to more central and well-off schools in the hope of finding conditions, in their opinion, better for the educational own children) tells of a phenomenon that affects, among other things, our area. In schools, the already noted polarization between central and peripheral areas is reproduced, as well as the strong concentration of social disadvantage in some specific suburbs. The overall effect is that in some schools the concentration of social disadvantage is particularly strong with the geography of schools with strong socio-economic segregation reproducing that of the urban suburbs most at risk.

Via Padova is a context with a clear prevalence of private building with critical issues related to housing. We report situations of degradation and insecurity, debt conditions of some condominiums, difficult neighborhood relationships, illegal occupations, vacant apartments, beds with high turnover, auction houses with some chronic situations that give rise to real pockets of urban poverty in the face of a booming housing market. Various forms of conflict are perceived (e.g. the gardens of Via Mosso, alcohol abuse in the presence of ethnic mini-markets, neighborhood cleaning, management of the common areas of the blocks of flats) in the face of a richness and vivacity of the commercial offer on the street, both ethnic and conventional that make this area unique in its kind.

Within this framework, the Trotter Park as a whole, due to its barycentric location, can be increasingly understood as a hinge between the north-south and east-west axis. The Trotter is a space that today presents a fuzzy and critical perception; on the one hand "happy island" of coexistence, education and integration and on the other felt as a "place of degradation" between acts of vandalism and marginalization present. The area is marked by a high density of associations (161 realities mapped by DASTU) rich in experimental forms, sociality and creativity, with socially-oriented profit experiences with a territorial vocation, non-profit and active citizenship.

The context is characterized by territorially based proximity networks; formations and alliances that intertwine with thematic networks and actors with a political background oriented towards identity and meaning (themes of hospitality, anti-racism, housing with assistance interventions, cultural animation, social aggregation), professional and planning networks of urban regeneration involving young people and merchants who aim at problem solving and practical planning (committees, social street).

The district as a whole is invested both "from below" and "from above" by a series of ferments and design energies that have developed over the last decade and which in the short and medium term will find a way to significantly change the face of this area and to design new methods of action for public policies and local welfare. Perhaps there is still a lack of common management capable of bringing to fruition what has been sown and coordinating the set of activities according to governance methods capable of fulfilling both local expectations and the connection of the action of the various Sectors and Departments of the Municipality of Milan.

The area of Via Padova is in fact affected by some stable services (e.g. CAG Tarabella, CPIA 5, Villa Finzi, Fossati sports center, CAM) and is an active part of the Space of ArtEducation, of HUG-La Fabbrica del Welfare WEMI Venini and the Primi Passi project on educational poverty which has recently ended. Together with all this, some new local projects have also been outlined around the themes of poverty of minors and families (QuBì Loreto and QuBì Padova in particular), urban regeneration and social cohesion which insist on the blocks of flats in the areas adjacent to the Trotter around the correct management of the waste cycle, the creation of vegetable gardens in courtyards, interventions and actions of urban art.

Inside the school park of Parco Trotter, the structure of the former boarding school symbolically represents a very connoted place for its history, for the period of abandonment and for the important restructuring intervention carried out. More in detail, the idea of the "Casa del Sole" as a place of outdoor experimental educational activity was born in the 1920s, the Trotter school park immediately became a city reference point with its over 100,000 square meters of greenery in which its buildings are located, including the former boarding school, capable of accommodating about 190 children, for a school then destined to have a strong vocation for welcoming young people with frailties.

The Park has always been the only green space available to a highly populated area in the area and for these reasons, in 1976 it was decided to open it to the neighborhood on weekends and in the afternoons, shortly thereafter the special schools were abolished, the Casa del Sole profoundly changes its teaching and the funds destined for its maintenance change. The buildings not strictly linked to conventional teaching, such as the small church, the discovery room, the farm and the boarding school, abandoned in 1985, are starting to slowly decay.

But past experiences have strengthened the link between the park, its school, the inhabitants, its associations, all aware of having at their disposal an asset to protect, a place of coexistence, of social relationships in a neighborhood that for over one hundred years lived the transformations of the city: the mobilizations began, in 1986 the Superintendency of Fine Arts bound the Trotter school complex by law, numerous buildings were on their way to recovery, but not the boarding school which required considerable investments.

In 1994 teachers, parents and inhabitants of the neighborhood founded "Amici del Parco Trotter" association, precisely to attract the attention of the city and the administrators.

Conferences, interventions, recovery studies follow one another, the most significant being carried out by a university research facility of the Milan Polytechnic called "Laboratorio Abita", which understands the potential and the city value of a place that cannot be limited only to a building renovation or the reorganization of school spaces, but it must open up with a view to redevelopment, also in social terms for the neighborhood and the city. The final project is unanimously approved by the then Municipal Administration but will not have any operational follow-up. a second redevelopment project of Parco Trotter elaborated this time by the FAI.

The turning point came in 2011, Mayor Pisapia understood the social importance of that place and agreed with the Cariplo Foundation to launch and take up the challenge of restructuring the boarding school.

Through the collaboration between the Municipal Administration and the Cariplo Foundation, in 2018 the tender for the assignment was published which has the obligation to go through a co-planning phase between the winner of the tender and the two promoters. From a reading of the announcement, it is clear how in the analyzes and in the required criteria 25 years of the commitment of many are found in large part: the school nature of the Park, the social importance of the structure for the neighborhood, the importance of the structure for the city.

The analysis of this case was conducted not only through participant observation, as I actively participated in the drafting of the project to respond to the Municipality's call and its subsequent implementation, also performing a series of semi-structured qualitative interviews with the ATI people who participated in the project. From my participant observation and interviews, within this project. some of the crucial nodes of public/private partnerships and integration between public and private can be identified, especially in the context of the so-called co-planning, which was also to lead to the drafting and signing of an agreement between ATI and institutions. Let's say right away that the agreement was signed between the Implementing Body (La Fabbrica di Olinda, as parent company of the ATI) and the Municipality of Milan and provides: A non-repayable contribution of € 1,300,000 to be assigned to the implementing entity, a duration of the agreement of 17 years and a concession fee that starting from the fifth year, starting from the date of signing the Agreement, the Implementing Entity must guarantee, equal to a total of € 30,000.00, to be paid to the Municipality of Milan in quarterly installments each of € 7,500.00.²⁶⁷

All the members of the ATI interviewed told me that they had encountered difficulties in the co-design phase with the Municipality of Milan and Fondazione Cariplo. All the interviewees agree that one of the main problems was the rigid separation between those within the Municipality who had designed the tender and the sectors of the Municipality that then had to materially co-

²⁶⁷ See Annex 4

design with the ATI and Fondazione Cariplo. Problem partially overcome, but not completely, when the Municipality identified a single Referent who had the possibility and ability to coordinate the different sectors of the Municipality involved in the co-design, as shown by the interview with Beatrice Ortolani, Project Manager of Olinda in the context of this project: *"The municipality had a very formal attitude so only certain people could participate in the meetings and minutes were drawn up a lot, very formal..... at the beginning, all the meetings were then at Palazzo Marino.... Then the head of the Municipality of the project changed, at the end of these first 5 months and with the entry of the new manager the relationship became more informal and we had meetings even more often ... changing this referent also changed the ways in which we began to interact with the Municipality because there was a need for a continuous comparison with various sectors of the municipality from school buildings to greenery In theory we should have also talked to the social area, given the social objectives of the project, but it was never at the table ... mainly for the design purposes of the architectural structural project, school building was the sector with which we interfaced more because the building had been recently renovated by the hands of school buildings and because the other pavilions are elementary and middle schools, so they were renovated all together so to be able to have from the Municipality all the documents necessary to make the new architectural project we had to interface with the sector school buildings"*

From interview with Thomas Emmenegger (President of the cooperative La Fabbrica di Olinda social cooperative society)

"The Trotter had a long history, first starting from a horse racing facility that then in the 20-30s became a school with an orphanage and had let's say quite interesting educational forms this orphanage that then became a boarding school in recent decades was abandoned and when Pisapia became mayor, he proposed to Fondazione Cariplo to renovate the former boarding school, to make it both a part of the school and a cultural center ... The problem is that this project has never been declined in detail and no one had very clear ideas about what it would be. What happened is that Fondazione Cariplo has allocated ten million to the Municipality of Milan to renovate this building. The municipality of Milan then renovated this former boarding school and gave it to the school building ... let's say this is the part of the Municipality of Milan that has the skills to intervene on structural aspects. The problem is that in the design process then those who took care of the restructuring was another sector than those who had designed ... and then there were two separate paths: that is, school buildings have made classrooms, because that's what they know how to do and instead Fondazione Cariplo together with a more design part of the Municipality of Milan has instead thought of the project ... When the call came out, this distance between structure and project was evident... with the result that no one participated... apart from us and a Group that had no design intentions, but simply wanted to have an office in Milan... in Milan there was no other subject who said that this is a sustainable project ... unfeasible precisely for this reason ... then in the announcement it was written that the funds made available by Fondazione Cariplo would be used above all for the start-up, that is, to finance the actions and only a residual part would then be used for marginal interventions on the structure ... Despite this considerable handicap, we decided to know full well that these structural interventions would not be marginal and residual, but would certainly have involved reviewing everything that has been restructured ... So we decided to participate anyway because basically in all the things we have done so far we were always inside the projects that no one else wanted or could do so it was with Paolo Pini ... No one had ever thought that it was possible to make a restaurant in a mortuary and a hostel in the nuns' boarding school and even less in a canteen/kitchen a theater ... similarly to Lecco where even there we were the only ones who participated in the Call, because all the

others considered it unsustainable ... So a bit of experience in doing things, which let's say others have discarded we had... and for this we felt like trying the same "

In this case we see how integrated methodologies tend to clash with administrative and operational structures that actively oppose them or do not support them sufficiently. The fact is that the organizational architectures of institutions are still based on the "organ pipe" model. A model that spends energy mainly in establishing and maintaining clear boundaries between skills and activities, based on roles and skills; whereas it enhances the specificity of technical expertise, including procedural expertise, to the detriment of the possibility of addressing and reconfiguring complex problems from multidimensional perspectives; where exchanges and information are small and everyone is engaged in the execution of "pieces", of limited portions of a problem. Those who work in these conditions find it difficult to trace their fragment back to the more general process in which it is placed because it is difficult to have all the knowledge necessary to do so²⁶⁸.

Moreover, another crucial issue is that the public administration but, in this case, also Fondazione Cariplo have not taken responsibility and risk using a language that protects them but that distances themselves from the territorial organization that implements the project. In fact, Thomas Emmenegger *"the second aspect is that the language with which the Municipality and partly Fondazione Cariplo ... faced this project was a language that comes from a type of bureaucracy that tends above all to protect itself ... that is, if those who somehow take responsibility in this project run a risk and the risks are quite high ... and above all those who then in the end assumed responsibility did not want to take any risk, in the sense that all the written text of the announcement but also of the contract, is in a bureaucrat that if I read I do not understand it and has almost no element we call so of co-responsibility ... but above all it has no element of risk concession ... So this is a huge limit that is, being in front of an interlocutor who so in a very approximate way speaks of co-design but in the text of his project there is not even half a comma, because that stuff was all written precisely in these formulas of self-defense of bureaucracy ... the crux was that the Municipality and Fondazione Cariplo have for the first time tried to do a project together.... they announced this call together and then along the way Fondazione Cariplo always withdrew a little more because initially Fondazione Cariplo was also supposed to countersign the contract, but then in the end all the agreements were made only between Olinda and the Municipality of Milan. In the end, Fondazione Cariplo has increasingly focused on supporting design expertise... That is, in the co-design phase they supported the work of the business plan project and all these things here, but because they, in front of their board of directors, since it is a substantial contribution, needed to show that the business plan was solid and stood and that the money was not wasted ... the real knot is that in the Municipality of Milan there is no one, or at least those who then had to deal with this project they were all people who did not have a design expertise that they did not know how to translate their bureaucratic into a design language and among other things a crucial element in all this is the theme of transparency ... This public administration apparently always has this need for transparency, that is, that means that all acts must be transparent, in the sense of their non-attackable language ... But this has also meant that the municipality has always had to build a distance or if you want a hierarchy with us... We could never move on the same level, as if we were partners and we could never find a common language... And this we say this lack of internal competences of public administrations is a big problem"*

The result of the co-design raises the problem of sustainability over time of the whole project as stated by Luca Rossetti of Comin *"... As a result of the co-design there is a further phase of 12 years during which you have to pay a rent for the use of this municipal space and you will have to*

acquire resources to stand on your own... so it is a project that gives you a good for 17 years but ensures you the possibility of keeping up for the first five and for the others basically binds you to a mechanism for which all activities, as we said to the Municipality in the co-design phase, are market failure, since the social activities and cultural activities of the project can only be supported, over time, from activities, strongly commercial in catering."

Linked to the criticality of sustainability over time of the project, there is the idea of an extraction logic on the part of the Municipality of Milan, as Thomas Emmenegger points out "we must *intervene with a first start-up phase in a very consistent way on structural aspects, that is, we must throw down most of those things that they have renovated and doing a lot of things from scratch The whole building is like a car without an engine... There is no electricity so there is no hot water, there is nothing! we have to do it all again! and of course also the setting of the classrooms for us absolutely out of place ... We won't be doing lessons at school here! ... So this is a first big problem even with very substantial costs, which puts the sustainability of this project to a very hard test! Instead of being able to finance actions, we have to pay the companies that do work... Imagine how much money could have been saved, if you could have designed the hardware part together... the second aspect is that the Municipality and also Fondazione Cariplo have this idea that these projects should do: create an impact on the context in the positive sense that also means in addition to providing services, still have an impact on people's quality of life ... inside there are a lot of themes... from social reproduction, the activation of subjects to participation... which are all things that require skills, people, services and at the same time this must be a co-project that is able not only to feed itself that is to stand, to be economically sustainable but even to pay the rent to the municipality in addition to everything else there is to pay from the waste tax, utilities... to the ordinary and extraordinary maintenance of the structure... if you look for example at the projects that the City of Turin has done with neighborhood houses ... they were completely different approaches, where the Municipality of Turin continues to invest and is interested in investing, maintaining... no these here instead have this idea that that thing not only should not cost anything to the Municipality but even has to pay a rent ... an extractive logic... so this is a theme for me and I have also begun to talk about it not only with the Municipality of Milan but also with Fondazione Cariplo: if, in the long run, you are really interested in affecting the quality of life of a local context, you have to reverse this extractive logic "*

5.7 Ostello Olinda and the “Rifugio Olinda” project: How to deal with uncertainty, Preparedness hypothesis

As we can grasp from these words of Thomas Emmenegger (President of the social cooperative La Fabbrica di Olinda) at the conference on social enterprise in Trieste on 20 October 2022: "We are a social cooperative mainly of public establishments.... During the pandemic, restaurants, hostels, theatres, all closed, overnight... Hostel no longer has a customer... what to do? At the same time psychiatry, the "Psychiatric Diagnosis and Treatment Services" (SPDC), is in a complete frenzy! ...We are in Milan... in the SPDC with the doors closed and physical restraint on the agenda.... normally hospitalized people who don't have a home, there simply discharge on the

street, only this time it was no longer possible! with the whole system blocked ... so in this situation we propose to the Niguarda hospital, to psychiatrists: ok we will take the people hospitalized in the SPDC with no home, we will host them in the hostel and no one knew what would come out ... it was really a challenge to the max ...neither them, the psychiatrists nor us...but since we were both desperate we decided, let's try! and I was also very amazed that they were there.... they arrive and they are truly people from all over the world, many of them just untied from bed in the morning. Many people from sub-Saharan Africa but also from Europe... there was a completely lost lady, Greek... another German lady, she had nothing left, not even shoelaces. Other people with no documents, it was not known what nationality they were.... these people arrive and we welcome them with our tools, as if they were customers of the hostel and at the same time the cooks of the restaurant, also out of work, got busy cooking and you have to imagine this change in the sense that they come out of a SPDC behind closed doors with containment, they come to us and there is no closed door and no one leaves and they all stay there! In addition to the fact that they really liked this thing, the food was good, everyone had their own room, we discovered in the cooperative that we speak almost all the sub-Saharan languages among our workers... it was an incredible discovery for me. So, this experience somehow brought us back to when we were born in the 90s in the mental hospital of Milan and where we did these things day by day.... with these experiences we have learned to be scrupulously shameless in standing up to people."

During the covid 19 epidemic, Olinda developed a project, "Rifugio Olinda", on the needs and request of the AO Niguarda, on the "Fondo Milano Aiuta" tender from the Community Foundation of Milan. This project addressed one of the particular problems, born during the emergency crisis for Covid19, which often arises in the psychiatric emergency room and at the SPDC of the DSMD of the ASST Niguarda: the psychiatric crisis of a person who has not a domicile. Even if the acute phase of the psychiatric crisis is overcome quickly, the person cannot be discharged because he is homeless. During the Corona virus emergency, the problem of homeless psychiatric users who are hospitalized in the psychiatric emergency room or in the SPDC and were discharged, represented a serious problem. For these users, the focus of care is often not medical but social, but they cannot be discharged until a specific reception place is found that avoids them ending up on the street. However, the problem does not exist only in finding a physical place of reception, but also a structure capable of motivating the user to stay. The social consequences of the health emergency linked to the spread of Covid 19 have been a tangible reality: an increase in poverty, a housing emergency and an increase in unemployment are recorded on a national scale and also in the Lombard capital. In addition to the material consequences, the discomfort caused by the epidemic also manifested itself through an increase in psychological and psychological vulnerabilities, aggravated by the suspension of some services made necessary for precautionary reasons. In the post-emergency Covid 19, the weakest segments of the population are further penalized, especially as regards access to professional paths in work contexts already tried by the crisis. Foreign users, in particular, do not always have the bureaucratic preconditions to access the ordinary paths to work (internships and work grants), although this is a fundamental aspect for their rehabilitation paths.

The Rifugio project has addressed all these problems by offering temporary social assistance hospitality at the OstelloOlinda to psychiatric users who are discharged and negative for Coronavirus, but without domicile, therefore largely migrants and homeless. Medical responsibility remained in the hands of the DSMD operators of Niguarda who collaborated in close contact with the operators of the hostel. The days were structured with participatory activities such as gardening (vegetable garden), preparation of fresh pasta, etc. in strict compliance with the rules of social distancing. OstelloOlinda had made available 5 beds in 5 single rooms for the duration of 3 months. The aim of the project was to work together with the

user to search for a home over the longer term. The resignation of a user before the three months of the duration of the project would have allowed the reception of a new user. Among other things, 8 social guests already "live" in the hostel, including psychiatric users. The project was managed for the social welfare and hotel part by Ostelloinda operators, to which Olinda's cooks were added for the part of food preparation. For the medical part, the project was managed by the operators of the DSMD of Niguarda who were mostly headed by Ethnopsychiatry. to which Olinda's cooks were added for the part of the preparation of the food. For the medical part, the project was managed by the operators of the DSMD of Niguarda who were mostly headed by Ethnopsychiatry. to which Olinda's cooks were added for the part of the preparation of the food. For the medical part, the project was managed by the operators of the DSMD of Niguarda who were mostly headed by Ethnopsychiatry.

Ostellolinda is a reception structure born in the context of the closure and de-institutionalization of the former Paolo Pini Psychiatric Hospital and in a first phase the Ostelloinda had an agreement with the Niguarda Hospital for the management of psychiatric users. Today Ostelloinda has become a competitive accommodation facility in the Milanese hostel sector, but has always maintained two social functions, the housing reception of psychiatric users on the basis of a personalized project even in the long term and the employment of psychiatric users. Furthermore Ostelloinda is a gym for numerous work placements. Ostelloinda, not being an accredited social health structure, has developed a commercial activity as a focus, while always maintaining a strong focus on social inclusion. This combination of entrepreneurial and social needs has opened the social enterprise actions at Paolo Pini to innovative rehabilitative and inclusive principles by organizing its interventions simultaneously on three axes: training / work, home / social habitat and sociability / affectivity. This type of approach to the problems of rehabilitation and inclusion in mental health opens up unprecedented scenarios that affect not only individual rehabilitation paths, but also new forms of public / private social mix in which rehabilitation strategies are part of sustainable local development policies. and new forms of community welfare. The main objective was the insertion and permanence of hospitalized psychiatric users, but discharged, with a more social than clinical problem, in the Ostelloinda facility for temporary accommodation for a maximum of three months during the Corona virus emergency. The initial objective of the user's presence in Ostelloinda was the safeguarding of his permanence, that is, that he did not abandon the structure and did not end up on the street. A personalized project was therefore developed for each user which referred to a series of structured daytime activities and which had the aim of not abandoning Ostelloinda in the wild and returning to the streets. A subsequent objective was the elaboration of a discharge plan agreed with the user and his reference operators for his placement in a domicile outside the current emergency. The initial objective of the user's presence in Ostelloinda was the safeguarding of his permanence, that is, that he did not abandon the structure and did not end up on the street. A personalized project was therefore developed for each user which referred to a series of structured daytime activities and which had the aim of not abandoning Ostelloinda in the wild and returning to the streets. A subsequent objective was the elaboration of a discharge plan agreed with the user and his reference operators for his placement in a domicile outside the current emergency. The initial objective of the user's presence in Ostelloinda was the safeguarding of his permanence, that is, that he did not abandon the structure and did not end up on the street. A personalized project was therefore developed for each user which referred to a series of structured daytime activities and which had the aim of not abandoning Ostelloinda in the wild and returning to the streets. A subsequent objective was the elaboration of a discharge plan agreed with the user and his reference operators for his placement in a domicile outside the current emergency. A personalized project was therefore developed for each user which referred to a series of structured daytime activities and which had the aim of not abandoning Ostelloinda in the wild

and returning to the streets. A subsequent objective was the elaboration of a discharge plan agreed with the user and his reference operators for his placement in a domicile outside the current emergency. A personalized project was therefore developed for each user which referred to a series of structured daytime activities and which had the aim of not abandoning OstelloLinda in the wild and returning to the streets. A subsequent objective was the elaboration of a discharge plan agreed with the user and his reference operators for his placement in a domicile outside the current emergency.

This project responded to strategic needs:

- Prevent psychiatric users predominantly with social problems from approaching or burdening the psychiatric emergency room of the hospital and in the SPDC ASST GOM Niguarda
- Freeing up beds of the SPDC ASST GOM Niguarda
- Promote long-term solutions after staying at OstelloLinda
- allow the user to feel like a hotel client and not a psychiatric user, so that he can play his own skills

The cost of the project was 35,990.00 and the Community Foundation of Milan financed 30,000.00.

This project has managed to achieve all its objectives but what is interesting is to analyze it with respect to the effects it had on people and on Olinda herself. Some paths such as those of Camilla, a person in sexual transition of Brazilian nationality, who arrived at the hostel without documents and without a residence permit is very interesting to analyze. Although OstelloLinda and Olinda herself did not deal with migrants and their problems, however, together with Camilla, it was possible to build a path that allowed her to have first of all a place to sleep, adequate care and a path of work placement that allowed her to have a work contract in Olinda's restaurant. Also, Camilla, supported by Olinda's operators, she managed to obtain documents and a residence permit as a political refugee, taking the form of a "performative citizenship" path, also from the point of view of sexual citizenship²⁶⁹. Currently Camilla still lives in the hostel, but since she receives an income she is looking for an apartment outside. In Camilla's case, as in other users of the "Rifugio Ostello" project, Sen's capabilities approach²⁷⁰ was applied, increasing her opportunities through the development of her abilities, creating a context in which she was able to maintain autonomy and experience empowerment.

Olinda and OstelloLinda discovered that they could give valid answers to situations, considered emergency, by the services, even if in reality the problem presented only worsened during the pandemic, but it was and remains a daily life and not a emergency of psychiatric and social assistance. Olinda had an organizational infrastructure at her disposal that allowed her to respond immediately to the crisis, also addressing the limitations and holes that psychiatric and social services have had during the pandemic. In this sense and also looking at the generative effects that have been had on users, it could be said that there has been transformative preparedness, as in the case of the micro-areas of Muggia that we have examined. Also in this case, Olinda's operators took the place of the social service operators in lockdown and carried out typical actions of a social service (reconstructing Camilla's documents, dealing with the request for a residence permit, etc...). They have also worked and are functioning as sentinels on the territory, intercepting many cases of users discharged in other housing situations and also intercepting new homeless that the current situations of economic crisis are producing. For example. Namdi, a migrant originally from Niger, trainee at the pizzeria Fiore in Lecco,

²⁶⁹ Isin, E.F. and Wood, P.K. 1999. *Citizenship & Identity*. London: Sage.

²⁷⁰ Sen, A. (2001), *Development as Freedom*, Oxford Paperbacks.

found himself in the middle of the pandemic, on the street, because he was expelled from the SPRAR community where he was staying, for violating the rules. Following this, the promoter of the internship also interrupted the contract, and Namdi suddenly found himself even without an activity and above all without any assistance from the social services of Lecco. So Olinda took the decision to have Namdi stay in Ostelloinda in Milan and to rebuild at the social services of Milan a form of public assistance that could allow him to continue working and obtain a residence permit. Many people, not sent or supported in any way by social services and who do not have access to a home were hosted both before and during covid and are still hosted in Ostelloinda for short periods of time. These people are reported to the social services to try to build a personalized project that can allow them to have a home and if necessary, also a job or a path of job placement in Olinda. In this perspective, the operators of Olinda together with the hidden homeless are “sentinels” in the sense indicated by Lakoff²⁷¹ and Keck²⁷² in the field of preparedness. The aim of sentinels is to provide early warning of an encroaching danger and their peculiarity is that they do not rely on the power of statistics numbers but on the collection of pieces of information in conditions of uncertainty, via dialogue and collaboration with a plurality of actors and combining a plurality of registers. Sentinels can detect the early signs of potential catastrophic transformations directly on the territory and in the interconnections that are established among local actors. According to Caselli, Giullari and Mozzana²⁷³ this logic of vigilance that allows the involvement of a plurality of actors as knowledge producers at the local level, and particularly of the people that are in vulnerable conditions, is central in welfare issues and make it a recognized informational basis for defining new welfare boundaries and publicly legitimized tools of inclusion.

5.8 The Florida Project and Ostelloinda

Even before the covid 19 pandemic, hotel and motel spaces, especially in the United States, were spontaneously used as temporary accommodation by people who cannot access a permanent home²⁷⁴. In a recent film, *The Florida Project*²⁷⁵ a widespread phenomenon in the United States

²⁷¹ Lakoff, A. (2015). Real-time Biopolitics: The Actuary and the Sentinel in Global Public Health. *Economy and Society*, 44(1), 40–59.

²⁷² Keck, F. (2020). *Asian Reservoirs. Virus Hunters and Birdwatchers in Chinese Sentinel Posts*. Durham: Duke University Press.

²⁷³ Caselli, D. ., Giullari, B., & Mozzana, C. (2021). Prepared to Care? Knowledge and Welfare in a Time of Emergency. *Sociologica*, 15(3), 107–124. <https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.1971-8853/13600>

²⁷⁴ Dum, C. P. (2016). *Exiled in America: Life on the margins in a residential motel*. Columbia University Press.

United States Interagency Council on Homelessness. 2018. *Home, together*. United States Interagency Council on Homelessness.

Westberry, Abigail T. Ms., ""Before its Smell Became Me:" Motel Residency and the Politics of Belonging" (2019). Honors Theses. 286.

Kara Tsukerman, Erin Ruel, Eric R. Wright & Terri Lewinson (2021) Youth who sleep in motels: an acknowledged but unknown population of the hidden homeless, *Housing and Society*, 48:3, 221-238, doi: 10.1080/08882746.2020.1870361.

²⁷⁵ *The Florida Project*, Directed by Sean Baker, 2017, The original title refers to the code name of Walt Disney for the series of secret real estate transactions through which in the 60s the company would buy thousands of acres of swamp that then became Disney World in Orlando, forever altering the city. What you experience in motels before arriving in Orlando is instead the result of the direct experience of co-screenwriter Chris Bergoch. In helping his mother move to Florida. Bergoch traveled extensively along Highway 192, one of the arteries leading up to Disneyworld. He had the opportunity to discover how little magical life was near the gates of one of the largest amusement parks in the world. The motels in the area, once full of tourists, have become a shelter for homeless families while around there are a few souvenir shops and children play in the street. The film follows a group of six-year-old children, led by a brave young girl named Moonee, as they grow up in the Magic Castle: a fluorescent, long-term forgotten purple motel in the shadow of Disney World. Helicopters, which guide Disney World's wealthy customers to and from their amusement park getaways, are a constant presence in the lives of Moonee and her family. While Moonee and her mother eat a meal of waffles donated by a local restaurant, the Disney helicopter lands in the background. As Moonee and her mother are removed from their motel room because they can't pay rent, the reflection of the Disney helicopter passes through the window of their former room. While Moonee is questioned by child protection services about her mother's ability to be a parent, the Disney helicopter covers her voice. The recurring symbol of Disney World helicopters is not accidental. Instead, it is designed to illuminate the invisibility of the community of Moonee and The Magic Castle. Despite the helicopter's physical proximity to Magic Castle, Disney customers rarely interact with motel residents. Instead, like the helicopter's brief reflection on Moonee's window, Disney customers quickly circle the lives of those invisible communities confined to low-income motel rooms. Like Moonee and her family, millions of Americans currently experience profound housing insecurity.

is described, namely that of the "hidden homeless". It is a condition of life in which many Americans found themselves especially after the crisis of 2008: no longer having a fixed home, they are forced to live in hotel rooms paying the rent day by day, possibly moving to motels and cheaper hotels. In the United States, the McKinney-Vento Homelessness Assistance Act has greatly expanded definitions of homelessness to accommodate people struggling with housing instability and include some forms of homeless residence: *"An individual lacks a fixed, regular, and adequate nighttime residence, including: Sharing housing due to loss of housing or economic hardship; Living in motels, hotels, trailer parks, or camping grounds due to lack of alternative adequate housing; Living in emergency or transitional housing; Abandoned in hospitals; Awaiting foster care; Having a primary nighttime residence that is a public or private place not designed for, or ordinarily used as, regular sleeping accommodations; Living in cars, parks, public spaces, abandoned buildings, substandard housing, bus or train stations; Migratory students meeting the descriptions above"*.²⁷⁶

Similarly, the Canadian Definition of Homelessness²⁷⁷ includes hidden homeless, classified as provisionally accommodated. (This describes situations in which people, who are technically homeless and without permanent shelter, access accommodation that offers no prospect of permanence. Those who are provisionally accommodated may be accessing temporary housing provided by government or the non-profit sector, or may have independently made arrangements for short-term accommodation) *"...people who are homeless make temporary rental arrangements, such as staying in motels, hostels, rooming houses, etc."* This population is considered to be "hidden" because they usually do not access homeless supports and services even though they are improperly or inadequately housed. Because they do not access services, they do not show up on standard statistics regarding homelessness.

Abigail T. Westberry²⁷⁸ analyzes the use of motels, in the United States, as an increasingly prevalent form of housing for low-income and marginalized communities starting from the "Imaginary", represented by the Florida Project movie and argues that firstly, motel residency reinforces housing instability and social inequality by proliferating insecurity at physical, interpersonal, and institutional levels. Secondly, motel residents cultivate powerful internal community networks and deploy innovative housing strategies in order to survive their residential circumstances. She also outlines how motels entrench institutional insecurity through three different mechanisms: exposure to crime, placelessness, and inaccessibility to service providers. Combined, the confluence of these three factors makes it difficult for motel residents to access both the economic and political resources necessary to better their lives and she argues that the perpetuation of motel residents' institutional insecurity aligns with theories of poverty that describe it as a form of Capabilities Deprivation. Capabilities Deprivation characterizes poverty not by the restrictions an individual faces in what they possess or feel, but rather in what they can do. Therefore, poverty is considered to be the denial of opportunities, following the theory of the capabilities approach (CA) of Sen²⁷⁹. In these contexts, poverty becomes a self-perpetuating cycle, whereby poorer individuals are denied opportunities required for social mobility, like better housing, better healthcare, better employment, better education, all because of their socioeconomic status. Motel residency

²⁷⁶ McKinney-Vento Homelessness Assistance Act, 2018 <https://oese.ed.gov/files/2020/07/160240ehcyguidanceupdated082718.pdf>
Ausikaitis, A. E., Wynne, M. E., Persaud, S., Pitt, R., Hosek, A., Reker, K., Flores, S. (2015). Staying in school: The efficacy of the McKinney-Vento act for homeless youth. *Youth & Society*, 47(5)

²⁷⁷ Canadian observatory on homelessness <https://www.homelesshub.ca/resource/canadian-definition-homelessness>

²⁷⁸ Westberry, Abigail T. Ms., "Before its Smell Became Me:" Motel Residency and the Politics of Belonging" (2019). Honors Theses. 286

²⁷⁹ Sen, A. (2001), *Development as Freedom*, Oxford Paperbacks.; Sen, A. (2004). Capabilities, lists, and public reason: Continuing the conversation. *Feminist Economics*, 10(3), 77-80.

mirrors this system, as residents struggle to access healthy living conditions, environments removed from criminal activity, public housing programs, employment centers, or political power because of their position in motels. Motel residents are, in all but definition, homeless or performing daily balancing acts in order to maintain the motel rooms they regard as home. Despite being legally coded as transient, non-residents, these communities are often permanent in their confinement to motels and in dire need of housing assistance. Without adequate aid, social service providers described how motel residents regularly find themselves trapped within cycles of housing instability. To resolve these issues, Westberry asserts that state and federal housing authorities could modify homelessness definitions in order to include certain individuals residing in motels. Through allowing motel residents to be considered homeless, these housing authorities would make homelessness programs more accessible to individuals living in motels. States could also change tenancy definitions in order to include individuals residing in non-traditional housing locations, like motels. By expanding tenancy definitions in order to include individuals living at motels over a set period of time, motel residents are guaranteed legal protections that limit landlord abuses or instability. Through implementing these recommendations and recognizing the voices of motel residents when constructing new policies, governments can better ensure that these communities can actually access the security and stability of a home.

The application of capabilities approach (CA) in the context of the covid 19 pandemic is found in the context of some recent research that refers to which "effective approaches" in a pandemic context must be had to create a context in which the homeless can maintain autonomy and empowerment, directly linking to the theory of the CA introduced by Sen and developed by Nussbaum²⁸⁰. As a social justice approach, CA postulates poverty not only as financial deprivation, but also as deprivation of opportunity based on systemic inequalities and injustices. Whilst the 10 central capabilities include core elements of meeting basic necessities, such as "Life", "Bodily Health" and "Bodily Integrity" also include "Affiliation", consisting in part of social interaction and self-respect, as well as "Control Over One's Environment"²⁸¹. In the context of homelessness, Evangelista²⁸² highlights the multiple key capacities located within a home and the loss of the home as a loss of the ability to achieve a state of well-being. This is captured in Batterham's definition of homelessness as "experiencing capability deprivation (forced lack)."²⁸³ Therefore, effective approaches to homelessness in the context of a pandemic must meet basic needs, as well as create a context in which people can maintain autonomy and experience empowerment.

Abe Oudshoorn et al.²⁸⁴ state that, in Canada, congruent with the CA that positions social justice around the social determinants of health, a particularly promising practice was opening hotel/motel space to provide people options to depopulate shelters and leave encampments. This approach has been consistently identified across literature published on the COVID-19 pandemic to date. Given that hotel/motel spaces became quickly available in the context of travel and tourism declines in the global pandemic, this allowed for greater housing capacity in an otherwise strained global housing system. At the same time, both encampments and

²⁸⁰ Sen, A. (2001), *Development as Freedom*, Oxford Paperbacks.

²⁸¹ Nussbaum, M.C. (2011), *Creating Capabilities*, Harvard University Press.

²⁸² Evangelista, G.F. (2010), "Poverty, homelessness and freedom: an approach from the capabilities theory", *European Journal of Homelessness*, Vol. 4, pp. 189-202.

²⁸³ Batterham, D. (2019), "Homelessness as capability deprivation: a conceptual model", *Housing, Theory and Society*, Vol. 36 No. 3, pp. 274-297.

²⁸⁴ Oudshoorn Abe, Tanya Benjamin, Tracy A. Smith-Carrier, Sarah Benbow, Carrie Anne Marshall, Riley Kennedy, Jodi Hall, C. Susana Caxa, Helene Berman and Deanna Befus "A rapid review of practices to support people experiencing homelessness during COVID-19" in *Housing, Care and Support* 24 n3-4 (20211214): 105-122

emergency shelters were noted as high-risk spaces for disease transmission, making better housing alternatives an urgent priority. Therefore, one of the recommendations of Abe Oudshoorn et al. is that local governments use local, provincial/territorial, federal government funds to open hotel/motel spaces for people experiencing homelessness. From this analysis of the literature on the subject of hidden homeless we can see how CA is considered essential for the reception of such people and how the literature considers hotel spaces an effective preparedness in case of pandemic. So Ostello Linda has all the requirements illustrated by the scientific literature especially because it uses the CA together with the presence of a context where it is possible, for hidden homeless to find work, build one's own citizenship of any kind, from cultural citizenship to sexual citizenship, socialize even with very different and richer people such as theatrical actors who stay in the hostel for theatrical residencies to be done at the La Cucina Theatre. At the same time, thanks to preparedness, it is a context where connections are created with the public service to allow the hidden homeless to find a home.

6. Conclusions

In my research I analyzed three cases of public-private partnerships in different territorial areas with many diversities but also with some similarities: The Habitat Microareas project in Trieste, the "Zorgzame Buurten" in Belgium and the case of Olinda in Milan. I have examined these three cases asking me what are the factors and dynamics that are relevant from the point of view of the quasi-concept of Social Innovation and with respect to the Foundational Economy and how the different logics of partnerships, between public and private, are differently oriented to enhance the territory. Also, I included the concept of Preparedness.

In the case of the Habitat Microareas program of Trieste and Muggia we have seen that the public-private partnership that has been created with respect to social innovation modifies the situations of social exclusion and in particular increases and the capabilities of the vulnerable groups that inhabit the Ater buildings. The fragmentation of services on the territory is reduced and reconnected to act effectively on the project of the individual inhabitant, overcoming the blocks that institutions and people themselves can create. In addition, the Microareas create opportunities for the development of "capacity to aspire" both by acting directly on individual inhabitants, and by giving the ability to express their voice and desires by pushing on the creation of associations between inhabitants. Micro-areas are therefore strongly linked to the territory and in particular to processes that are not only bottom-up, but above all bottom-linked. On the one hand, they involve and activate the population, and on the other, they promote pluralism among the actors and institutions which, from near or far, affect that particular territory, linking them together. In addition, there is the global taking charge of the problems highlighted in each micro-area: from the purely medical and health ones to those of housing and coexistence, up to the existential and social problems related to income and work. In other words, taking into account not only the obstacles and difficulties encountered by individual patients in the course of care, but also a series of issues attributable to forms of urban suffering: quality of contexts and relationship systems, resources to combat social isolation. As Franco Rotelli says: "*... in Trieste the services "see": they are on site, interact with the life of places and people to become a constituent part of it.*"²⁸⁵

The concept of the district that has established itself in most of the Italian regions is very different from that carried out in Trieste, where the idea of a device that aggregates all the health responses relating to a given territory, configured as an alternative to the answers given by the hospital, was taken literally. It was thought that all services not related to the hospital structure should be provided by the district, which in carrying out its mandate must meet two conditions: on the one hand to interact with the bodies and services that provide aid and support of a welfare nature, to integrate as much as possible the responses in a socio-sanitary sense; on the other, It must integrate within its own the specialist responses linked to the various disciplines: from psychiatry to addiction diseases, from diabetes treatment to cardiology, from interventions for cancer patients to those for the elderly population, up to the care of entire families, the care of women, children and adolescents. The district organization is also responsible for a number of hygiene and prophylaxis services in disease prevention: food care, water and air health, environmental hygiene, and so on. In other words, it must take charge of the health of the inhabitants of a territory from the cradle to the grave, responding simultaneously to the needs of prevention, treatment and rehabilitation. Thus, the Microarea,

²⁸⁵. Gallio G. e Cogliati Dezza M.G. (a cura di) *La città che cura. Microaree e periferie della salute*. Edizioni alpha beta Verlag, Meran/Merano 2018.

in the light of the quasi-concept of social innovation, can be seen as an arena of opportunities through which bottom-linked governance reconnects local communities to Europe and creates personalised systems for delivering social services.²⁸⁶

In opposition to the SI concept of compassionate liberalism, so SI should not be conceived as a justification for the decline of the role of the state, or as a tool for saving public spending.

In addition, the Microarea, which as Rotelli says "For better or worse, the microarea has been designed as a pilot fish: that small fish that is said to be swimming offshore in large groups and then approaching the shore, helps sailors to find their way back when they get lost, or to facilitate their entry maneuvers into ports"²⁸⁷, We have also seen a preparedness function in the pandemic crisis and this is certainly an element of innovation.

With respect to the theme of the Foundational Economy, the Microareas certainly concentrate and strengthen the resources on the territory that serve for the daily life of its inhabitants. As Rotelli states: "We therefore need health care that is capable of dealing with the financial crisis, which has been looming for years, by pooling all available resources. If we consider the entire welfare system, the resources - economic, technical, instrumental, human - put in place are enormous. What is striking is not their scarcity, as is usually thought, but their dispersion and fragmentation: between hospital and territory, between public and private, between private lucrative and private social, between formal and informal resources of help and care..."²⁸⁸

In this perspective, Trieste is also the place where the "Budget di Salute"²⁸⁹ device was born as a tool for social and health integration through a reconversion of economic and infrastructural resources (especially those concerning psychiatric residence). It is an organizational-managerial tool for the realization of personalized life projects able to guarantee the enforceability of the right to health through the activation of integrated social and health interventions. It promotes and implements the protagonism of citizens / users, which is realized in the co-construction of individual customized projects and is structured in the definition of a contract. It promotes and implements the principle of subsidiarity, i.e. the possibility, necessity and reasonableness of entrusting to the level closest to the people who feel the need, the implementation of interventions that enhance informal resources of care in community contexts. All this in the belief that this constitutes one of the areas on which we must intervene more to promote change and evolution of that social and cultural micro context in which the person lives, which is the determining element for a reasonable "well-being". It considers attention to the social determinants of health as central: those who lack social protection factors (they are low-income; live in family and social contexts poor in economic and cultural resources; have frayed relational networks, etc.) find themselves more easily exposed to situations of loss of health. The more socially fragile you are (loneliness, poverty, etc.), the more you are at risk of illness. Taking into high consideration the unity of the person, the "Budget di Salute" requires an approach centered on a strong attention to the health determinants found in the social, economic, working, relational and value context of individual people, for which it is absolutely necessary to create a highly integrated system of health and social services, able to guarantee continuity and appropriateness in actions.

The paths of employment that exist in some micro-areas aimed for example at the maintenance of Ater buildings, by the inhabitants of that neighborhood themselves, use the "Budget di Salute" as a tool and could enter into a Foundational Economy perspective. Indeed, this aspect

²⁸⁶ Moulaert, F, Ganugi, G., Mehmood, A., MacCallum, D. and Leubolt, B. Innovazione sociale: una scintilla per innescare processi trasformativi. Sociologia e Politiche Sociali. (2), 11-49, 2018. Pag.33

²⁸⁷ Gallio G. e Cogliati Dezza M.G. (a cura di) La città che cura. Microaree e periferie della salute. Edizioni alpha beta Verlag, Meran/Merano 2018. Pag.13

²⁸⁸ Gallio G. e Cogliati Dezza M.G. (a cura di) La città che cura. Microaree e periferie della salute. Edizioni alpha beta Verlag, Meran/Merano 2018. Pag.16

²⁸⁹ Righetti A. I Budget Di Salute E Il Welfare Di Comunità: Metodi E Pratiche. Roma: GLF editori Laterza; 2013;

Manuale pratico per l'integrazione socio sanitaria: il modello del Budget di salute. A cura di Fabrizio Starace, Carocci faber 2011 Roma.

should be better recognized and developed by the public institutions present in the Microareas. However, as stated by various sources, in recent years the attention and involvement of the Health Authority in the project have decreased: until 2018 there were in fact direct and constant channels of communication between Microarea and Management, by virtue of the highly experimental and innovative character of the Program and the need to give it legitimacy and support, today they have failed. The training, enhancement and evaluation activities promoted by the Health Authority often in collaboration with other Partner Bodies and with training institutions and universities also ended in 2018. Despite some difficulties reported, the relationship between Microareas and the District of reference remains central. Certainly, this retreat of the Trieste Health Authority casts shadows on the future of the Microarea.

As for the *Zorgzame Buurten*, these are certainly strongly linked to the territory, as they act within an institutional framework that is based on a fully implemented territorial social and health reform. Therefore, there are conditions to limit situations of social exclusion and in particular to increase the capabilities of vulnerable groups that we have seen to be one of the first foundations of social innovation (SI). moreover, thanks to the territorial social and health reform of Belgium, it seems that the conditions are in place for the processes to be not only bottom-up but also bottom-linked. However, the scientific literature highlights how the quasi-concept of SI, in this case, is still linked to the compassionate liberalism of the European Community, as it is still too focused on saving public spending and on the excessive emphasis that there is on the citizen who takes action alone and voluntarily lends his activity to help others. However, some *Zorgzame Buurten* lately present interesting cases of inhabitants of the neighborhoods paid by the Belgian socio-health districts, so that especially in the districts with high immigration, they function as "care ambassadors" alongside ordinary health personnel and the last call explicitly provided funds for this activity.

From the point of view of the Foundational Economy the potential of the "*Zorgzame Buurten*" appears to be considerable, as care is embedded in local communities and the government is co-curator and co-responsible for this. "*Zorgzame Buurten*" should therefore not simply become "hot" initiatives of "charity" but also benefit from a macro view. The importance or potential of "*Zorgzame Buurten*" projects appears to be great, provided that sufficient attention is paid to politicization and structural work, something that is currently not much covered in various current small-scale projects²⁹⁰. Commons initiatives show that alternatives are possible and can therefore be an engine for systemic change when their principles and ideas (such as co-governance and transparency) are taken up by key actors and policies.

Therefore, the Belgian authors²⁹¹ of the Foundational Economy point out that the debate on health ownership goes beyond the tripartite "public – private – commercial". Here the idea of commons should be highlighted, where society owns the care, where care is embedded in local communities, as in the "*Zorgzame Buurten*", where the government is co-curator and co-responsible. It's not just about the properties of the cures, but about helping shape that care. To increase the financial strength of potential new players in the healthcare market, scholars argue that the government should take a leading role in the social mobilization of cheap finance, so that not only large chains are able to provide new services. Scholars argue that this is necessary not only to improve the quality of care, but also to expand unused capacity in order

²⁹⁰ De Donder, L., Hoens, S., Stegen, H. & Smectoren, AS (2021). *Lokaal samenwerken in zorgzame buurten*. Overzicht van 35 projecten met de steun van Fonds Dr. Daniël De Coninck. Brussel: Koning Boudewijnstichting.

²⁹¹ David Bassens & Sarah De Boeck (red.) *DE ESSENTIËLE ECONOMIE* Motor voor een sociaal-ecologische transitie, April 2022, ASP publisher

to respond to the unexpected, as with the current pandemic. It means that different financial logics must be applied that run over longer periods than periods of rapid return on investment by the private sector. The condition of health workers also needs urgent review and, above all, re-evaluation. The wages of much of the long-term care workforce are well below the national average. This certainly applies to social workers and nursing assistants. Wages in the private sector are generally even worse than those in the public sector. Shortages are met by foreign health workers who often do not speak the language.

In the third case, that of Olinda, we find ourselves within a completely different institutional context as in the Lombardy Region there is no territorial socio-health integration at the institutional level, as in the other two cases. For this reason, Olinda's projects do not have public institutional financial support such as to allow long-term investments but has been forced to rely on 90% of the market.

This different institutional context means that Olinda works for patchwork taking advantage of the opportunities that can give her the various projects. Olinda seeks alliances and integration between different organisations as he did at the beginning of his career but also maintaining a constant relationship with public institutions. We have seen as in the case of Trotter; Olinda implements a partnership very similar to the one implemented at the beginning of its history: there is a public institution like the Municipality of Milan, there is a training institution like the Centro Servizi Formazione (CSF), a type A social cooperative like Comin and the Ludwig association for culture. The difference is that there is the presence of a banking foundation like Cariplo Foundation that has replaced European public funding, the ESF.

In addition, we have seen how Olinda uses culture as a strategy to seek a "collaborative governance" with A.O. Niguarda, given that there is no territorial socio-health institutional framework. At the same time, the great development of culture implemented by Olinda has resulted in significant increases in "capacity to aspire" both in young people and in people who undertake work placement paths. This translates into building "learning contexts" that allow people to imagine and project their own future.

In addition, the presence of social enterprise strategies strongly linked to the territory allows, together with culture, the construction of a system of resources and opportunities that can develop "performative citizenship". So it can be said that Olinda, in her own small way, manages to do SI by modifying situations of social exclusion, increasing the capabilities of vulnerable groups.

Moreover, through culture and a regulatory device, such as art. 151 Paragraph 3 of Legislative Decree 50/2016, born in the field of cultural heritage care, Olinda has obtained a long-term contract, 25 years, with the A. O. Niguarda, for the structures it manages within the former O.P. PInI, the SI process is beginning to become bottom-linked in the sense indicated by Moulaert, with a further possible co-production of services, in addition to those of the "Mani in Pasta" and the "Rifugio Ostello" project. This could also be a crucial step with respect to the Foundational Economy. Olinda's economic activities concern public establishments and therefore are very linked to daily life and to the development of "performative citizenship", which we have seen to be one of the bases of FE, but are inserted in a public context, at regional and national level, which does not develop FE but logics of extractive economy and privatisms.

In this sense, Olinda could also have the basis to be a territorial organization based on transformative preparedness, but on this there must be a recognition by public institutions that goes far beyond the emergency of the moment.

Let's think about the case of the "Rifugio Ostello" project, an example of preparedness where Olinda operators and guests were "sentinels" during the covid 19 emergency, giving accommodation to people who were discharged from the SPDC, but are still during a "slow

emergency" like that of the hidden homeless. For slow emergency²⁹² we mean the concept developed in the field of disaster studies that emphasizes the fact that while emergencies (with a capital E) are one-off events that induce an immediate response, slow emergencies also include the different exposure scenarios associated with the event²⁹³ and the possible different timing. Specifically, Anderson and colleagues use this term to highlight the ordinariness of physical and psychological deterioration that can be linked to a spectacular event, such as an Emergency, but lasts beyond the event itself. And considered in a temporal perspective, emergencies can have lasting consequences and interact with people's existing and unequal conditions, sometimes going so far as to define their overall living conditions. More radically, the authors suggest that all emergencies evolve into emergencies and the two cannot be separated also because the government and management of the former have a strong impact on the latter, either because they ignore them and leave them without government, or because they actively intervene in them. In the case of the social emergency resulting from the Covid-19 epidemic, the lack of an adequate infrastructure capable of promptly recognizing the conditions of vulnerability already present in the population and consequently defining measures to support them during the lockdown emerged.

On one side of the emergency there was the local authority, which was not able to find out who suffers from precariousness if it was not taken care of by the social services; on the other hand there was OstelloLinda who had a specific knowledge of the territory and of people in hidden homeless conditions. However, the visibility of these situations is not enough if only an emergency problem remains. The question here is how to harness this knowledge and make it a recognized information base to define new boundaries of care. In this perspective, the "Rifugio Ostello" Project should be institutionalized, as part of the A.O. Niguarda and supported with health funds as a slow emergency approach aims to build a safe and protected context for social life.²⁹⁴

The example of the "Rifugio Ostello" project also has a value with respect to what financialization is doing in the field of care. According to Amy Horton²⁹⁵ Financialization does not limit itself to closing spaces of care but creates new ones. For investors, care homes fall into the same investment category as "alternative property" as hotels. Investors in care companies have tried to make their real estate assets more calculable and profitable by standardizing the assets themselves in hotel-like spaces.²⁹⁶

In the UK, fragmentation of ownership and funding has rendered much of the healthcare infrastructure obsolete.²⁹⁷ Governments have withdrawn from building care homes since the late 70s; 95% is now privately owned. The state has continued to fund assistance services on the basis of means-verification, but since 2010 public funding has come under significant pressure due to austerity programs. Larger chains are managed by investment funds, as they are willing to take on higher debt levels for acquisitions, capital expenditures and expansion than more risk-averse publicly traded companies. It is in this context that real estate investment

²⁹² Anderson, B., Grove, K., Rickards, L., & Kearnes, M. (2020). Slow Emergencies. Temporality and the Racialized Biopolitics of Emergency Governance. *Progress in Human Geography*, 44(4), 621–639.

²⁹³ Mitman, G., Murphy, M., & Sellers, C. (Eds.). (2004). *Landscapes of Exposure: Knowledge and Illness in Modern Environments*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

²⁹⁴ Caselli, D., Giullari, B., & Mozzana, C. (2021). Prepared to Care? Knowledge and Welfare in a Time of Emergency. *Sociologica*, 15(3), 107–124. <https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.1971-8853/13600>

²⁹⁵ Horton, A. Liquid home? Financialisation of the built environment in the UK's "hotel-style" care homes. *Trans Inst Br Geogr*. 2021; 46: 179– 192. <https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12410>

²⁹⁶ Horton, A. 2017. *Financialisation of Care: Investment and organising in the UK and US*. Doctoral thesis.

²⁹⁷ Horton, A. Liquid home? Financialisation of the built environment in the UK's "hotel-style" care homes. *Trans Inst Br Geogr*. 2021; 46: pp.183. <https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12410>

trusts have become "the leading investor in UK care homes". They led the financing of new homes and major renovations.

Investors' priorities contribute to the production of a specific built environment for assistance in financialized chains. Investors classify care homes as a subsector of commercial real estate alongside hotels, making them comparable to other properties and calculable as investments. This categorization helps reduce investors' sense of risk by offering an alternative use for space: if profits fall too low in residential care, some residences could be converted into low-end hotels or student accommodation. The space is thus standardized and made convertible. Similarly, the marketing materials of the service companies emphasize that the facilities are "hotel type" or "hotel standard"²⁹⁸.

In summary, the hotel-type care home is the product of investors' categorization of care homes as a type of calculable and convertible space, oriented towards profitability through the rationalization of space and the reduction of personnel costs, rather than distinctive co-produced places that support relationships and sense of home.²⁹⁹ While the quality of care offered to residents in hotel-like care homes is often not up to par, a significant number of older people are denied access to these homes. The exclusion is generated both by high "hotel costs" in nursing homes and by uneven geographies of investments in care. His analysis shows first that standardization contradicts claims of increasing personalization, and instead appears to be evidence of mass production of space by "Taylorist finance." In addition, these spaces are designed for liquid populations, which are transient and able to pay higher fees. Such exclusivity goes against interdependence and responsiveness to needs, which are considered priority by the ethics of care. It stems in part from a lack of state intervention to ensure sustainable and geographically uniform care services.

According to this author, a new approach to care policy and policy is urgently needed. To provide good residences and jobs, it is essential for nursing homes to ensure long-term ownership at affordable prices. Care facilities also need sustainable financing for capital expenditure related to new developments and major restructuring. Finance must be available to care providers, such as cooperatives. These demands counter recent trends in austerity, privatization of public land at market rates and financialized real estate. Instead, collective investment in caregiver care and support spaces should be at the heart of efforts to recover from the impacts of COVID-19. However, democratic control of care spaces presents particular challenges given the health conditions and short length of stay of many residents. Ownership, governance, design, and work on spaces for personal care, therefore require a real co-production, involving residents, relatives, workers, the wider community and local government, in line with the ethics of care.

The treatment of Amy Horton makes us reflect on how models such as Ostello Linda, that is, hotel accommodation structures within heterarchic enterprises, able to accommodate people from different backgrounds, young globetrotters but also the elderly, hidden homeless, psychiatric users, artists can be a valid alternative to this model of residential care that financialization is carrying out. Therefore, public institutions should enhance these alternative models in a Foundational Economy perspective.

²⁹⁸ Horton, A. Liquid home? Financialisation of the built environment in the UK's "hotel-style" care homes. *Trans Inst Br Geogr.* 2021; 46: pp.184. <https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12410>

²⁹⁹ Horton, A. Liquid home? Financialisation of the built environment in the UK's "hotel-style" care homes. *Trans Inst Br Geogr.* 2021; 46: pp.185. <https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12410>

Finally, we are trying to draw cross-sectional comparative readings between the three cases examined. Let's go back to the initial question, which guided all my discussion, namely "What are the factors and dynamics that are relevant from the point of view of the Foundational Economy and Social Innovation? The relevant factors and dynamics common to the three cases are in summary:

- the presence of the Capabilities Approach which, as Bifulco states, is a «*perspective to rethink citizenship, redesign welfare [...], focus on freedom and powers, therefore the agency, of the recipients*»³⁰⁰, which in all three cases can lay the foundations of capability for voice understood as the ability that each actor has to express their reasons and make them heard in the decision-making process.
- The presence of capacity to aspire that allows a strong projectiveness in the future such as to create learning contexts
- The presence of performative citizenship
- The presence of preparedness

In addition, there is another common determinant of territorial integration. In all three cases, development is triggered thanks to strategies that involve several actors, public and private, capable of sharing and coordinating projects. In addition, we try to connect the areas of living, working, socializing, school, training, health to achieve a better quality of life. In this area it is important according to Bifulco³⁰¹ the methodology. In the three cases examined, the following can be observed:

- An integrated multi-scale methodology, as there is coordination between powers/responsibilities/competences operating at national, regional and municipal level;
- An integrated multi-actor methodology as institutions and organizations of different nature, public and private, work together.
- an integrated multisectoral methodology, based on coordination between different policy sectors (housing, social welfare services, health, school, culture)
- an integrated methodology jointly focused on people and their contexts, on people's needs and on the structural conditions (physical/spatial, economic, social) of life in which needs, desires and aspirations take shape.

However, an integrated methodology requires coordination both at the inter-institutional and intra-institutional level (between offices and sectors of the same institution) and here the first differences begin to be noticed: this type of integration is much less, in the case of Olinda, both at the inter-institutional level due to the lack of institutionalized socio-territorial integration, as happens in the Habitat Microareas Program and in the "Zorgzame Burteen", both at an intra-institutional level since the "organ pipe" model of the Municipality of Milan has created problems for the Mosso project.

Another element of difference between the cases examined is the presence of a social and health integration device such as the "budget di salute" only within the Microareas Habitat Program. As we have said, this tool is essential for the conversion of health resources to encourage the

³⁰⁰ Bifulco, L. (2015), *Il welfare locale. Processi e prospettive*, Carocci, Roma.

³⁰¹ Bifulco L, Mozzana C, eds. *La Gestione Sociale Dell'abitare: Approcci, Strumenti, Esperienze*. Roma: Carocci; 2022.

transition from places of care to care of places³⁰². The “Budget di Salute” reconverts irrational expenses, first of all the fees for traditional residential structures, and triggers sustainable production processes starting from social policies. In this sense it is also an important tool for the Foundational Economy. The Health Budget is the subject of a bill and the “Rete per un Nuovo Welfare” on the Budget di Salute³⁰³ proposes to no longer speak of experimentation, but of social innovation, since it is a method already widespread for twenty years in different regions of Italy.

³⁰² De Leonardis O., Monteleone R. Dai luoghi della cura alla cura dei luoghi. Officina Edizioni country:IT 2007

³⁰³ Presentate dalla Rete Per un nuovo Welfare all’evento on-line di VITA non profit su “Welfare di comunità e persona. La proposta di legge sui budget di salute”, 30/11/2020.

Bibliography

- Anderson, B., Grove, K., Rickards, L., & Kearnes, M. (2020). Slow Emergencies. Temporality and the Racialized Biopolitics of Emergency Governance. *Progress in Human Geography*, 44(4)
- Appadurai A. *Le aspirazioni nutrono la democrazia*, 2011 Et Al Edizioni
- Appadurai A. (2014) *Il futuro come fatto culturale*, Milano: Cortina
- Araral, E. (2014) 'Ostrom, Hardin and the commons: A critical appreciation and a revisionist view', *Environmental Science & Policy*
- Arendt, H. (1998) *The Human Condition*, Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- AA.VV. 2020, *MaN'Aige: Comment construire un quartier d'entraide ensemble avec les utilisateurs du quartier? Rapport de recherche 1 (2019-2020)*.
- Azione Pubblica. *Un glossario sui generis*, a cura di Lavinia Bifulco, Vando Borghi, Massimo Bricocoli, Diana Mauri, Mimesis edizioni 2018
- Barbera, F., Negri, N. and Salento, A. (2018) 'From individual choice to collective voice, foundational economy, local commons and citizenship', *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia*, 2
- Barbera F. e Parisi T., 2017, *L'innovazione sociale radicale*, in Quarta A. e Spanò M. (a cura di), *Rispondere alla crisi, Ombre Corte*, Verona,
- Barbera F. and Parisi T: *Innovatori sociali. La sindrome di Prometeo nell'Italia che cambia*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2019
- Barbera F., 2020, *L'innovazione sociale: aspetti concettuali, problemi metodologici e implicazioni per l'agenda della ricerca*, *POLIS*, XXXIV, 1
- Bassens D. & De Boeck S. (red.) *DE ESSENTIËLE ECONOMIE Motor voor een sociaal-ecologische transitie*, April 2022, ASP publisher
- Bekaert, A., Denys, B., De Muynck, J. et al. (2016). *Buurtgerichte Zorg. De 'actief Zorgzame buurt' als toekomstmodel voor Vlaanderen en Brussel*. VVDC & Kenniscentrum Woonzorg Brussel.
- Beck, U. *Living in the world risk society*, 2006, in «*Economy and Society*», 35, 3
- Batterham, D. (2019), "Homelessness as capability deprivation: a conceptual model", *Housing, Theory and Society*, Vol. 36 No. 3
- Boltanski, L., Chiappello, E. (1999) *Le nouvel esprit du capitalisme*, Paris, Édition Gallimard. trad it., *Il nuovo spirito del capitalismo*, Milano, Mimesis, 2014.
- Bifulco, L. (2015), *Il welfare locale. Processi e prospettive*, Carocci, Roma.
- Bifulco, L. e Bertotti T. *Innovazione Sociale in A cura di: Lavinia Bifulco; Vando Borghi; Massimo Bricocoli; Diana Mauri. Azione Pubblica: un glossario Sui Generis. 2018. Mimesis Edizioni*
- Bifulco, L. (2017a) *Innovazione sociale e conoscenza: il ruolo dello Stato*, in *La rivista delle politiche sociali*, n. 3
- Bifulco L., *Che cos'è un'organizzazione*, Carocci Roma 2019
- Bifulco, L.; Bricocoli, M.; Monteleone, R. 2008 *Welfare locale e istituzioni riflessive. Processi di attivazione in Friuli-Venezia Giulia*, in «*La Rivista delle Politiche Sociali*», 3
- Bifulco, L., Bricocoli, M. and Monteleone, R. (2008) 'Activation and local welfare in Italy: Trends and issues', *Social Policy & Administration*, 42(2)
- Bifulco L, Mozzana C, eds. *La Gestione Sociale Dell'abitare: Approcci, Strumenti, Esperienze*. Roma: Carocci; 2022.
- Blumenfeld, H. (1955). The economic base of the metropolis: Critical remarks on the "basic-non basic" concept. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 21(4), 114–132; Jacobs, J. (1972). *The economy of cities*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- Borghi Vando, *Naufragi e spettatori. Su margini, spazio e rappresentazioni*, *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia*, Fascicolo 4, ottobre-dicembre 2017
- Boeckstaens, P., Boeykens, D., Macq, J. & Vandebroek, P. (2020). *Goal-oriented care. A shared language and cocreative practice for health and social care*. King Baudouin Foundation.
- Bono M. and Del Giudice G. *Resto a casa. Strategie e percorsi per l'assistenza domiciliare inclusiva e partecipativa*, a cura di., 2022, ConF.Basaglia
- Bono, M. *Come lavorare nel territorio? Percorsi di "ricerca pratica"*, in Bifulco L., Mozzana C. (a cura di) *La gestione sociale dell'Abitare*. Carrocci editore. 2022
- Bowman, A., Ertürk, I., Froud, J., Johal, S., Law, J., Leaver, A., ... Williams, K. (2014). *The end of the experiment? From competition to the foundational economy*. Manchester: Manchester University Press
- Braudel. (1986). *Civilization & capitalism 15th-18th century: Volume I, the structures of everyday life, the limits of the possible*. London: William Collins Sons.
- Braudel, F. (1981) *The Structure of Everyday Life, Civilization and Capitalism, Volume 1*, New York: Harper & Row.

- Bricocoli, Massimo & Salento, Angelo. (2020). Housing and the grounded city: Rent extraction and social innovations. In *The Foundational economy and citizenship: comparative perspectives on civil repair* (2020). Bristol: Policy Press (pp.129-156)
- Bricocoli M., Coppola A.: A posteriori. La trasformazione dell'ex ospedale Paolo Pini come progetto urbano. *Off Limits. Le réemploi d'une grande fonction urbaine, Le cas de l'ancien asile psychiatrique Paolo Pini à Milan*, Aprile 2013; in Bricocoli M., Savoldi P. (2013), *Urbanisme de projet en chantier_projets urbains sous observation*, Rapporto di ricerca DASTU per il Plan Urbanisme Construction Architecture, Paris
- Bricocoli M., Savoldi P. (2013), *Urbanisme de projet en chantier_projets urbains sous observation*, Rapporto di ricerca DASTU per il Plan Urbanisme Construction Architecture, Paris,
- Carolan, M. (2017) 'More-than-active food citizens: A longitudinal and comparative study of alternative and conventional eaters', *Rural Sociology*, 82(2)
- Caselli, D., Giullari, B., & Mozzana, C. (2021). Prepared to Care? Knowledge and Welfare in a Time of Emergency. *Sociologica*, 15(3),
- Chambers, S. (2012). *The lessons of Ranciere*. P. 73; Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Christaller, Walter (1933): *Die zentralen Orten in Süddeutsch-Land*. Gustav Fischer, Jena
- Davezies, L. (2009). L'économie locale "résidentielle". *Géographie, économie, société*, 11
- De Boeck, S. Bassens, D., Ryckewaert, M. (2017) *Easing spatial inequalities? An analysis of the anticipated effects of urban enterprise zones in Brussels*. *European Planning Studies*, 25(10)
- De Donder, L., Smetcoren, A.-S., Dury, S., Van Regenmortel, S., Lambotte, D., Duppen, D. & Verté, D. (2017). *Zorginnovatie in Vlaams proeftuinen: onderzoek naar Actief Zorgzame Buurten in Brussel en Antwerpen*. Brussel: Belgian Ageing Studies.
- De Donder et al., *Lokaal samenwerken in Zorgzame Buurten*, 2021, Fonds Dr. Daniël De Coninck
- De Donder, L., Smetcoren, A.-S., Schols, J. M. G. A., van der Vorst, A., & Dierckx, E. (2019). Critical reflections on the blind sides of frailty in later life. *Journal of Aging Studies*, 49.
- De Donder, L., Smetcoren, A.-S., Dury, S., et al. (2017). *Zorginnovatie in Vlaamse proeftuinen: Onderzoek naar Actief Zorgzame Buurten in Brussel en Antwerpen*. Kenniscentrum Woonzorg Brussel.
- De Leonardis O., De Vidovich L. (2018) *Innovazioni per l'apprendimento istituzionale. Il Programma Microaree*, Background Paper, III Rapporto sulle città, Urban@it, Bologna: il Mulino
- De Leonardis O., Mauri D., Rotelli F. (1994) *L'impresa sociale*, Milano: Anabasi
- Douglas M., Isherwood B., *Il mondo delle cose. Oggetti, valori, consumi*, tr. it. il Mulino, Bologna 1984
- De Leonardis O. *Il terzo escluso. Le istituzioni come vincoli e risorse*, Milano, Feltrinelli. 1990
- De Leonardis, O. In *Un Diverso Welfare : Sogni E Incubi; Elementi / [feltrinelli]; Feltrinelli: Milano, 1998.*
- De Leonardis O., Monteleone R. *Dai luoghi della cura alla cura dei luoghi*. Officina Edizioni country:IT 2007
- De Visscher, K. (2018). *Moeilijk bereikbare groepen bestaan niet*. Sociaal.Net.
- Dewaele, C., De Maeyer, J., Reynaert, D., Beelen, S., Vandevelde, S., & Meesen, D. (2015). *Vermaatschappelijking, laveren tussen kansen en bedreigingen*. Sociaal.Net
- Donolo Carlo, Fichera Franco contributi di Mimmo Carrieri, *Le vie dell'innovazione : forme e limiti della razionalità politica*, Feltrinelli, 1988
- Dum, C. P. (2016). *Exiled in America: Life on the margins in a residential motel*. Columbia University Press.
- Economia Fondamentale. Infrastruttura della vita quotidiana*. A cura del Collettivo per l'Economia Fondamentale. 2019 Giulio Einaudi Editore, pp.2
- Engelen, E., Johal, S., Salento, A., & Williams, K. (2014, September 24). *How to build a fairer city*. The Guardian online.
- Evangelista, G.F. (2010), "Poverty, homelessness and freedom: an approach from the capabilities theory", *European Journal of Homelessness*, Vol. 4, pp. 189-202.
- Evans G. *Measure for measure: Evaluating the evidence of culture's contribution to regeneration*, in «Urban Studies», 42, 5-6,
- Fainstein, Susan (2010). *The Just City*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Forgacs 2015, XIX David Forgacs, *Margini d'Italia. L'esclusione sociale dall'Unità ad oggi*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2015.
- Fontan, J.-M., Klein, J.-L. et D.-G. Tremblay (2005). *Innovation socioterritoriale et reconversion économique. Le cas de Montréal*. Paris, L'Harmattan.
- Froud, J., Haslam, C., Johal, S., Law, J., & Williams, K. (2020). *When Systems Fail* (Research Report of the Foundation Economy Collective). The Foundational Economy Collective.
- Fougère, M. Segercrantz, B. e Seeck, H. (2017), *A critical reading of the European Union's social innovation policy discourse: (Re)legitimizing neoliberalism*, in *Organizationn*. N. 6
- The Foundational Economy and Citizenship: Comparative Perspectives on Civil Repair*; Civil Society and Social Change; Policy Press: Bristol, 2020.
- Gallio, G. e Cogliati Dezza, M.G. (2018) (a cura di). *La città che cura. Microaree e periferie della salute*. Merano: Alpha Beta Verlag
- Garcia, B. (2017) 'New citizenship in Spain: From social cooperation to self-government', *Citizenship Studies*, 21(4):
- Godin B. (2012), "Social innovation: Utopias of Innovation from c.1830 to the Present", Working Paper n. 11, Project on the Intellectual History of Innovation, Montréal, Quebec.

- Godin, B. (2010) 'Innovation Without the Word: William F. Ogburn's Contribution to the Technological Innovation Studies', *Minerva*, 48(3)
- Heylen, L., & Lommelen, L. (2016). *Het kleine helpen: Bouwen aan buurnetwerken rond ouderen*. Politea.
- Hildebrandt, Paula & Evert, Kerstin & Peters, Sibylle & Schaub, Mirjam & Wildner, Kathrin & Ziemer, Gesa. (2019). *Performing Citizenship Bodies, Agencies, Limitations*. Springer Nature publisher
- Honneth A., *La lotta per il riconoscimento*, Il Saggiatore Milano 2002
- Horton, A. 2017. *Financialisation of Care: Investment and organising in the UK and US*. Doctoral thesis.
- Horton, A. *Liquid home? Financialisation of the built environment in the UK's "hotel-style" care homes*. *Trans Inst Br Geogr*. 2021;
- Il Capitale Quotidiano. Un Manifesto per l'economia fondamentale* a cura di Filippo Barbera, Joselle Dagnes, Angelo Salento, Ferdinando Spina, 2016 Donzelli Editore, Roma
- Io resto a casa. Strategie e percorsi per una domiciliarità inclusiva e partecipata*, a cura di Bono M. e Del Giudice G., 2022, ConF.Basaglia
- Isin, E.F. (2017) 'Performative Citizenship', in A. Shachar, R. Bauböck, I. Bloemraad and M. Vink (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Citizenship*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jacobs J. *Dark age ahead*, New York, Random House. 2004
- Jessop, B., Moulaert, F., Hulgård, L. and Hamdouch, A. (2013) 'Social Innovation Research: A New Stage in Innovation Analysis?', in F. Moulaert, D. MacCallum, A. Mehmood and A. Hamdouch (eds) *The International Handbook on Social Innovation: Collective Action, Social Learning and Transdisciplinary Research*, Cheltenham, Edward Elgar, 110–30.
- Kelder, E., & Jonkers, J. (2010). Chantal Mouffe: 'Een compromise is uiteindelijk altijd in het voordeel van de rijken'. *Tijdschrift voor sociale vraagstukken*, 10.
- Kuhn, T. S. (1962). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Klein J- L., Morrissette P. (2013), "Le développement économique communautaire et la cohésion sociale à Montréal: une recherche partenariale sur l'apport des CDEC", *Les Cahiers du CRISES Collection Études théoriques*, Montréal, Québec
- Lanzara G. F. *Perché è difficile costruire le istituzioni*, in «*Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*», 1997
- Massey, D. B. (2007), *World City*, Cambridge: Polity Press
- Mileva, T. (2004), *Local participatory democracy in Britain's health service: innovation or fragmentation of a universal citizenship?* *Social Policy & Administration*, 38, 3
- Mitman, G., Murphy, M., & Sellers, C. (Eds.). (2004). *Landscapes of Exposure: Knowledge and Illness in Modern Environments*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Montgomery, T. (2016). *Are social innovation paradigms incommensurable?* *Voluntas*, 27, 1979–2000.
- Mooney G. (2004) *Cultural policy as urban transformation? Critical reflections on Glasgow, European city of culture 1990*, in «*Local Economy*», 19, 4, pp. 327-340.
- Moulaert, F., Ganugi, G., Mehmood, A., MacCallum, D. and Leubolt, B. *Innovazione sociale: una scintilla per innescare processi trasformativi*. *Sociologia e Politiche Sociali*. (2), 11-49, 2018
- Moulaert, F., & Nussbaumer, J. (2005). *The social region beyond the territorial dynamics of the learning economy*. P. 50 *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 12(1)
- Moulaert, F., MacCallum, D. (2019) *Advanced Introduction to Social Innovation*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar
- Moulaert F., Mehmood A., Manganelli A. (2017b), "Spazi d'innovazione sociale", in Monteduro G. (a cura di), *Sussidiarietà e innovazione sociale. Costruire un welfare societario*, Franco Angeli, Milano
- Moulaert F., Pieter Van der Broeck, Alessandra Manganelli "Innovazione sociale e sviluppo territoriale", *Rivista Impresa Sociale*, n.10, Dicembre 2017
- Oudshoorn Abe, Tanya Benjamin, Tracy A. Smith-Carrier, Sarah Benbow, Carrie Anne Marshall, Riley Kennedy, Jodi Hall, C. Susana Caxa, Helene Berman and Deanna Befus "A rapid review of practices to support people experiencing homelessness during COVID-19" in *Housing, Care and Support* 24 n3-4 (2021) 1214
- Petrillo A. *La Periferia nuova. Disuguaglianza, spazi, città*. Franco Angeli 2018,
- Petrillo A. (2013). *Peripheriein: pensare diversamente la periferia*. Milano: FrancoAngeli
- Pinson, G. 2009 *Il progetto come strumento d'azione pubblica urbana*, in P. Lascoumes e P. Le Galès (a cura di), *Gli strumenti per governare*. Milano, Bruno Mondadori
- Plovie, E., & Heylen, L. (2020). *Buurtzorg in crisistijd: Wie al heeft, zal nog meer krijgen*. Sociaal.net.
- Plovie, E., Debruyne, P., Schrooten, M., & Thys, R. (2020). *Solidariteit: wie ze het meest nodig heeft, krijgt ze het minst*. Sociaal.net.
- Plovie, E., & De Bruyn, S. (2020). *Samen Stad Maken: Onderzoek naar de impact van Bruss-it projecten*.
- Rancière, J. (2014). *Hatred of democracy*. P. 58; London and New York; Verso.
- Raeymaekers, P., Denis, A., Mergaert, L., & Guffens, C. (2017). *Kwetsbare ouderen thuis ondersteunen– Lokale krachten bundelen*. Koning Boudewijnstichting.
- Righetti A. *I Budget Di Salute E Il Welfare Di Comunità: Metodi E Pratiche*. Roma: GLF editori Laterza; 2013;
- Rotelli, F. 2020 *La città che cura*.
- Sassen, S. (2015) *Espulsioni. Brutalità e complessità nell'economia globale*, Bologna, Il Mulino.
- Schuermans, G. (2020). *Zorgzame buurt moet bovenal oog hebben voor haar kwetsbare bewoners*. Sociaal.Net.

- Sen A. *Inequality Reexamined*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1992; Sen A. *Lo sviluppo è libertà*, Mondadori Milano 2001
- Sen A. *Lo sviluppo è libertà*, Mondadori Milano 2001
- Sen, A. K. (1992), *Inequality re-examined*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Smetcoren, A.-S., Massart, E., Demuynck, K., et al. (2017). *Entour-Age Noord. Inspirerend & innovatief wonen & werken*. University Press.
- Starace F. (a cura di) *Manuale pratico per l'integrazione socio sanitaria: il modello del Budget di salute*. Carocci faber 2011 Roma.
- Starck, D. *the sense of Dissonance. Accounts of Worth in economic life*. Princeton university press, Princeton 2009
- Stevenson, N. (2015) 'Post-citizenship, the New Left and the democratic commons', *Citizenship Studies*, 19(6-7)
- Tosi A. *Le case dei poveri. È ancora possibile pensare un welfare abitativo?* Mimesis, Milano 2016
- Tully, James. 2014. *On Global Citizenship: James Tully in Dialogue*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Tsukerman K., Erin Ruel, Eric R. Wright & Terri Lewinson (2021) *Youth who sleep in motels: an acknowledged but unknown population of the hidden homeless*, *Housing and Society*, 48:3
- Vandenbroeck, P., & Braes, T. (2020). *Integrated Community Care 4all, New Principles for Care: Strategy paper to move ICC forward*. TransForm Integrated Community Care
- Vandeurzen, J. (2018). *Inspiratienota Zorgzame Buurten*. Vlaamse Overheid.
- Vanmechelen, O., Vermeulen S., 2019, *Cahier Buurtgerichte zorg*, Kennis Centrum WWZ
- Vicari Haddock Serena, Frank Moulaert (a cura di), *Rigenerare la città. Pratiche di innovazione sociale nelle città europee*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2009
- Vigliarolo F. *Le imprese recuperate. Argentina, dalla finanziarizzazione alla socializzazione dell'economia*, Altraeconomia-Città del Sole Editore, Milano-Reggio Calabria 2011
- Vitale T. "L'impatto istituzionale dell'innovazione sociale" in Vicari Haddock Serena, Frank Moulaert (a cura di), *Rigenerare la città. Pratiche di innovazione sociale nelle città europee*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2009
- Vitale, Tommaso, 2010. "Opening the Psychiatric Hospital and Bringing the City Inside. Contradiction and Reflexivity in a Case of Urban Innovation," *SocArXiv bw856*, Center for Open Science.
- Wacquant Loic *I reietti della città, ghetto, periferia, stato* 2016 Eliopoli editore
- What Comes after the Pandemic? A Ten-Point Platform for Foundational Renewal*, 2020
- Weick K. *Senso e significato nell'organizzazione*, Milano, Cortina, 1997
- Weick K. *Educational organizations as loosely coupled systems*, in «*Administrative Science Quarterly*», 21; trad. it. *Le organizzazioni scolastiche come sistemi a legame debole*, in *Logiche di azione organizzative*, a cura di S. Zan, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1988
- Westberry, Abigail T. Ms., "“Before its Smell Became Me:” Motel Residency and the Politics of Belonging" (2019). Honors Theses.

Annex 1

AZIENDA PER I SERVIZI SANITARI
N. 1 TRIESTINA
TRIESTE

Prot. N. 44086/gen I.I.A

del. 16 OTT. 2009

PROTOCOLLO DI INTESA

PROGRAMMA "HABITAT-MICROAREE MUGGIA"

Premesso che:

- la Regione Friuli-Venezia Giulia, con la legge regionale n. 6 del 31.03.2006 n. 6, si è posta la finalità di realizzare nel territorio regionale un sistema organico di interventi e servizi che favorisca la qualità della vita, l'autonomia individuale, le pari opportunità, la non discriminazione, la coesione sociale, la prevenzione, la riduzione e l'eliminazione delle condizioni di bisogno, di disagio e di esclusione sociale (art. 1). Tale norma auspica, fra l'altro, che le politiche del sistema integrato e gli interventi in materia di immigrazione, di lavoro e occupazione, formazione, di servizi per la prima infanzia e di edilizia residenziale siano realizzati mediante misure attuative coordinate (art. 3) e che avvenga l'integrazione sociosanitaria, finalizzata al coordinamento e all'integrazione tra i servizi sociali e i servizi sanitari, al fine di assicurare una risposta unitaria alle esigenze di salute e di benessere della persona, indipendentemente dal soggetto gestore degli interventi (art. 55). Inoltre, la legge regionale riconosce il ruolo sociale dei soggetti del terzo settore e degli altri soggetti senza scopo di lucro (art. 14) e considera centrale il ruolo delle comunità locali per promuovere il miglioramento della qualità della vita e delle relazioni tra le persone e intende sostenere la partecipazione attiva dei cittadini, delle organizzazioni di rappresentanza sociale, delle associazioni sociali e di tutela degli utenti, oltre le iniziative di reciprocità e di auto-aiuto delle persone e delle famiglie che svolgono compiti di cura (art. 2);
- nella provincia di Trieste è in atto da alcuni anni, in ambiti territoriali con rilevante presenza di case di edilizia residenziale pubblica, il programma "Habitat-microaree", avente finalità di promozione di ben-essere e coesione sociale. Il programma, realizzato in sinergia tra soggetti pubblici (Ater, Comune, Azienda per i servizi sanitari), associazioni, organismi della cooperazione sociale e del volontariato, si propone di intervenire con azioni coerenti ed organiche nei settori della sanità, dell'educazione, dell'habitat, del lavoro e della democrazia locale, come indicato dall'OMS e da istituzioni europee (Consiglio europeo di Lisbona, marzo 2000; Commissione europea, febbraio 2005 "Agenda per la politica sociale"); il programma ha preso avvio sulla base dei seguenti provvedimenti amministrativi: Azienda per i servizi sanitari n. 1 - Triestina: Delibera di data 24.7.1998 del Direttore Generale; Istituto autonomo per le case popolari (dal 15.9.1999 divenuto

ATER) della provincia di Trieste: Delibera n. 6 di data 1.9.98 del Consiglio di Amministrazione; Comune di Trieste: Deliberazione n. 1302 della Giunta Comunale di data 15.10.1998; successivamente si è convenuto di formalizzare, in continuità con quanto precedentemente realizzato, un nuovo programma denominato “Habitat – Microaree, salute e sviluppo della comunità”, estendendo le aree cittadine interessate dall’azione congiunta dei tre Enti.

- il protocollo di intesa tra il Comune di Trieste, l’Azienda per i servizi sanitari n. 1 “Triestina”, e l’Azienda territoriale per l’edilizia residenziale pubblica della provincia di Trieste, per la strutturazione del programma “Habitat-microaree, salute e sviluppo della comunità”, è stato inserito, quale parte sostanziale, anche negli Accordi di Programma per i Piani di Zona degli ambiti socio sanitari del territorio del Comune di Trieste per il triennio 2006-2008;
- con atto deliberativo del Direttore Regionale n.27 dd. 20 marzo 2006, l’Agenzia Regionale della Sanità ha approvato il “Programma regionale di sviluppo Micro-Win: realizzazione scambi, bilanci e impatti delle sperimentazioni di interventi per la salute e lo sviluppo di comunità in microaree territoriali della Regione FVG”;
- con riguardo al programma in oggetto, l’Azienda per i Servizi Sanitari n.1 Triestina, in particolare:
 - con delibera n. 69 dd. 31 gennaio 2006 relativa al PAL 2006 dell’ASS N°1 Triestina, ha inserito gli obiettivi inerenti MICROAREE-MICROWIN quali obiettivi prioritari da parte di tutte le strutture operative aziendali;
 - con delibera n. 224 dd. 5 aprile 2007 ha ratificato la nomina dei 10 referenti di microarea per l’ASS 1, fornendo indicazioni operative per lo svolgimento delle funzioni di referente di Microarea nell’ambito della sperimentazione Microaree-MICROWIN;
 - nel corso del 2008 ad hoc la sperimentazione si è estesa ad altre 5 microaree in convenzione con vari soggetti istituzionali del territorio;
- nel Comune di Muggia, l’Ater di Trieste gestisce un’area denominata Borgo Zindis, sita nelle vicinanze del confine con la Slovenia, nella quale trovano collocazione 213 appartamenti, costruiti nel periodo 1959-1960 per far fronte all’emergenza abitativa post-bellica, in cui attualmente risiedono in totale circa 550 persone (il 30% costituito da anziani ultra 65enni) e 300 nuclei familiari;
- l’Amministrazione Comunale di Muggia ha avviato il progetto “Zindis al centro”, che si propone, attraverso un processo partecipato, di individuare i meccanismi che ostacolano lo sviluppo del territorio, presentare indicazioni sui modi attraverso cui superare tali ostacoli e creare i presupposti per un maggior grado di benessere; progetto che si concluderà con la stesura del “Rapporto di ricerca-azione”;
- il Distretto 3 della ASS n°1 Triestina, distretto sanitario competente dell’area di Zindis, attraverso la sua sede di Muggia, dal 2007 ha attivato varie azioni sperimentali e di formazione nell’area in oggetto in previsione di un’espansione della sperimentazione Habitat-Microaree;

- gli Enti interessati all'accordo :
 - condividono la finalità di promuovere azioni di governance territoriale volte a costruire reti attive e dinamiche con soggetti pubblici e privati impegnati nell'erogazione di servizi;
 - desiderano impegnarsi in prima persona nella promozione di interventi sinergici volti al miglioramento degli standard abitativi, attraverso interventi manutentivi degli stabili e delle aree esterne dell'area, alla tutela della salute e allo sviluppo della cooperazione sociale e culturale delle famiglie;
 - considerano elemento essenziale nella realizzazione del Programma il coinvolgimento attivo dei cittadini residenti, delle associazioni locali, cooperative sociali, organizzazioni di volontariato e altri soggetti privati accanto alla presenza degli enti pubblici;
- l'adesione al presente Protocollo è decisa dai competenti organi degli Enti, con specifiche deliberazioni in allegato al presente atto.

tra gli Enti sottoelencati:

- Comune di Muggia – Servizio Sociale e Servizio Educativo
- Ater
- Azienda per Servizi Sanitari n. 1 – Distretto 3

si stipula il seguente

PROTOCOLLO DI INTESA

1. DEFINIZIONE DELL'AREA DI INTERVENTO

Gli Enti firmatari individuano come area iniziale di intervento, che forma oggetto delle azioni del Programma, le seguenti vie:

- Zindis, stradello A, numeri civici 1....
- Zindis, stradello B, numeri civici 1....
- Zindis, stradello C, numeri civici 1....

L'area è periferica rispetto al centro di Muggia, circondata da una strada provinciale e collegata al centro con mezzi pubblici dalla linea periferica 27. Nell'ultimo decennio il borgo si è via via impoverito di spazi di aggregazione e della presenza di esercizi pubblici (rimangono il giornalaio e il panificio) e mancano,

inoltre, locali di aggregazione sociale. Nel corso degli anni la qualità della vita della zona, come documentato da ricerche effettuate sul campo, manifesta segni di deterioramento, che si esprimono sotto forma di degrado ambientale, accentuata solitudine delle persone anziane, presenza di nuclei familiari in condizioni di disagio sociale e di non autonomia. La distanza dal centro e presenza per anni di una barriera fisica e culturale costituita dal confine di Stato ha contribuito inoltre a creare un distacco, una “non comunicazione” fra gli abitanti di questa area e quelli del centro cittadino e della vicina Slovenia.

2. FINALITÀ

Il Protocollo ha l’obiettivo di attivare un percorso di conoscenza reciproca dei rispettivi Enti, al fine di individuare elementi di condivisione, e creare una sinergia di interventi in modo tale da:

- “ottimizzare” l’azione di ciascun ente e contemporaneamente aprire ad una più forte collaborazione interenti,
- sostenere l’elaborazione e la sperimentazione di progetti di inclusione sociale sul territorio.

Tutto ciò con la finalità principale della promozione della salute e della qualità della vita, che si persegue cercando di

- sviluppare meccanismi di solidarietà, valorizzando partenariati locali di sviluppo sociale al fine di creare occupazione a partire da specifici bisogni e/o risorse del territorio considerato,
- valorizzare “buone pratiche”, rimuovere “cattive pratiche” dei servizi sanitari, sociali, educativi, dell’ATER, del terzo settore, etc.,
- ottenere la più ampia collaborazione possibile di tutti i settori pubblici,
- sviluppare legami di comunità, potenziare le relazioni tra gli abitanti, migliorare l’accessibilità ai servizi, l’operato dei singoli servizi e la loro collaborazione operativa, nonché l’efficienza, l’efficacia e l’economicità dei servizi medesimi

e tenendo conto dello studio in atto del territorio e del “Rapporto di ricerca-azione” che ne scaturirà.

3. ASPETTI ORGANIZZATIVI E GESTIONALI

Per l’attuazione del Programma vengono istituiti i seguenti organismi a finalità gestionale:

- Gruppo tecnico territoriale: composto da dirigenti, tecnici e personale dei servizi dei tre enti pubblici, i quali, di comune accordo, individuano un referente con funzioni di collegamento con il Tavolo congiunto di coordinamento. Alle riunioni, fissate con cadenza prestabilita, possono partecipare i

rappresentanti delle associazioni di volontariato e le cooperative sociali interessate al progetto. Il Gruppo tecnico territoriale raccoglie le proposte emergenti dall'area territoriale oggetto del Programma, progetta, organizza e verifica gli interventi di competenza di ciascun Ente e soggetto, favorendo il raccordo tra i vari servizi che si occupano dei residenti del territorio.

- Tavolo congiunto di coordinamento: composto da due rappresentanti per ciascuno dei tre Enti e dal referente del Gruppo tecnico territoriale. Ha compiti di validazione delle proposte operative formulate dal Gruppo tecnico territoriale, di valutazione dei progetti posti in essere e di definizione delle risorse necessarie.

4. IMPEGNI

Il Comune, l'ASS e l'ATER si impegnano, ciascuno per quanto di specifica competenza, a dare attuazione al Programma secondo le competenze istituzionali di ciascun Ente, seguendo le linee generali di seguito elencate:

- attivazione dei servizi propri di ciascun Ente coinvolti per loro competenze nel Programma, ai fini di identificare risposte appropriate alle esigenze degli abitanti dell'area;
- individuazione degli operatori e dei servizi interessati di ciascun Ente, coinvolti nel Programma, o in Convenzione con relativi atti;
- individuazione di locali da adibire a servizi e attività a favore degli abitanti;
- individuazione di modalità atte a pervenire ad una gestione congiunta delle sedi;
- riqualificazione e manutenzione degli spazi comuni degli stabili e delle aree scoperte;
- gestione partecipata di servizi e attività, attraverso il coinvolgimento attivo degli abitanti ed anche attraverso convenzioni e affidamento di incarichi ad associazioni e cooperative sociali di cui possono far parte;
- attività di socializzazione, formative e ricreative finalizzate a prevenire e ridurre l'emarginazione delle fasce più deboli della popolazione;
- attività sperimentali volte all'ottimizzazione delle risposte e dei servizi secondo le competenze istituzionali di ciascun Ente coinvolto;
- attività di integrazione interenti per l'ottimizzazione delle risposte/prestazioni istituzionali esistenti;
- individuazione delle possibili sinergie con le azioni previste dagli strumenti di programmazione locale in materia di interventi e servizi sociali, sociosanitari, educativi, formativi, del lavoro, culturali, abitativi e dei trasporti e nelle altre materie afferenti alle politiche sociali rivolte a target di popolazione dell'area considerata.

5. FINANZIAMENTI

Gli Enti sottoscrittori si impegnano a definire annualmente il budget da assegnare alle attività del Programma "Habitat-microaree Muggia", compatibilmente con le proprie disponibilità di bilancio e coerentemente con gli obiettivi stabiliti di comune accordo.

Gli Enti si impegnano alla massima trasparenza comunicando reciprocamente i rispettivi costi di progetto.

Gli Enti si impegnano inoltre a ricercare opportunità di finanziamento esterno mediante richiesta o progettazione congiunta anche ai fini di promuovere rapporti di collaborazione con la vicina Repubblica di Slovenia.

6. SVILUPPO

Entro la prima annualità dall'avvio del presente protocollo si valuterà l'opportunità di definire con successivi atti convenzionali i rapporti fra gli enti sottoscrittori per la programmazione operativa di quanto previsto dal presente accordo.

Si considererà, inoltre, la possibilità di dare un ruolo determinante nella realizzazione del Progetto alla Cooperazione Sociale, quale soggetto attivo nella promozione sociale e nello sviluppo del territorio.

I tre Enti si propongono infine di ampliare progressivamente, di comune accordo, l'attività del programma con l'individuazione di altre aree territoriali in cui realizzare l'integrazione degli interventi.

7. RECESSO

Ogni Ente può recedere unilateralmente dal Protocollo dandone opportuna motivazione e tempestiva comunicazione.

8. AVVIO E VALIDITA'

Il presente Protocollo, adottato e sottoscritto da ciascuno degli Enti coinvolti, prende avvio con l'attivazione del primo Tavolo congiunto di coordinamento, convocato a cura del Comune di Muggia. Nel corso del primo incontro il Tavolo congiunto di coordinamento individuerà l'Ente coordinatore del Progetto.

La validità del presente Protocollo è a tempo indeterminato, fatta salva la facoltà di recesso di cui al precedente p.to 7, da esercitarsi con specifico atto deliberativo da parte del competente Organo dei soggetti sottoscrittori.

**ACCORDO PER UN PARTENARIATO SPECIALE PUBBLICO PRIVATO
EX ART. 151 COMMA 3 D. LGS 50/2016**

Tra

L'AZIENDA SOCIO SANITARIA TERRITORIALE GRANDE OSPEDALE METROPOLITANO NIGUARDA con sede in Milano, Piazza Ospedale Maggiore n. 3, codice fiscale e P.IVA 09315660960 (di seguito denominata anche Ospedale Niguarda) rappresentata dal Direttore Generale dott. Marco Bosio, domiciliato presso la sede,

e

LA FABBRICA DI OLINDA – SOCIETÀ COOPERATIVA SOCIALE, con sede operativa in Milano, Via Ippocrate, 45, partita IVA 12342650152, (di seguito denominata anche Olinda), rappresentata dal Legale Rappresentante dott. Thomas Emmenegger, domiciliato presso la sede,

premessi

- il contenuto del vigente art. 19, D.lgs. 19 aprile 2016 n. 50;
- il contenuto del vigente art. 151, D.lgs. 19 aprile 2016 n. 50;
- che l'ASST Grande Ospedale Metropolitano Niguarda ha ricevuto un progetto finalizzato all'attivazione di un partenariato speciale pubblico privato (PSP) ex art. 151, comma 3 del D. Lgs 50/2016 per la valorizzazione integrata del patrimonio pubblico culturale e sociale attraverso la valorizzazione, gestione e manutenzione di alcuni beni immobili dell'ASST Niguarda e per la realizzazione presso gli stessi di progetti di rigenerazione urbana e di inclusione culturale e sociale di utenti con problemi di salute mentale;
- che il progetto riguarda l'immobile posto in Milano, via Ippocrate 45, ed è volto al potenziamento delle funzioni culturali e di innovazione sociale, il miglioramento della fruizione dei Padiglioni
 - Pad. 18 Spazi della ex Cucina/Mensa, adibiti a teatro;
 - Pad. 12 Ex Obitorio/Camera Mortuaria, trasformato in ristorante;
 - Pad. 11 Ex Convitto delle Suore, adibito a struttura ricettiva/ostello.
- con nota prot. n. 8781/2021 Regione Lombardia ha espresso parere favorevole all'iniziativa, ritenuta *"in linea con gli indirizzi programmatori di Regione Lombardia in area di salute mentale"*;
- che l'ASST Niguarda ha quindi pubblicato un Avviso pubblico finalizzato a sollecitare eventuali soggetti interessati a presentare analoga proposta;
- che l'avviso è rimasto pubblicato per oltre un mese presso il sito istituzionale dell'ASST dal giorno 15 febbraio 2022: all'avviso non ha risposto alcun operatore economico;
- che l'ASST Niguarda e La Fabbrica di Olinda, a questo punto hanno confermato la volontà di attuare l'Accordo di Partenariato proposto, predisponendo le modalità e le condizioni per la sua realizzazione.

Tutto quanto premesso e considerato, si conviene e stipula quanto segue.

Articolo 1 - Premesse

Le premesse e i documenti ivi richiamati nonché quelli successivamente ed espressamente indicati quali documenti di riferimento del presente atto, ancorché materialmente non allegati, formano parte integrante e sostanziale del presente atto di Accordo di Partenariato Speciale Pubblico-Privato.

Articolo 2 - Finalità e Oggetto dell'Accordo

Con il presente Accordo di Partenariato le Parti intendono regolamentare i rapporti, gli impegni reciproci e le modalità di interazione per la piena valorizzazione culturale e sociale degli immobili ricadenti nell'area identificata come Ex Ospedale Psichiatrico Paolo Pini, in Milano e già oggetto di una

ventennale collaborazione tra l'ASST Niguarda e la Fabbrica di Olinda, tra cui il contratto di comodato ventennale per il Pad. 18 Atti 305/05 – all.8, attraverso la realizzazione della Proposta di partenariato speciale (d'ora in avanti più brevemente e solo Proposta), e del relativo-Business Plan esplicativo degli interventi oggetto del presente Accordo e dei costi di funzionamento delle strutture (Allegato 1).

Le Parti riconoscono che gli immobili, già oggetto della collaborazione trascorsa, hanno generato rilevanti valori sociali e culturali ribadendo la convergenza della mission istituzionale dell'Ospedale Niguarda e la mission e le attività svolte da Olinda.

Per tale motivazione si rende indispensabile consolidare il processo di valorizzazione degli immobili, quali beni strumentali della collaborazione che nel tempo sia in grado di restituirne, nella maniera più completa e continuativa, il valore d'uso alla comunità cittadina come pilastro della vita culturale e dell'inclusione sociale; processo che, per la sua delicatezza e complessità, non può essere condotto direttamente ed esclusivamente dall'Ospedale Niguarda ma richiede la mobilitazione di risorse operative, culturali ed economiche di Olinda in qualità di Partner privato.

Il Programma di valorizzazione sarà realizzato, per fasi successive, in relazione agli investimenti ed attività presentati nella proposta stessa e degli interventi ad esse collegati, come saranno, nella durata del Partenariato, per le loro finalità, destinazioni d'uso e caratteristiche meglio definiti, tempo per tempo, nel dettaglio operativo e nella programmazione ed approvati o adottati dal Tavolo Tecnico di cui al successivo art. 6.

Il programma di gestione e valorizzazione sarà sviluppato nell'arco della durata del PSPP, comprendendovi in essa i periodi di sospensione dei termini per cause non imputabili a diretta responsabilità di Olinda, con prevalenti finalità culturali e di inclusione sociale e in piena autonomia operativa ed esclusiva responsabilità del Partner Operativo privato che avrà cura di comunicarne la programmazione di dettaglio e gli sviluppi periodicamente al Tavolo Tecnico del PSPP, quale organo di *Governance* del PSPP, nonché quella economica e finanziaria con le modalità specificate al successivo art. 8 del presente atto.

I Beni oggetto della valorizzazione ricadono direttamente nella disponibilità dell'Ospedale Niguarda e sono così identificati e riportati in estratto di mappa (Allegato 2):

- Padiglione 11, attualmente adibito ad Ostello, ivi compreso le pertinenze esterne, evidenziato nell'estratto di mappa in colore rosso, e le relative pertinenze esterne indicate in colore rosso, registrato al Catasto Fabbricati del Comune di Milano (MI)) al Foglio 14, Particella 128;
- Padiglione 12, attualmente adibito a Ristorante, ivi compreso le pertinenze esterne, evidenziato nell'estratto di mappa in colore blu, e le relative pertinenze esterne indicate in colore blu, registrato al Catasto Fabbricati del Comune di Milano (MI)) al Foglio 14, Particella 66;
- Padiglione 18, attualmente adibito a Teatro, ivi compreso le pertinenze esterne, evidenziato nell'estratto di mappa in colore verde, e le relative pertinenze esterne indicate in colore verde, registrato al Catasto Fabbricati del Comune di Milano (MI)) al Foglio 37, Particella 10.

L'Ospedale Niguarda concede gli immobili, così come sopra identificati, in comodato d'uso strumentale in quanto esclusivamente finalizzato al conseguimento delle finalità di interesse generale costitutivo del PSPP al fine di perseguire la piena valorizzazione sociale e culturale dei suddetti Beni.

In ogni caso, ulteriori Beni e Spazi esterni ricadenti nell'area dell'ex Paolo Pini, non concessi a soggetti terzi o aventi destinazione d'uso istituzionale o funzionale ordinaria in capo all'Ospedale Niguarda, potranno sempre essere inclusi nel corso della durata del PSPP quale oggetto del programma di

valorizzazione di cui al presente Accordo, se, concordemente tra le Parti, ne sarà rilevata la necessità di includerli per il conseguimento delle finalità del PSPP e fermo restando le competenze delle Parti e l'assunzione degli atti relativi di approvazione di tale inclusione e di integrazione dell'Accordo nonché la durata complessiva del PSPP.

Ulteriori beni e spazi esterni disponibili potranno altresì essere concessi ad Olinda per usi temporanei deliberati dal Tavolo Tecnico, qualora il loro utilizzo sia necessario e previsto per garantire la programmazione e l'esito delle attività di valorizzazione di cui Olinda è responsabile.

Articolo 3 – Impegni reciproci delle parti, competenze e responsabilità

Principali obbligazioni e attività di Olinda

Con la sottoscrizione del presente accordo il Partner si impegna ed obbliga a quanto segue:

1. Rispetto dei contenuti e dei tempi previsti nella Proposta - rispettare i contenuti, le finalità generali e i tempi previsti nella Proposta, anche con riferimento agli allegati alla stessa, anche in relazione ai suoi aggiornamenti, modifiche ed integrazioni ulteriori deliberati dal Tavolo Tecnico, quando definiti, fatti salvi i casi di forza maggiore;
2. Apertura ed accessibilità - gestire i beni oggetto del PSPP, secondo i principi di massima apertura e accessibilità al pubblico, favorendo la partecipazione attiva della comunità locale, in particolare garantendo la accessibilità ai Beni e alle attività di cui è responsabile senza discriminazione alcuna, seppure prevedendo la possibilità di svolgimento delle proprie attività caratteristiche e complementari;
3. Assunzione totale del rischio operativo – realizzare i propri investimenti e svolgere le attività proposte, assicurando continuità, regolarità e qualità dell'azione, in una dimensione di completa autonomia finanziaria, facendosi direttamente carico di ogni costo relativo e di ogni responsabilità, per mezzo dei ricavi derivanti dall'offerta di spazi e servizi, dall'organizzazione di iniziative socio-culturali, di attività commerciali complementari e tramite la ricerca di finanziamenti pubblici e privati;
4. Programmazione - presentare al Tavolo Tecnico, con la periodicità che sarà dallo stesso Tavolo Tecnico definita, ogni anno la programmazione generale annuale delle attività, il programma esecutivo e ad avvio dell'anno successivo il report conclusivo di monitoraggio delle attività recante le informazioni sulle attività oggetto del presente atto, sul loro avanzamento fisico e finanziario, sugli output prodotti e i risultati ed impatti conseguiti, le criticità rilevate e le soluzioni adottate o individuate per rimuoverle;
5. Impegno alla destinazione prioritaria dei ricavi - destinare i ricavi prioritariamente allo sviluppo delle attività di valorizzazione previste, pur compatibilmente alla sostenibilità ordinaria ed al consolidamento delle attività caratteristiche di Olinda;
6. Rispetto degli obblighi verso i dipendenti e collaboratori - ottemperare a tutti gli obblighi verso i propri dipendenti derivanti da disposizioni legislative e regolamentari vigenti in materia di lavoro, ivi comprese quelle in tema di igiene e sicurezza, previdenza e disciplina infortunistica, assumendo a proprio carico tutti gli oneri relativi;
7. Pagamento delle utenze - farsi carico esclusivo del costo delle utenze per la gestione dei Padiglioni 11 e 12, e pertanto dei costi idrico-fognari, energetici di riscaldamento e raffrescamento, consumi di energia per illuminazione.
Relativamente al Pad. 18, Olinda si farà carico del costo delle utenze a partire dalla scadenza del contratto di comodato in essere (Atti 305/05 – all.8) tra l'Ospedale Niguarda e Olinda.
8. Custodia e Manutenzione ordinaria e straordinaria - custodire i beni e ogni relativa pertinenza, con onere diretto di pulizia e manutenzione ordinarie, nonché le attrezzature e gli impianti di proprietà

dell'Ospedale Niguarda, a proprie spese, avendo cura di informare tempestivamente i suoi organi tecnici qualora si verificassero alterazioni del loro stato di conservazione. Farsi carico di tutte le riparazioni straordinarie di qualunque natura, nonché di qualsiasi opera straordinaria dei beni in oggetto.

9. Uso del Bene per iniziative civiche dell'Ente - consentire l'uso diretto e gratuito degli spazi e dei servizi per le attività dell'Ospedale Niguarda per iniziative istituzionali, da concordarsi preventivamente almeno 60 giorni prima dell'uso richiesto. e compatibilmente con la programmazione delle attività di Olinda, per giornate/eventi/manifestazioni istituzionali per un numero di giornate annue mai superiore a 10, come sarà regolato annualmente dalla programmazione del Tavolo Tecnico. In relazione alle giornate riservate di utilizzo degli spazi e servizi riservati all'Ospedale Niguarda non è dovuto da questo alcun pagamento di tariffe salvo quanto eventualmente convenuto in Tavolo Tecnico, anche in relazione a servizi, attrezzature ed impianti riposti nella disponibilità operativa del partner. Il partner operativo si impegna altresì a proporre al tavolo tecnico i tariffari anno per anno delle condizioni d'uso degli spazi, servizi e risorse tecniche ed umane nella sua esclusiva disponibilità per le iniziative eventualmente richieste dall'Ospedale Niguarda eccedenti il numero delle giornate riservate a titolo gratuito;
10. Assunzione di ruolo referente per la progettazione e stazione appaltante per interventi di lavori, forniture e servizi qualora le parti ne ravvisino l'opportunità - presentare al Tavolo tecnico del partenariato, sia i progetti volti alla realizzazione degli interventi di potenziamento della fruibilità previsti, facendosi direttamente carico degli avanzamenti progettuali necessari e della direzione tecnica e degli appalti relativi, utilizzando le forme consentite di diritto privato, siano essi consistenti in lavori, forniture o servizi, sia in relazione a finanziamenti direttamente acquisiti alla loro realizzazione o qualora acquisiti dall'Ospedale Niguarda e vi sia la possibilità di traslare la responsabilità attuativa in capo al partner privato.
11. Garantire il proprio supporto di co-progettazione all'Ospedale Niguarda, se richiesto, in relazione alla progettazione ed esecuzione di interventi, siano essi lavori, servizi o forniture, relativi ai Beni oggetto del presente Accordo e previsti nel processo di valorizzazione, qualora sia esclusivamente l'Ospedale Niguarda beneficiario di finanziamenti assentiti, pubblici o privati, e unico soggetto abilitato ad operare come stazione appaltante in ragione delle modalità di impegno e spesa dei finanziamenti stessi;
12. Garantire l'integrazione del proprio sistema di offerta in circuiti promozionali diversi di fruizione culturale e con altre iniziative promosse dall'Ospedale Niguarda;
13. Acquisire le necessarie autorizzazioni, visti, nulla osta o permessi per l'esercizio delle attività che per propria natura le richiedano che non siano rilasciabili direttamente dall'Ospedale Niguarda;
14. Garantire che i Beni siano destinati agli usi previsti nella Proposta - rispettare le destinazioni d'uso come definite nel presente atto e indicati nella Proposta, salvo integrazioni o modificazioni approvate nel Tavolo Tecnico, con impegno, rilevante ai fini della risoluzione di cui al successivo art. 16 e oggetto di periodiche verifiche in sede di Tavolo Tecnico, di non arrecare pregiudizio ai beni medesimi o alla loro conservazione;
15. Fundraising e sponsorizzazioni - impegnarsi a realizzare attività di raccolta fondi attraverso pratiche di fundraising, sponsorizzazioni, donazioni, e altre forme di accesso a finanziamenti pubblici e privati;
16. Obblighi assicurativi dello spazio e per danni a terzi - tenere indenne l'Ospedale Niguarda da ogni pretesa di terzi, in qualsiasi modo derivante dal mancato o non corretto adempimento degli obblighi di cui al presente Atto per cause imputabili alla Olinda e/o ai suoi dipendenti.

A tal fine l'Ospedale Niguarda prende atto che Olinda ha stipulato idonea polizza assicurativa rinnovabile annualmente per l'intera durata del presente Accordo, per un massimale pari a € 1.000.000,00 (euro un milione/00) per i danni alle persone e di € 1.000.000,00 (euro un milione/00) per i danni alle cose.

Tali coperture assicurative potranno essere aggiornate in relazione all'estensione dell'Accordo di Partenariato Speciale a Beni o parti ulteriori di Beni ricadenti nel patrimonio immobiliare disponibile dell'Ospedale Niguarda, così come specificato nel comma 8 del precedente art.2. Laddove vengano proposte da Olinda ulteriori attività che determinino l'emersione di nuovi o più gravi fattori di rischio anche genericamente inteso, l'Ospedale Niguarda potrà richiedere la stipula di specifiche coperture assicurative integrative.

Rimane inteso che la responsabilità per qualsiasi danno colposo dovesse verificarsi nell'utilizzo dei beni concessi nell'ambito delle attività di valorizzazione previste nel presente atto è ad esclusivo carico della Olinda ritenendo pertanto sollevato l'Ospedale Niguarda da ogni responsabilità;

17. Disavanzi della gestione - farsi carico direttamente di eventuali disavanzi della gestione delle attività caratteristiche relative al processo di valorizzazione del Bene oggetto dell'Accordo, e degli eventuali beni ulteriori ad esso incorporati, senza aver nulla a pretendere dall'Ospedale Niguarda ai fini della relativa copertura;
18. Tempestiva trasmissione e comunicazione - fornire all'Ospedale Niguarda, ove richiesto, ogni documentazione, informazione e notizia utile alla verifica del rispetto, degli obblighi assunti ai sensi del presente atto;
19. Partecipazione al Tavolo Tecnico - Designare il proprio referente unico al Tavolo tecnico quale proprio rappresentante partecipando attivamente nella conduzione del rapporto.

Durante l'esecuzione delle attività inerenti il presente Accordo, Olinda non potrà eccepire la mancata conoscenza di condizioni e/o elementi non valutabili, ai sensi di quanto previsto dall'art. 1176 del Codice Civile, a meno che tali condizioni non siano derivanti da cause evidenti di forza maggiore, non preventivate ed acquisite all'atto della sottoscrizione del presente accordo e del successivo verbale di consegna degli immobili.

Principali obbligazioni e attività dell'Ospedale Niguarda

Con la sottoscrizione del presente accordo l'Ospedale Niguarda si obbliga a quanto segue:

1. Assenza di canoni di locazione - concedere ad Olinda in comodato d'uso gratuito, strumentale al perseguimento delle finalità comuni del Partenariato, i Beni e le relative pertinenze per tutta la durata del partenariato.
2. Vigilanza dei Beni – garantire il servizio di vigilanza integrandola con quelli già attivi per gli immobili nella propria disponibilità presenti nel compendio dell'ex Paolo Pini, siano essi in remoto o *on field*;
3. Pagamento delle utenze – farsi carico esclusivo del pagamento delle utenze nessuna esclusa e, pertanto, dei costi idrico-fognari, energetici di riscaldamento e raffrescamento, consumi di energia elettrica in relazione al Pad. 18, fino alla scadenza del contratto di comodato in essere (Atti 305/05 – all.8) tra l'Ospedale Niguarda e Olinda
4. Valutazione preventiva di una possibile estensione funzionale del partenariato su pertinenze del Bene anche esterne ad esso e su altri beni – individuazione, anche con la collaborazione del partner privato, di eventuali possibili pertinenze e spazi ulteriori da incorporare nell'Accordo di Partenariato Speciale, onde consentire miglioramenti funzionali nell'esercizio delle attività caratteristiche e complementari, qualora sia ravvisata e condivisa tra le parti in Tavolo Tecnico, quale necessità del processo di valorizzazione dei Beni oggetto del presente atto.

5. Efficienza amministrativa - Rilasciare tempestivamente autorizzazioni, visti, nulla osta o permessi di propria competenza per la esecuzione delle attività programmate di valorizzazione che per propria natura li richiedano;
6. Collaborazione enti terzi competenti - Coinvolgere qualsiasi soggetto terzo eserciti competenze in relazione ai Beni oggetto della valorizzazione o ai contenuti della programmazione delle attività relative, anche a fini autorizzativi qualora necessari;
7. Compatibilità delle programmazione di iniziative istituzionali nei Beni oggetto dell'Accordo - programmare le proprie iniziative istituzionali che richiedano l'uso di Beni e servizi oggetto del Programma di valorizzazione, in modo da non sovrapporsi con le attività programmate ai fini della valorizzazione dei Beni e, qualora non prevedibili, a comunicarle almeno sessanta giorni prima il loro svolgimento fermo restando il nulla osta da parte della Olinda e corrispondere alla stessa le tariffe convenute in sede di Tavolo tecnico per l'utilizzo di spazi, servizi e risorse tecniche ed umane, nella esclusiva disponibilità della stessa Olinda, per le giornate eccedenti l'utilizzo gratuito convenuto;
8. consultazione preventiva di Olinda - conferire al Tavolo Tecnico, ogni decisione in relazione ad interventi di manutenzione straordinaria, progettazione di investimenti ed attività inerenti agli usi degli spazi dei Beni, oggetto del presente atto, con effetti sulla valorizzazione complessiva degli stessi al fine di garantire la coerenza del programma di valorizzazione e la condivisione partenariale;
9. Partecipazione al Tavolo Tecnico - Designare il proprio referente unico al Tavolo tecnico quale proprio rappresentante partecipando attivamente nella conduzione del rapporto.

Le Parti si impegnano inoltre ad operare in uno spirito di leale collaborazione per la migliore realizzazione delle attività conformando la propria condotta ai principi di fiducia reciproca, responsabilità, sostenibilità, proporzionalità, adeguatezza.

Le Parti si danno reciprocamente atto che, data la natura dell'Accordo che esse sottoscrivono, le attività programmate e/o da programmare possono essere, d'intesa tra loro, mutate in relazione a nuove esigenze che dovessero rappresentarsi e condivise dalle parti impegnandosi pertanto in un processo di co-progettazione nell'arco della durata del PSPP che restituisca maggiore efficacia, resilienza ed adattamento a mutate condizioni dell'offerta culturale, e, in ultima analisi moltiplichi gli impatti positivi del programma di valorizzazione verso la comunità cittadina e territoriale.

In particolare le parti si impegnano a scambiarsi tutte le informazioni e le competenze utili per il proficuo svolgimento delle attività.

Articolo 4 – Esecuzione di eventuali lavori di potenziamento della fruizione

I lavori concernenti le eventuali opere e i lavori di funzionalizzazione dei Beni oggetto del presente Accordo finalizzati al perseguimento degli obiettivi della valorizzazione da eseguirsi con riferimento a quanto previsto dal precedente art. 3, lettera a) punto 10, dovranno essere realizzati a perfetta regola d'arte da imprese abilitate all'esecuzione per categorie ed importi adeguati all'entità economica degli interventi.

Olinda dovrà garantire il rispetto delle norme in tema di salute e sicurezza sui luoghi di lavoro e che l'impresa esecutrice sia in regola con le norme contributive.

Al termine naturale dell'Accordo, le migliorie apportate dagli interventi realizzati di recupero, restauro, funzionalizzazione, valorizzazione dei Beni restano acquisite agli stessi al termine del loro

ammortamento fiscale e nulla sarà dovuto dall'Ospedale Niguarda al partner privato.

Preventivamente alla esecuzione di lavori i relativi progetti dovranno essere deliberati dal Tavolo Tecnico, che potrà adottare regolamenti specifici per disciplinare ordinariamente la progettazione e la esecuzione di lavori che siano direttamente svolte a responsabilità del partner privato.

Articolo 5- Programmazione, monitoraggio e valutazione

Il Programma analitico degli investimenti, e del loro avanzamento, e delle attività sarà presentato da Olinda su base annuale e pluriennale.

Alla prima riunione di insediamento del Tavolo Tecnico dell'Accordo di Partenariato saranno condivise le informazioni essenziali da riportare nelle programmazioni annuali e pluriennali.

Le Parti definiranno nella stessa prima riunione del Tavolo Tecnico il programma di monitoraggio e gli indicatori di risultato ed impatto utilizzati per verificare l'andamento del partenariato speciale ed il conseguimento per tempo delle sue finalità di interesse generale.

Saranno gestite ad esclusiva cura e responsabilità di Olinda tutte le attività principali e complementari:

- esercitate all'interno degli spazi concessi per la valorizzazione dei Beni;
- esercitate attraverso l'utilizzo di eventuali beni mobili concessi o attraverso beni strumentali rientranti nella propria disponibilità;
- esercitate e gestite da terze parti affidatarie in forma temporanea o permanente
- programmate di volta in volta in sede di Tavolo Tecnico;
- affidate direttamente dall'Ospedale Niguarda nell'ambito di programmazioni specifiche in quanto da eseguirsi negli spazi concessi.

L'intensità e l'ampliamento del programma di valorizzazione e le attività relative saranno definiti per fasi successive anche in ragione delle risorse finanziarie ad essi dedicabili che la Olinda e l'Ospedale Niguarda stesso riusciranno a rendere disponibili anche attraverso fonti esterne sia pubbliche che private attivabili.

A tal fine le parti si impegnano a definire azioni comuni per la realizzazione di campagne ed attività di *fund raising* e partecipazione a bandi pubblici e privati le cui finalità siano coerenti con il programma di valorizzazione indipendentemente se ne possano assumere la responsabilità diretta i singoli partners o il PSPP unitariamente.

Articolo 6 – Tavolo Tecnico

Il Tavolo Tecnico è l'organo di confronto e collaborazione tra le Parti costituenti il partenariato speciale per la gestione operativa dei contenuti del presente atto e si riunisce su richiesta di ciascuna delle Parti, in data da concordarsi o per diretta convocazione ad esito della riunione precedente.

Ai lavori del Tavolo Tecnico, partecipano i referenti designati dalle Parti.

Ai lavori potranno altresì partecipare, per le materie di propria competenza, in accordo tra le parti, referenti di Enti ed istituzioni aventi titolo sui temi legati alla tutela, alla conservazione, alla valorizzazione dei Beni oggetto del presente, delle attività programmate o programmabili o su altre materie all'ordine del giorno per cui esprimano competenza, nonché esperti e collaboratori delle parti, in relazione ai temi di confronto e previa comunicazione all'altra parte.

La riunione del Tavolo Tecnico è validamente costituita qualora siano presenti entrambi i componenti, anche attraverso delega espressa, preventivamente comunicata.

Il Tavolo Tecnico decide sulla base dell'accordo risultante tra i referenti dalle Parti quali suoi componenti: al termine della riunione viene sottoscritto dai componenti il verbale della seduta riportando i contenuti discussi e le decisioni assunte.

Le decisioni del Tavolo Tecnico non sono impegnative per le Parti: sarà necessaria la ratifica da parte degli organi competenti delle Parti.

In caso di disaccordo tra le Parti non si potrà procedere con quanto in valutazione.

I componenti del Tavolo Tecnico potranno eventualmente decidere di effettuare sopralluoghi, al fine di verificare in contraddittorio la necessità di ulteriori interventi sugli immobili non preventivati o valutare la corretta realizzazione di quanto realizzato.

Al Tavolo Tecnico spetta precipuamente la pianificazione delle attività di verifica e valutazione dello stato e dell'attuazione del Programma.

Per quanto riguarda gli investimenti ed i lavori il Tavolo Tecnico dovrà valutare le condizioni dello stato di conservazione degli immobili, ai fini della definizione di piani di manutenzione ordinaria e anche straordinaria, e propedeuticamente alla progettazione definitiva dei lavori necessari alla valorizzazione dei Beni.

Articolo 7 - Competenze ordinarie del Tavolo Tecnico

Il Tavolo Tecnico si riunisce ogni qual volta se ne ravvisi la necessità e, di norma, almeno una volta ogni 6 mesi, sui seguenti temi:

- ogni anno prende atto e pianifica, per quanto di competenza in merito al programma generale preventivo delle attività annuali e pluriennali, per un periodo non inferiore a tre anni, di natura caratteristica e complementare, in relazione agli ambiti tematici proposti dalla Olinda, coerentemente con le risorse tecniche ed economico- finanziarie disponibili;
- verifica ed approva la programmazione degli interventi di potenziamento della fruizione dei Beni, anche prevedendo l'integrazione nell'accordo di ulteriori beni e relative pertinenze, sia in termini di opere di recupero, restauro, ristrutturazione, funzionalizzazione ed allestimento per fasi e parti, sia in termini di progetti specifici di attività, servizi e forniture, impegnando le competenze operative delle parti in ordine all'approvazione ed esecuzione dei progetti relativi;
- valuta e definisce le più efficienti condizioni operative e gestionali ai fini dell'avanzamento delle attività;
- valuta le attività svolte a cadenza periodica infra annuale e programma le attività e gli interventi per il periodo successivo;
- valuta gli scostamenti della programmazione, individua le criticità e le soluzioni per rimuoverle;
- verifica e valuta le risorse finanziarie disponibili e/o attivabili e le programmazioni relative di cui costituiscono dotazione;
- più in generale, valuta i risultati diretti ed indiretti che scaturiscono dalla collaborazione e dalle opportunità generate nei processi di valorizzazione del patrimonio oggetto dell'Accordo di PSPP;
- valuta qualsivoglia altro tema specifico che rilevi sotto il profilo della verifica di opportunità e della valutazione del partenariato, utile a garantire i più proficui risultati ed il conseguimento degli obiettivi prefissati o di ulteriori obiettivi emergenti;
- elabora e sottoscrive il verbale delle proprie sedute al termine di ciascuna di esse.

Articolo 8 - programma finanziario annuale e impegni finanziari delle Parti

Il piano economico finanziario annuale delle attività del Partenariato, delineato e proposto, con il programma generale annuale delle attività, al Tavolo Tecnico che lo approva, viene trasmesso agli organi competenti delle parti per il perfezionamento degli atti conseguenti.

Esso contiene il dettaglio analitico del valore complessivo delle risorse da impiegare nella realizzazione delle attività programmate, i costi previsti e le fonti di copertura relative, i tempi di realizzazione.

Il Tavolo Tecnico analizza e rilascia un proprio documento che riporti in sintesi una valutazione di congruità tra costi, outputs e risultati attesi, e di coerenza esterna con le fonti di copertura programmabili o previste.

L'importo delle risorse messe a disposizione della partnership per sostenere attività ulteriori oltre quelle programmate ordinariamente, ed in particolare quelle relative all'auspicato potenziamento della fruizione dei Beni oggetto del presente atto, saranno direttamente messe a carico delle fonti di finanziamento dei quadri economici dei progetti a cui si riferiscono, o dei piani economico-finanziari dei programmi o dei piani di riferimento, qualora esistenti, e quindi ordinariamente senza oneri a carico di risorse proprie dell'Ospedale Niguarda.

Nel caso l'Ospedale Niguarda ravvisi le condizioni, l'opportunità e la necessità di operare con proprie risorse di Bilancio, potrà preventivamente interpellare Olinda per le verifiche circa la possibilità di coperture finanziarie dedicabili da altre fonti, in sostituzione o a concorrenza di quelle eventualmente rese disponibili dal proprio Bilancio, ferma restando, in ogni caso, la facoltà dell'Ospedale Niguarda di operare direttamente a favore delle attività partenariali anche con proprie risorse.

Articolo 9 - Durata dell'Accordo e delle concessioni in uso ad esso strumentali

Il presente Atto e le concessioni d'uso ivi contenute hanno durata complessiva pari a 25 (venticinque) anni, decorrenti dalla data di sottoscrizione del Verbale di Consegna degli immobili, conseguente alla sottoscrizione dell'Accordo di Partenariato, fermo restando quanto indicato in art. 2, c.4 del presente Accordo e pertanto qualora nell'arco della durata del Partenariato sopravvengano sospensioni del processo di valorizzazione non imputabili a responsabilità dirette di Olinda, la scadenza del termine è sospesa sino alla rimozione della condizione o impedimento del regolare andamento del processo ed esecuzione degli impegni assunti tra le parti ed il conseguente ripristino della sua decorrenza.

Il presente Accordo potrà essere rinnovato, agli stessi patti e condizioni, in accordo tra le parti entro sei mesi prima della naturale scadenza, previo conseguimento dei risultati e impatti ricercati dal PSPP, per un periodo di eguale durata.

Qualora la Olinda abbia direttamente realizzato a proprie spese, investimenti in ragione dei programmi approvati dal Tavolo tecnico e pertanto concordati e autorizzati dall'Ospedale Niguarda, attraverso la realizzazione di opere o la fornitura di altri beni durevoli non rimuovibili, il cui ammortamento si concluda oltre la naturale scadenza del Partenariato, le Parti valuteranno tempi e modalità della liquidazione del valore residuo.

Articolo 10 - Spese di stipulazione ed esenzione dal deposito cauzionale

Le spese di registrazione del presente atto sono a carico della Olinda.

Olinda è esentata dall'obbligo di versamento del deposito cauzionale in ragione delle caratteristiche dei beni concessi e delle finalità generali del presente Atto.

Articolo 11- Trattamento dei dati

Olinda si impegna a fornire tutti i dati fiscali, amministrativi, finanziari richiesti dall'Ospedale Niguarda

per l'esecuzione del presente contratto.

L'Ospedale Niguarda è autorizzato a trattare i dati aziendali e personali, in qualsiasi forma e su qualsiasi supporto per le sole finalità derivanti dal presente contratto, secondo quanto previsto dal testo vigente del d.lgs. 196/2003 e dal Regolamento (UE) 679/2016.

Ogni Parte si configura quale Titolare autonomo del trattamento; viene in particolare esclusa qualsivoglia ipotesi di contitolarità ex art. 26 GDPR.

Per l'ASST Niguarda:

Il Titolare del trattamento dei dati è l'ASST Grande Ospedale Metropolitano Niguarda, con sede legale in Milano – Piazza Ospedale Maggiore, 3 – PEC: postacertificata@pec.ospedaleniguarda.it

Il Responsabile della Protezione Dati (RPD-DPO) dell'ASST Niguarda è reperibile presso la sede aziendale. In caso di istanze/comunicazioni scritte da inviarsi in modalità digitale il Responsabile della Protezione Dati (RPD-DPO) può essere contattato utilizzando i recapiti istituzionali dell'Ente: dpo@ospedaleniguarda.it

Per ulteriori approfondimenti si rinvia alla sezione Privacy del sito web istituzionale dell'Ente alla pagina https://www.ospedaleniguarda.it/amministrazione_trasparente/privacy

Per Olinda: Il Titolare del trattamento dei dati di Olinda è La Fabbrica di Olinda Società Cooperativa Sociale – via Ippocrate 45, Milano – PEC: lafabbricadiolinda@pec.it

Il Responsabile della Protezione Dati (RPD-DPO) di Olinda è reperibile presso la sede aziendale utilizzando i recapiti istituzionali dell'Ente: amministrazione@olinda.org

Articolo 12 - Foro competente – Clausola arbitrale

Tutte le controversie relative al presente Accordo di Partenariato, comprese quelle inerenti alla sua interpretazione, esecuzione e validità, saranno deferite a un collegio arbitrale di tre arbitri, due dei quali nominati da ciascuna parte e il terzo, con funzione di Presidente, scelto congiuntamente dai due arbitri così designati o, in caso di disaccordo, dal Presidente del Tribunale di Milano, al quale spetterà altresì la nomina dell'eventuale arbitro non designato da una delle parti. Gli arbitri procederanno in via irrituale e secondo equità. La sede dell'arbitrato sarà a Milano.

Articolo 13 – Comunicazioni

Tutte le comunicazioni e gli scambi di informazioni tra l'Ospedale Niguarda e Olinda si intendono validamente ed efficacemente effettuati qualora resi ai seguenti indirizzi di posta elettronica certificata:

- per l'Ospedale Niguarda: postacertificata@pec.ospedaleniguarda.it
- per Olinda: lafabbricadiolinda@pec.it

Eventuali modifiche dell'indirizzo PEC o problemi temporanei nell'utilizzo di tale forma di comunicazione dovranno essere tempestivamente segnalate dalle Parti.

Articolo 14 - Disposizioni di rinvio

Per tutto quanto non previsto o contemplato nel presente atto le parti dichiarano di far riferimento alla legislazione comunitaria, nazionale e regionale applicabile.

Articolo 15 – Cause di risoluzione

In caso di gravi inadempienze rispetto agli obblighi discendenti dalla sottoscrizione del presente Accordo da parte di Olinda, l'Ospedale Niguarda, prima della risoluzione del presente atto integrativo di Accordo di Partenariato, è tenuto ad attivare un procedimento di contestazione, il cui inizio sarà notificato alla Olinda.

In particolare, l'Ospedale Niguarda può chiedere alla Olinda il completamento di quelle attività ritenute necessarie per il corretto adempimento delle obbligazioni assunte.

A tal fine, l'Ospedale Niguarda assegna ad Olinda un termine congruo, decorso inutilmente il quale, si considera risolto il presente Accordo di partenariato fatto salvo il risarcimento degli eventuali danni che l'Ospedale Niguarda dovesse subire dalla mancata realizzazione degli obblighi contrattuali.

Il presente atto, inoltre, sarà soggetto a risoluzione nei seguenti casi:

- mancata realizzazione nei tempi e nei modi condivisi delle opere di valorizzazione dei Padiglioni oggetto del presente Accordo;
- sospensione, anche parziale, delle attività esclusi i casi di forza maggiore debitamente comprovati ovvero per ripetute inosservanze di norme di legge, ovvero di condizioni stabilite nel presente Accordo di Partenariato;
- abituale negligenza nell'esecuzione delle attività, quando la gravità delle infrazioni, debitamente accertate e contestate, compromettano il conseguimento delle finalità indicate nel presente atto.

In caso di risoluzione con addebito, al partner privato nulla sarà dovuto anche per quanto previsto nell'art. 9, comma 3, in relazione ad investimenti sui beni effettuati dal Partner privato di cui non si sia concluso il periodo di ammortamento fiscale.

Letto, confermato e sottoscritto in forma elettronica ai sensi dell'art. 6 del D.L. 179/2012 convertito in L. n. 221 del 17.12.2012.

Per l'Ospedale Niguarda

Il Direttore Generale

Dott. Marco Bosio

Per Olinda – Partner Operativo Privato

Il Legale Rappresentante

Dott. Thomas Emmenegger

COMUNE DI MILANO
DIREZIONE SPECIALISTICA AUTORITA' DI GESTIONE E
MONITORAGGIO PIANI

CIG. n. 7583182FBC

**CONVENZIONE PER L'EROGAZIONE DI SERVIZI ED ATTIVITÀ
SOCIALI NEGLI SPAZI DELL' "EX CONVITTO" SITO NELL'AMBITO
DEL COMPLESSO IMMOBILIARE DEL PARCO TROTTER,**

TRA

Il Comune di Milano, con sede legale in Piazza della Scala n. 2, C.F. e P. IVA 01199250158 successivamente indicato come Comune, rappresentato da Dario Moneta, in qualità di Direttore *pro tempore* della Direzione Specialistica Autorità di Gestione e Monitoraggio Piani,

E

La Fabbrica di Olinda società cooperativa sociale, con sede a Milano, via Ippocrate n.45, codice fiscale e partita I.V.A. n. 12342650152, rappresentata dal Presidente del Consiglio di Amministrazione Thomas Emmenegger, nato a Lucerna (Svizzera) il giorno 11 novembre 1953, quale capogruppo del raggruppamento temporaneo di imprese con Centro Servizi Formazione Società cooperativa sociale, Comin Cooperativa Sociale di Solidarietà, Associazione Culturale per la promozione sociale Salumeria del Design, Associazione Culturale Ludwing officina dei linguaggi contemporanei, di seguito denominato Soggetto Attuatore,

Di seguito congiuntamente Parti

PREMESSO CHE

- l'Amministrazione comunale ha tra gli obiettivi prioritari del suo mandato quello di ridurre il divario tra il centro e quei luoghi fragili della città, connotati da marginalizzazione sociale e culturale, da carenze funzionali e di servizi, da degrado fisico, in definitiva, luoghi dove ci sia necessità di agire con interventi di riqualificazione sia urbana che sociale;
- in tale contesto, l'Amministrazione Comunale, ha nel corso di questi ultimi anni, dedicato particolare attenzione al recupero strutturale e funzionale del complesso immobiliare sito nell'ambito del Parco Trotter, polmone verde tra via Padova e viale Monza, che ospita al proprio interno edifici scolastici e che, in parte potrà essere destinato, per alcuni spazi non direttamente affidati alla scuola, ad un uso sociale, quale luogo di servizi che abbia capacità attrattiva per l'intera città ma al tempo stesso sia in grado di rispondere alle istanze del quartiere, caratterizzato da una forte presenza multiculturale;
- alla luce di tali premesse e della particolare attenzione rivolta agli interventi di rigenerazione urbana, il Comune di Milano ha attivato, da tempo, una collaborazione con Fondazione Cariplo, soggetto attivo nel sostegno di iniziative in ambito sociale in affiancamento di soggetti pubblici e privati, che agiscono nell'interesse collettivo, che opera realizzando iniziative proprie nonché concedendo contributi a fondo perduto per sostenere progetti di terzi che intendono promuovere lo sviluppo sociale, culturale ed economico del territorio, nonché iniziative volte a migliorare il sistema di welfare anche attraverso soluzioni innovative;
- Fondazione Cariplo, è una fondazione di origine bancaria ai sensi della Legge 23 dicembre 1998, n. 461, e del Decreto legislativo 17 maggio 1999, n. 153 e persegue esclusivamente finalità di utilità sociale e di promozione dello sviluppo

economico e, per vincolo statutario, può finanziare esclusivamente soggetti che non perseguano finalità di lucro;

– Comune di Milano e Fondazione Cariplo, come precisato nell'ambito del Documento Operativo sottoscritto in data 8 maggio 2018, hanno ritenuto prioritario intervenire nei percorsi di rigenerazione urbana che interessano il Quartiere Adriano e il Parco Trotter, impegnandosi, in particolare, reciprocamente al fine di avviare una procedura ad evidenza pubblica finalizzata all'individuazione di un soggetto cui affidare la realizzazione ed erogazione di attività sociali negli spazi rigenerati dell'ex Convitto situato nell'ambito del Parco Trotter, che possa garantire la sostenibilità economica dell'intero progetto;

– tenuto conto degli obiettivi sopra esposti, a seguito degli approfondimenti condotti, le suddette Parti hanno individuato, quale strumento amministrativo più adeguato ed efficace a garantire l'attuazione del modello di erogazione dei servizi di utilità sociale dell'ex Convitto Trotter, la procedura della co-progettazione, così come definita dalla L. 8 novembre 2000 n. 328, dal decreto attuativo D.P.C.M. 30 marzo 2001 e dalla disciplina regionale di riferimento (DGR N. IX/1353 del 25 febbraio 2011 e DDG del 28/12/2011 n. 12884);

– a tale intervento, con delibera del proprio Consiglio di Amministrazione del 10 aprile 2018, la Fondazione ha stanziato un importo fino a un massimo di € 1.300.000,00, soggetto alla quantificazione finale da parte della stessa al termine del percorso congiunto condotto con il Comune e regolato dalle normali modalità di selezione, valutazione ed erogazione dei contributi della Fondazione Cariplo alle organizzazioni del terzo settore;

PREMESSO, ALTRESÌ, CHE

- con le suddette finalità, la Giunta Comunale con deliberazione n. 823 dell'11 maggio 2018 ha approvato gli indirizzi per l'istruttoria pubblica finalizzata all'individuazione di soggetti del Terzo Settore, quali partner del Comune di Milano nella co-progettazione finalizzata all'erogazione di servizi ed attività sociali negli spazi dell'“Ex Convitto” sito nell'ambito del complesso immobiliare del Parco Trotter;
- in data 27 luglio 2018, in attuazione della suddetta Deliberazione è stata adottata dal Responsabile del procedimento la Determinazione dirigenziale n. 136 di approvazione degli schemi degli atti relativi all'istruttoria pubblica finalizzata all'individuazione di soggetti del terzo settore disponibili alla co-progettazione ed alla successiva gestione della struttura;
- in data 30 luglio 2018, è stato pubblicato l'Avviso pubblico e i relativi allegati. Successivamente con Determinazione dirigenziale n. 185 del 31 ottobre 2018 l'Amministrazione ha prorogato i termini di partecipazione al 30 novembre 2018;
- ad esito del periodo di pubblicazione si è insediata la Commissione tecnica di valutazione, nominata con Determinazione dirigenziale n. 227 del 20 dicembre 2018 ed è stata avviata la procedura di verifica dell'ammissibilità delle domande e di valutazione delle proposte progettuali. Conclusa la fase valutativa è stata formulata apposita graduatoria ed è stato selezionato il partner di co-progettazione;
- in data 10 giugno 2019 è stata avviata la fase di co-progettazione intesa come sviluppo e rielaborazione dell'idea progettuale proposta dall'aggiudicatario che si è conclusa in data 10 novembre 2019, come da Determinazione dirigenziale n. 9030 del 30 dicembre 2019, con l'approvazione, condivisa e partecipata, tra le

Parti del progetto complessivo di erogazione dei servizi e delle attività sociali negli spazi dell' "Ex Convitto" sito nell'ambito del complesso immobiliare del Parco Trotter;

– le incertezze economiche derivanti dal contesto pandemico da Covid 2019 ha comportato l'inattuabilità del progetto gestionale così come approvato al termine della fase di co-progettazione. Nello specifico il Soggetto Attuatore selezionato ha chiesto la possibilità di attuare una revisione dei contenuti del progetto, delle tempistiche attuative e degli aspetti strettamente legati ad alcuni termini della Concessione;

– la revisione progettuale proposta, condivisa con la Fondazione Cariplo, è coerente con il progetto originario e con le aspettative dell'Amministrazione che ne ha approvato i contenuti con Determinazione dirigenziale n. 6600 del 23 settembre 2020, dando atto della sostenibilità del nuovo Piano Economico Finanziario in 17 anni;

– La Fabbrica di Olinda società cooperativa sociale, con sede legale in via Ippocrate, con Atto del 28 settembre 2020, Rep. N. 898 e Racc. 476, registrato all'Agenzia delle Entrate Ufficio Territoriale di Varese il 2 ottobre 2020 al n. 25064 serie 1T, integrato con atto del 24 marzo 2021, Rep. N. 1454 e Racc. 806, registrato all'agenzia delle Entrate Ufficio Territoriale di Varese il 31/03/2021 al n. 10414 serie 1T, si è costituita capogruppo del Raggruppamento Temporaneo di Imprese con Centro Servizi Formazione società cooperativa sociale, Comin Cooperativa Sociale di Solidarietà, Associazione Culturale per la promozione sociale Salumeria del Design, Associazione Culturale Ludwing officina dei linguaggi contemporanei;

- in data 16 febbraio 2021 la Fondazione Cariplo ha deliberato a favore del Soggetto Attuatore un contributo a fondo perduto di € 1.300.000;
- con Determinazione dirigenziale n. 3065 del 29.04.2021, dell’Area Patrimonio Immobiliare, è stata disposta l’assegnazione di porzione dell’immobile comunale sito in via Giacosa n. 44/46- via Padova n. 69, denominato “ex Convitto”, censito al foglio 235, Mappale 91, sub. 701, ricompreso nell’ambito del parco Trotter alla Direzione Specialistica Autorità di Gestione e Monitoraggio Piani, a titolo di assegnazione strumentale, per la prosecuzione della valorizzazione definita dall’Amministrazione;
- con Determinazione dirigenziale n. 4597 del 16 giugno 2021 è stato approvato lo schema della presente Convenzione integrato al termine della fase di co-progettazione e successiva revisione.

tutto ciò premesso e considerato, si conviene quanto segue

NATURA E OGGETTO DELLA CONVENZIONE

ART. 1 – DISPOSIZIONI GENERALI

Le condizioni e modalità di esecuzione delle attività derivanti dalla co-progettazione, finalizzata all’erogazione di servizi ed attività sociali negli spazi dell’ “ex Convitto” sito nell’ambito del complesso immobiliare del Parco Trotter, sono quelle indicate dalla presente Convenzione e dal progetto complessivo approvato a conclusione della fase di co-progettazione, e successiva integrazione, approvata con Determinazione dirigenziale n. 6600 del 23 settembre 2020, contenente le ulteriori clausole integrative della presente Convenzione definite in tale sede.

Per quanto non previsto nella presente Convenzione si rinvia alle disposizioni di Legge e di Regolamento vigenti in materia.

ART. 2 – DEFINIZIONI

Nell'ambito del presente documento sono usati le seguenti definizioni e acronimi:

- **Amministrazione:** il Comune di Milano;
- **Soggetto Attuatore:** l'Operatore *non profit* selezionato in sede di istruttoria pubblica.
- **Soggetto Finanziatore:** Fondazione Cariplo;
- **Documento di Co-progettazione:** atto afferente l'istruttoria pubblica contenente le finalità del progetto e le indicazioni volte a consentire ai concorrenti la predisposizione della proposta progettuale;
- **Convenzione:** il presente documento contenente la disciplina fondamentale dei rapporti tra le Parti che sarà stipulata tra l'Amministrazione comunale e il Soggetto Attuatore;
- **Progetto complessivo approvato a conclusione della fase di co-progettazione:** progetto complessivo di erogazione dei servizi e delle attività negli spazi dell'ex Convitto sito nell'ambito del complesso immobiliare del Parco Trotter, approvato dalle Parti ad esito della co-progettazione e successiva revisione, approvata con Determinazione dirigenziale n. 6600 del 23 settembre 2020;
- **Prestazioni:** l'erogazione di servizi ed attività sociali e delle connesse attività imprenditoriali negli spazi dell'ex Convitto del Parco Trotter, nonché la progettazione e realizzazione dei lavori di rifinitura e allestimento;
- **RUP:** Responsabile Unico del Procedimento;

ART. 3 – OGGETTO DELLA CONVENZIONE

La presente Convenzione disciplina i rapporti tra il Comune di Milano e il Soggetto Attuatore individuato tramite specifica istruttoria pubblica quale partner

dell'Amministrazione comunale nell'erogazione di servizi e attività sociali negli spazi dell'ex Convitto sito nel complesso immobiliare del Parco Trotter di via Padova in Milano.

ART. 4 – OGGETTO DELLA PROGETTAZIONE CONDIVISA

Ha costituito oggetto di progettazione condivisa la completa definizione delle modalità di erogazione di servizi ed attività sociali negli spazi dell'ex Convitto sito nell'ambito del complesso immobiliare del Parco Trotter di Via Padova, secondo le modalità e le tempistiche regolate nel presente documento e nel progetto complessivo approvato a conclusione della fase di co-progettazione.

La gestione degli spazi sociali dell'Ex Convitto, nel rispetto delle finalità sociali e pubbliche stabilite dall'Amministrazione Comunale, si connota per la complessità e la pluralità di attività che vanno dalla progettazione ed erogazione di servizi di carattere educativo, sociale, allo svolgimento di attività legate alla filiera alimentare, all'organizzazione di eventi, iniziative, manifestazioni di carattere culturale, del tempo libero e ricreative rivolte a tutta la cittadinanza.

Dette attività, indicate nell'ambito del “*Documento di co-progettazione*” sono state oggetto di completa definizione nell'ambito della fase di co-progettazione sulla base della proposta progettuale presentata dal soggetto aggiudicatario.

Lo spazio polifunzionale intende fornire una risposta concreta alla cittadinanza in termini di luoghi di aggregazione in una logica di integrazione con e per il territorio. In particolare, il Soggetto Attuatore garantisce direttamente l'erogazione delle seguenti attività/servizi, come meglio definiti nel progetto complessivo approvato a conclusione della fase di co-progettazione e successiva revisione:

- attività educative, quali doposcuola, attività di laboratorio legate al cibo, attività all'aperto, in particolare indirizzate a coinvolgere le scuole primarie della zona. Inoltre, nell'ambito delle attività destinate alla cittadinanza, nelle sue fasce più bisognose, in grado di capacitare e includere, usando il tema e le strutture dedicate al cibo, anche veicolando percorsi di formazione specifici e integrando quanto previsto in tema di educazione alimentare all'interno della *Food Policy* (con particolare riguardo alla priorità 3) promossa dal Comune di Milano, sarà garantito lo svolgimento di attività nei seguenti ambiti:

- ✓ politiche attive del lavoro,
- ✓ formazione per disabili - fragilità sociali - nuove povertà,
- ✓ progettazione sociale,
- ✓ la Biblioteca degli oggetti,
- ✓ l'Officina del riuso,
- ✓ produzione di eventi.

- intrattenimento e cultura, tramite la realizzazione di attività, in particolare indirizzate a coinvolgere e a rendere lo spazio vivo e abitato dal quartiere, sapendo produrre nuovi format e mettersi in rete con quanto già viene prodotto e realizzato nel quartiere stesso, dallo sport alle attività sociali. In particolare, sarà garantito lo svolgimento di attività nei seguenti ambiti:

- ✓ aggregazione/partecipazione,
- ✓ arti performative,
- ✓ produzione eventi identitari,
- ✓ arti visive,
- ✓ produzione eventi,
- ✓ show room/Museo del quotidiano,

✓ eventi temporanei (mercatini e *temporary shop*),

- realizzazione di attività di condivisione capaci di mobilitare le risorse delle associazioni locali del terzo settore e della cittadinanza attiva presenti nel territorio. In particolare, sarà garantito lo svolgimento di attività nei seguenti ambiti:

- ✓ portierato di quartiere,
- ✓ abitare il quartiere e le sue botteghe,
- ✓ adolescenti e giovani,
- uno spazio bar – ristorazione, capace di coniugare qualità dell’offerta e accessibilità verso soggetti fragili e svantaggiati, anche al fine di promuovere l’integrazione culturale e generazionale;
- realizzazione delle attività produttive artigianali legate al cibo in sinergia con l’attività di bar - ristorazione capaci di sviluppare un circolo virtuoso di formazione professionale/inclusione lavorativa quali:

- ✓ laboratori artigianali/partecipativi,
- ✓ cucina condivisa,

E’, altresì, a totale carico del Soggetto Attuatore (così come meglio specificato ai successivi articoli):

- la fornitura del materiale d’uso e di quant’altro necessario per l’esecuzione di tutti i servizi nella quantità e tipologia all’uopo richieste;
- la fornitura completa di arredi, mobili ed attrezzature per il regolare funzionamento dell’intera struttura;
- le utenze telefoniche, di energia elettrica, acqua, gas e la tariffa di igiene ambientale di competenza della porzione di spazi messi a disposizione per l’erogazione delle attività sociali;

- la manutenzione ordinaria e straordinaria degli arredi, mobili ed attrezzature;
- gli interventi manutenzione della struttura, secondo quanto indicato al successivo articolo 16, comma 2, punto 6;
- la pulizia della struttura e delle pertinenze esterne;
- tutti i servizi, progetti ed interventi inseriti nella proposta progettuale del soggetto aggiudicatario, oltre a tutto quanto indicato di seguito nella presente Convenzione.

Durante la gestione il Soggetto Attuatore deve rigorosamente attenersi a quanto disposto nella presente Convenzione e nel progetto complessivo approvato a conclusione della fase di co-progettazione e successiva revisione, nella consapevolezza che l'attività non potrà in alcun modo pregiudicare l'usufruità della struttura da parte della generalità dei cittadini, nel rispetto dei modi e tempi di programmazione delle attività.

La presente Convenzione comprende, inoltre, le attività di progettazione nonché l'esecuzione delle lavorazioni di rifinitura e di impiantistica della porzione dei suddetti spazi correlate alle specifiche attività proposte in sede di istruttoria pubblica, nonché l'esecuzione dei lavori nell'area verde pertinenziale, e di tutte le attività di allestimento degli spazi in relazione alle funzioni sociali e/o imprenditoriali insediate negli stessi.

I servizi e le attività sociali erogate, nonché le attività a pagamento prestate all'interno degli spazi dell'ex Convitto dovranno rispettare gli standard minimi di servizio/qualità e di impatto sociale, come dettagliatamente disciplinato in sede di co-progettazione con il Soggetto Attuatore, secondo i parametri recepiti, a tal fine,

nell'ambito del progetto complessivo approvato a conclusione di tale fase e successiva revisione.

ART. 5 - ULTERIORI INIZIATIVE ED ATTIVITA' CONSENTITE

In aggiunta ai servizi ed alle attività descritte dalla presente Convenzione, è facoltà del Soggetto Attuatore realizzare ed erogare ulteriori attività, se previste in sede di proposta progettuale, che prevedono interazioni progettuali con altri ambiti anche profit, finalizzati ad un innalzamento qualitativo delle risposte offerte ai bisogni espressi dal territorio nel rispetto delle finalità indicate all'articolo 1 della presente Convenzione.

A tal fine, il Soggetto Attuatore, ha la possibilità di dare in uso a terzi, temporaneamente, spazi e locali per attività puntuali che non siano in contrasto con la proposta progettuale, previo rilascio di apposita autorizzazione del Comune di Milano nel caso di utilizzi per periodi superiori a 15 giorni.

Tutte le iniziative di cui al presente articolo non dovranno, altresì, pregiudicare in alcun modo lo svolgimento delle attività "obbligatorie" previste nel "*Documento di co-progettazione*" e dovranno essere comunicate in seno all'organismo integrato di *governance* di cui al successivo articolo 20 o presentate già in sede di offerta tecnica.

ART. 6 - PROGETTAZIONE ED ESECUZIONE DI LAVORI DI RIFINITURA DEGLI SPAZI DESTINATI A LABORATORI

Sulla base del progetto di fattibilità tecnica ed economica in relazione alle residue opere e prestazioni di rifinitura degli spazi destinati a laboratori dell'Ex Convitto offerto in sede di istruttoria pubblica, il Soggetto Attuatore deve redigere il progetto definitivo ed esecutivo.

Fasi della progettazione dei lavori

Progettazione Definitiva - Il progetto definitivo, redatto nella fase di co-progettazione è stato assentito dal Comune di Milano in data 10 giugno 2021 in qualità di proprietario.

Progettazione Esecutiva – Il Comune di Milano, in qualità di proprietario dell’immobile, dispone, con apposito ordine di servizio, che il Soggetto Attuatore dia inizio alla redazione del progetto esecutivo a cura di Professionisti abilitati e da concludersi entro i 60 giorni successivi all’ordine di servizio.

Avvio dei lavori – A seguito della comunicazione del Comune di Milano di approvazione del progetto esecutivo, i lavori saranno realizzati da un Operatore Economico, individuato dal Soggetto Attuatore, che dovrà possedere i requisiti di ordine generale, di idoneità professionale e di qualificazione ad eseguire lavori pubblici, nonché la necessaria qualificazione SOA. Il Soggetto Attuatore indicherà all’Amministrazione, prima dell’avvio dei lavori, l’esecutore degli stessi.

Le opere dovranno essere realizzate entro i termini indicati nel cronoprogramma, come definito, congiuntamente dalle Parti. Ogni variazione dei predetti termini, dovuta a cause indipendenti dalla volontà o da azioni/omissioni dipendenti dal soggetto esecutore e/o dal soggetto che lo ha incaricato, dovrà essere concordata con il Comune di Milano.

L’Amministrazione verificherà l’andamento dei lavori allo scopo di accertare la corrispondenza delle opere eseguite a quelle di cui al progetto autorizzato.

I lavori dovranno essere realizzati senza pregiudicare le altre attività svolte all’interno dell’Ex Convitto, con particolare riferimento all’attività scolastica.

Le opere e gli impianti, al momento della loro realizzazione diverranno automaticamente di proprietà esclusiva dell’Amministrazione Comunale, con

esclusione, a qualunque titolo, di qualsiasi forma di indennizzo o di corrispettivo a carico del Comune di Milano.

L'esecuzione dei lavori è sempre e comunque effettuata secondo le regole dell'arte e con la massima diligenza da parte dell'esecutore.

Il Soggetto Attuatore è responsabile dei lavori e della sicurezza in cantiere.

Il Soggetto Attuatore dovrà presentare, a fine lavori, la documentazione tecnica attestante la regolare esecuzione delle opere assentite ed autorizzate, dovrà inoltre acquisire tutte le certificazioni necessarie attinenti all'agibilità e messa in esercizio dell'impianto.

Il Soggetto Attuatore dovrà acquisire alla fine dei lavori, il certificato di Agibilità di cui al "*Testo Unico delle disposizioni legislative e regolamentari in materia edilizia*" (D.P.R. n. 380/01 e s.m.i.) e le altre certificazioni necessarie per i locali aperti al pubblico (agibilità con parere C.C.V. e parere VV.F.). Costituisce quindi altresì obbligo del Soggetto Attuatore la redazione della documentazione tecnica necessaria. Il Soggetto Attuatore dovrà effettuare, a propria cura e spese, il collaudo delle opere realizzate. Il collaudatore sarà nominato dal Soggetto Attuatore tra i nominativi indicati dall'Amministrazione.

ART. 7 - AVVIO DELLE ATTIVITÀ

Al termine dei lavori e dell'allestimento degli spazi, acquisite le certificazioni necessarie, in conformità al cronoprogramma definito, le attività oggetto della Convenzione e del progetto complessivo approvato in sede di co-progettazione e successiva revisione, dovranno essere avviate a regime, fatto salvo il diverso termine concordato tra la Parti per cause indipendenti dalla volontà, da azioni o omissioni del Soggetto Attuatore dell'ex Convitto del Parco Trotter o dell'esecutore dei lavori.

ART. 8 - DURATA

La durata della Convenzione per l'erogazione di servizi ed attività sociali negli spazi dell'ex Convitto Trotter è determinata sulla base del progetto formulato dal Soggetto Attuatore a seguito dell'emergenza Covid-19, in linea con le stime economico-finanziarie effettuate per l'erogazione delle suddette attività in tali spazi ed è pari a 17 anni.

L'Amministrazione, si riserva la possibilità di prorogare, alle medesime condizioni la durata della Convenzione, limitatamente al tempo strettamente necessario alla conclusione delle procedure per l'individuazione di un nuovo soggetto gestore di quanto previsto al precedente articolo 3. Il Soggetto Attuatore si impegna, in via eventuale, a garantire il corretto e pieno funzionamento della struttura fino all'individuazione del nuovo gestore, quindi fino al completamento delle procedure per la sua selezione ed al suo subentro.

ART. 9 – IMPEGNI DEL COMUNE DI MILANO

Il Comune di Milano per lo svolgimento delle attività sociali, educative e culturali sopra indicate mette a disposizione del Soggetto Attuatore gli spazi destinati ad uso sociale dell'Ex Convitto e le pertinenze dello stesso, ubicati all'interno del Parco Trotter come descritti nelle allegate planimetrie (Allegati B e C). Le modalità sono state dettagliatamente disciplinate tra le Parti nell'ambito della fase di co-progettazione. Gli spazi e le relative pertinenze sono consegnate ed accettate dal Soggetto Attuatore nello stato di fatto e nelle condizioni esistenti al momento della sottoscrizione della presente Convenzione come risultante dal verbale di consegna, nell'ambito del quale potranno essere annotate eventuali osservazioni da parte del Soggetto Attuatore. Il predetto verbale di consegna dovrà essere sottoscritto entro 10 giorni dalla firma della presente Convenzione. Il verbale

costituisce riferimento per il periodo di durata della Convenzione, e viene tenuto aggiornato ogni anno, qualora necessario per modifiche sopraggiunte.

Gli spazi sono stati oggetto di una complessiva riqualificazione finalizzata alla realizzazione di attività sociali/educative ed il Soggetto Attuatore si fa carico degli arredi e degli allestimenti, nonché delle lavorazioni di adattamento e di impiantistica della porzione dei suddetti spazi destinata a laboratori correlate alle specifiche attività insediate nei suddetti spazi secondo quanto stabilito nel progetto complessivo approvato a conclusione della fase di co-progettazione e successiva revisione.

Tutte le strutture immobili e tutti i beni strumentali e impiantistici messi a disposizione sono e rimangono di piena ed esclusiva proprietà del Comune di Milano.

Il Comune di Milano si impegna ad assicurare il controllo e la vigilanza delle prestazioni erogate dal Soggetto Attuatore, attraverso la verifica periodica del perseguimento degli obiettivi in rapporto alle attività oggetto della Convenzione, riservandosi di apportare tutte le variazioni che dovesse ritenere utili ai fini della buona riuscita delle azioni ivi contemplate, senza che ciò comporti ulteriori oneri a carico del Soggetto Attuatore, che è tenuto ad apportare le variazioni richieste.

Il Comune di Milano, a tal fine, partecipa all'organismo integrato di *governance* del progetto di cui al successivo articolo 20.

ART.10 – IMPEGNI DEL SOGGETTO ATTUATORE

Il Soggetto Attuatore si obbliga alla realizzazione ed erogazione diretta delle attività oggetto della Convenzione e del progetto complessivo approvato a conclusione della fase di co-progettazione e successiva revisione, approvata con determinazione dirigenziale n. 6600 del 23 settembre 2020, nonché di quelle che,

successivamente alla stipulazione della stessa, dovessero essere espressamente autorizzate dal Comune di Milano su richiesta motivata del Soggetto Attuatore, con divieto di cessione delle stesse o di parte di esse ad un soggetto giuridico terzo rispetto a quello individuato a seguito dell'istruttoria pubblica.

ART.11 – PERSONALE IMPIEGATO

Obblighi del Soggetto Attuatore

Il Soggetto Attuatore è tenuto all'esatta osservanza di tutte le leggi, regolamenti e norme vigenti in materia, nonché eventualmente entrate in vigore nel corso della Convenzione.

Il Soggetto Attuatore è tenuto ad assicurare la prestazione con personale idoneo sotto il profilo deontologico, professionale e sanitario, assumendo a proprio carico tutti i relativi oneri, nel rispetto delle leggi e regolamenti vigenti in materia o che interverranno nel periodo di decorrenza della Convenzione, per quanto applicabili, inclusi quelli in materia di igiene e sanità, in materia retributiva, contributiva, previdenziale, assistenziale, nonché di tutela della salute e per la sicurezza dei lavoratori durante il lavoro, di ogni altra disposizione in vigore o che potrà intervenire in costanza di rapporto per la tutela dei lavoratori e in ogni altro ambito tutelato dalle leggi speciali.

L'Amministrazione si riserva il diritto di richiedere al Soggetto Attuatore la documentazione attestante gli adempimenti di tutti i predetti obblighi.

La documentazione di avvenuta denuncia agli enti previdenziali, inclusa la Cassa Edile, assicurativi ed infortunistici, nonché l'indicazione dei contratti collettivi applicati ai lavoratori dipendenti e una dichiarazione in merito all'assolvimento ed al rispetto degli obblighi assicurativi e previdenziali previsti dalle leggi e dai contratti in vigore devono essere presentate dal Soggetto Attuatore prima

dell'inizio delle prestazioni e comunque entro 60 giorni dalla data di avvio delle stesse.

Doveri del personale

Le prestazioni previste dalla Convenzione dovranno essere espletate con personale qualificato e ritenuto idoneo a svolgere le relative funzioni.

Il personale è tenuto ad un comportamento improntato alla massima correttezza e ad agire in ogni occasione con la diligenza professionale del caso.

Il personale è tenuto all'osservanza del Codice di comportamento adottato dal Comune di Milano con deliberazione di Giunta Comunale n. 2659/2013, pertanto il Soggetto Attuatore dovrà impartire idonee disposizioni in tal senso.

L'inosservanza delle leggi in materia di lavoro di cui al presente articolo, può determinare la risoluzione della Convenzione.

ART. 12 – AFFIDAMENTO DI ATTIVITA' SPECIFICHE A LAVORATORI AUTONOMI

Il Soggetto Attuatore dovrà effettuare apposita comunicazione preventiva al Comune di Milano nel caso di affidamento di attività specifiche a lavoratori autonomi.

ART. 13 - FORMAZIONE E SICUREZZA

Il Soggetto Attuatore, a tutela della qualità dei servizi erogati, si impegna a mantenere alto il livello formativo dei propri operatori garantendo lo svolgimento di un piano formativo, condiviso con il Comune di Milano, rivolto a tutti gli operatori, anche a sostegno di modifiche/integrazioni della programmazione degli interventi o delle nuove esigenze che si manifestano nella organizzazione degli stessi.

Il Comune di Milano ha facoltà di richiedere la partecipazione dei propri referenti a tali incontri di formazione, previo consenso del Soggetto Attuatore.

Il Soggetto Attuatore dovrà provvedere all'adeguata istruzione del personale addetto, nonché degli eventuali sostituti, in materia di sicurezza ed igiene del lavoro.

Il Soggetto Attuatore è tenuto ad assicurare il personale addetto contro gli infortuni e si obbliga a far osservare scrupolosamente le norme antinfortunistiche e a dotarlo di tutto quanto necessario per la prevenzione degli infortuni, in conformità alle vigenti norme di legge in materia (D.Lgs. n. 81 del 9.04.2008).

L'inosservanza delle leggi in materia di sicurezza di cui al presente articolo, può determinare la risoluzione della Convenzione.

ART. 14 – CUSTODIA E VIGILANZA DEGLI SPAZI

Il Soggetto Attuatore prende in carico i beni immobili e mobili del Comune e si impegna a utilizzarli e conservarli con la diligenza del buon padre di famiglia. Si impegna a restituire i beni messi a disposizione, ivi compresi quelli successivamente forniti, in perfetto stato di manutenzione e di funzionalità secondo la normativa vigente all'atto della riconsegna, unitamente alle documentazioni di legge. Eventuali danni eccedenti il normale deperimento d'uso, saranno posti a totale carico dello stesso, con facoltà del Comune di rivalsa sul deposito cauzionale di cui all'articolo 34, oltre agli eventuali ulteriori risarcimenti danni non coperti da tale deposito.

Il Soggetto Attuatore, in relazione ai beni consegnati, ha la responsabilità del custode, ai sensi e per gli effetti di cui all'articolo 1768 e seguenti del Codice Civile.

Sono vietate modifiche di qualsiasi natura ai beni ed agli impianti dati in gestione, senza previa autorizzazione da parte del Comune.

L'eventuale installazione di strutture provvisorie deve essere comunicata in via preventiva al Comune. Restano a carico del Soggetto Attuatore tutti gli adempimenti previsti dalle leggi in termini di autorizzazioni e di sicurezza relativamente a tali strutture provvisorie.

Il Soggetto Attuatore ha l'obbligo di vigilare sull'edificio durante il suo utilizzo, garantendo la presenza di un responsabile/custode della struttura che verifichi che le attività si svolgano nel rispetto delle condizioni contrattuali e del vigente ordinamento giuridico.

In caso di intrusioni, danni, furti, incendi o altri eventi pregiudizievoli per il patrimonio del Comune, il Soggetto Attuatore è tenuto ad informare il Comune e le autorità competenti, non appena venuto a conoscenza dei fatti.

ART. 15 – PULIZIA DELL'EDIFICIO E DEGLI SPAZI ESTERNI

La pulizia di tutti gli spazi interni e delle pertinenze esterne della struttura, individuate dagli allegati B e C, è a carico del Soggetto Attuatore il quale ha il compito di mantenere sempre con decoro tutti gli ambienti affidati.

I prodotti utilizzati per le pulizie dovranno essere conformi e rispettosi alle caratteristiche peculiari della struttura, degli arredi e attrezzature in dotazione.

ART. 16 – PRESTAZIONI CONNESSE ALL' EROGAZIONE DI SERVIZI ED ATTIVITÀ - MANUTENZIONE STRAORDINARIA ED ORDINARIA DEGLI SPAZI

Sono a carico del Soggetto Attuatore tutti gli oneri e i rischi relativi alle attività e agli adempimenti occorrenti all'integrale espletamento dell'oggetto della Convenzione.

Il Soggetto Attuatore si obbliga ad eseguire le prestazioni oggetto della presente Convenzione a perfetta regola d'arte e nel rispetto di tutte le norme e le prescrizioni tecniche e di sicurezza in vigore e di quelle che dovessero essere emanate nel corso di durata della Convenzione, secondo le condizioni, le modalità, i termini e le prescrizioni contenute nel presente atto e nel progetto complessivo approvato ad esito della fase di co-progettazione e successiva revisione.

1. È a carico del Soggetto Attuatore ogni responsabilità connessa e dipendente dall'uso degli spazi messi a disposizione dal Comune di Milano e dall'erogazione di servizi ed attività di cui al precedente articolo 4. Il Comune di Milano è manlevato e tenuto indenne da ogni responsabilità verso terzi, per danni a persone e/o a cose che si dovessero verificare per tutto il periodo di durata della Convenzione nell'ambito di quanto disciplinato dalla stessa.

2. Il Soggetto Attuatore ha l'obbligo di controllare il corretto uso degli spazi in relazione agli aspetti assicurativi, antinfortunistici, antincendio in relazione alle attività erogate, o quanto necessario per l'utilizzo degli spazi, in relazione alla loro destinazione d'uso.

3. Sono a carico del Soggetto Attuatore tutte le spese necessarie alla gestione degli spazi messi a disposizione dal Comune di Milano, gli interventi ed i relativi oneri di vigilanza, di controllo, di guardiania e di custodia delle strutture interne, esterne e degli impianti ed aree pertinenti nonché delle strutture mobili e delle attrezzature.

4. Il Soggetto Attuatore ha l'obbligo di volturare le utenze entro massimo 20 giorni dalla sottoscrizione della presente Convenzione, fatti salvi diversi termini concordati con l'Amministrazione Comunale.

5. Il Soggetto Attuatore dovrà assolvere al pagamento di tutte le forniture energetiche, delle altre utenze e delle imposte/tasse previste dalla normativa vigente, con particolare riferimento alla tassa per lo smaltimento dei rifiuti solidi urbani.
6. Il Soggetto Attuatore dovrà realizzare gli interventi di manutenzione ordinaria e straordinaria, ovvero qualsiasi ulteriore intervento che si rendesse necessario al fine di assicurare costantemente il mantenimento in stato di perfetta efficienza oltre l' idoneità all'uso, anche sotto il profilo igienico-sanitario, della struttura, delle sue pertinenze e degli impianti in essa presenti. Gli interventi di manutenzione ordinaria e straordinaria delle parti comuni come descritte nelle allegate planimetrie (Allegati B e C) saranno eseguiti, previo accordo tra le parti, che ne concorderanno le modalità, i tempi ed i costi.
7. Il Soggetto Attuatore ha l'obbligo di acquisire le certificazioni degli impianti per l'erogazione dei servizi ed attività legate alla filiera alimentare (bar, ristorante, autoproduzione ecc.).
8. Il Soggetto Attuatore dovrà provvedere all'ottenimento di tutte le autorizzazioni, nulla osta e licenze necessarie alla realizzazione delle attività proposte e per lo svolgimento delle attività aperte al pubblico.
9. Il Soggetto Attuatore dovrà dare comunicazione motivata di ogni sospensione dell'erogazione dei servizi e delle attività sociali e/o commerciali o di alcune di esse.
10. Il Soggetto Attuatore è tenuto a garantire direttamente, all'interno dei locali individuati, l'esercizio di somministrazione di alimenti e bevande, con acquisizione da parte del legale rappresentante di tutti i requisiti previsti dalle norme in materia di somministrazione di alimenti e bevande, nonché nel pieno

rispetto delle normative fiscali, previdenziali, commerciali attinenti ed applicabili alla gestione di tali attività.

11. Il Soggetto Attuatore dovrà mettere a disposizione gratuita gli spazi o parte di essi, a favore dell'Amministrazione Comunale, per almeno n. 10 (dieci) giornate all'anno, per lo svolgimento di manifestazioni realizzate o patrocinate dall'Amministrazione stessa. Nel caso di iniziative patrocinate dal Comune di Milano, i costi di utenze, custodia, pulizia saranno a carico degli organizzatori. Le date programmate dovranno essere comunicate dall'Amministrazione Comunale al Soggetto Attuatore con periodicità semestrale, entro il 31 dicembre e entro il 30 giugno di ogni anno, fatte salve specifiche esigenze del Comune di Milano che si possono manifestare nel corso dell'anno.

ART. 17 – DOTAZIONE ARREDI E ATTREZZATURE

Sono a carico del Soggetto Attuatore tutte le spese relative alla fornitura, messa in opera, manutenzione ordinaria e straordinaria di tutti gli arredi e attrezzature dell'edificio, compreso il locale cucina. Per il locale cucina, si segnala l'eventuale necessità di realizzare, a cura e spese del Soggetto attuatore, il condotto di evacuazione dei fumi in copertura.

L'obbligo della fornitura è relativa anche agli spazi esterni pertinenziali del bar/ristorante e dei servizi per minori e famiglia, in maniera tale da consentire lo svolgimento di parte di queste attività anche all'esterno.

Si precisa che la fornitura degli arredi e attrezzature dell'edificio, stante il vincolo monumentale e le prescrizioni della Soprintendenza, dovrà avvenire nel rispetto delle indicazioni tecnico-normative che saranno predisposte dalla competente Area tecnica comunale.

Il giorno dell'inizio dell'attività dovrà essere redatto e sottoscritto da un rappresentante del Comune e dal Soggetto Attuatore il verbale della dotazione delle attrezzature e arredi necessari per lo svolgimento delle attività di cui al precedente articolo 4. Il verbale viene tenuto aggiornato ogni anno, qualora necessario per modifiche sopraggiunte.

Alla scadenza della Convenzione, previa verifica dell'inventario aggiornato dei beni forniti dall'aggiudicatario e della valutazione in contraddittorio tra le parti contrattuali, viene determinato il valore residuo degli stessi. Tale valore residuo costituisce l'indennizzo che il Soggetto Attuatore percepirà dal nuovo gestore dell'edificio, nell'ipotesi in cui a seguito di un nuovo affidamento non dovesse risultare nuovamente aggiudicatario.

Tale indennizzo non verrà in alcun modo riconosciuto nell'ipotesi di risoluzione della Convenzione imputabile al Soggetto Attuatore, o di recesso unilaterale dello stesso, senza giustificato motivo.

All'inizio dell'attività e successivamente ogni qualvolta il Soggetto Attuatore proceda con la fornitura di nuove dotazioni dovrà trasmettere copia della documentazione relativa alla fornitura stessa, da cui si evinca il dettaglio ed il valore delle stesse.

Sono a carico del Soggetto Attuatore, sempre nel rispetto di quanto sopra indicato, gli acquisti integrativi di arredi e attrezzature che si rendessero necessari per lo svolgimento delle attività insediate negli spazi messi a disposizione dall'Amministrazione, anche nell'ipotesi della necessità di adeguarsi a provvedimenti emessi dalle competenti autorità.

ART. 18 – ATTIVITÀ PROMOZIONALI, SPONSORIZZAZIONI

Il Soggetto Attuatore potrà utilizzare gli spazi interni per l'esercizio della pubblicità cartellonistica, previo assenso e secondo un progetto particolareggiato approvato dal Comune di Milano, fermo restando l'obbligo di acquisire l'autorizzazione prescritta dal Regolamento sulla pubblicità e di corrispondere la relativa imposta. Ogni onere e ogni provento derivanti da tale attività sono a carico e a favore del Soggetto Attuatore.

Il Soggetto Attuatore dovrà concedere idonei spazi pubblicitari in forma gratuita al Comune di Milano per l'affissione di materiale relativo a manifestazioni promosse dall'Amministrazione o relativo ad altre attività istituzionali.

Sono in ogni caso vietate le sponsorizzazioni/pubblicità riguardanti:

- a. la propaganda di natura politica, sindacale e/o religiosa e di dubbia moralità;
- b. i messaggi offensivi, incluse le espressioni di fanatismo, razzismo, odio o minaccia, o comunque lesive della dignità umana;
- c. pubblicità diretta o collegata alla produzione e/o distribuzione di tabacco, alcolici, materiale pornografico, a sfondo sessuale o inerente alle armi.

ART. 19 - MODALITÀ DI UTILIZZO ED ACCESSO AL PARCO PUBBLICO

Le modalità di utilizzo e/o accesso al Parco negli orari scolastici per iniziative previste nel progetto complessivo approvato ad esito della fase di co-progettazione ovvero definite preventivamente con l'Amministrazione Comunale nell'ambito degli strumenti di *governance*, sono disciplinate, in accordo con la competente Direzione del Comune di Milano in materia educativa, da un apposito vademecum predisposto in funzione delle attività che saranno insediate negli spazi sociali dell'Ex Convitto.

L'utilizzo del predetto Parco deve, in ogni caso, rispettare la prevalente destinazione scolastica e l'apertura pubblica dello stesso.

ART. 20 – DIREZIONE, GESTIONE E ORGANIZZAZIONE

Governance

Il Soggetto Attuatore quale “partner” del Comune nella co-progettazione degli interventi è parte attiva nella concretizzazione del modello direzionale, gestionale e organizzativo.

L'assetto organizzativo complessivo della *governance* del progetto di erogazione dei servizi/attività e delle connesse attività imprenditoriali a sostegno di queste ultime, nonché di progettazione di eventuali nuovi interventi, dovrà essere definito di comune accordo tra le parti entro 3 mesi dalla firma della Convenzione, dando atto che alla *governance* del progetto potrà partecipare anche il Soggetto Finanziatore.

Al Soggetto Attuatore, quale soggetto gestore competente, oltre all'attività di gestione ed offerta dei servizi/attività sociali ed imprenditoriali, la pianificazione, organizzazione, gestione e valutazione delle attività svolte e degli interventi eseguiti.

Gli strumenti di *governance* sono strutturati sulla base di uno stabile organismo integrato pubblico/privato, con la partecipazione del Soggetto Finanziatore almeno per i primi 4 anni di avvio delle attività e dei servizi, che tiene conto delle varie istanze rappresentate e dei diversi portatori d'interesse. In particolare, saranno definiti congiuntamente gli strumenti di governo, di presidio e di controllo della gestione complessiva.

Il Soggetto Finanziatore, decorsi i primi 4 anni dalla firma della Convenzione, si riserva il diritto di ricevere informative periodiche circa lo stato di avanzamento del progetto.

Gli strumenti di *governance* sono essenzialmente finalizzati:

- ✓ alla costante condivisione tra le Parti degli strumenti di governo, di presidio e controllo della progettazione secondo principi organizzativi riconosciuti e secondo uno schema organizzativo; da definirsi entro 3 mesi dalla firma della presente Convenzione;
- ✓ all'analisi e la valutazione delle varie istanze rappresentate dai diversi soggetti portatori di interessi locali coinvolti nella gestione degli spazi dell'Ex Convitto, dall'associazionismo alle strutture scolastiche presenti nel Parco;
- ✓ alla definizione e risoluzione degli eventuali conflitti relativi a questioni interpretative sull'attuazione delle attività progettuali concordate o sulla gestione complessiva degli spazi messi a disposizione.

La Parti, in ogni caso, si impegnano a facilitare un rapporto di coordinamento tra i propri operatori ed i responsabili dei servizi interessati al fine di una puntuale realizzazione degli interventi.

Monitoraggio e Controllo

All'inizio di ogni esercizio finanziario il Soggetto Attuatore dovrà presentare all'Amministrazione comunale un bilancio di previsione in cui siano evidenziate le entrate e le uscite previste, in linea con il contenuto delle previsioni economico finanziarie presentate in sede di istruttoria pubblica.

Al termine dell'anno finanziario dovrà essere prodotto un bilancio consuntivo di entrate e spese complessive di gestione della struttura, evidenziando gli

scostamenti rispetto alle previsioni, e rispetto al quadro complessivo delle suddette previsioni.

Oltre a quanto sopra, il Soggetto Attuatore dovrà produrre trimestralmente, fatta salva diversa periodicità concordata tra le parti, all'Amministrazione comunale, in formato elettronico, i dati relativi all'andamento dei servizi erogati (a titolo esemplificativo ma non esaustivo: tipologia di azioni/attività attivate, progettazioni in corso, percorsi effettuati, numero utenti che hanno avuto accesso, eventuali tariffe applicate, introiti complessivi e di dettaglio delle singole attività).

I report dovranno essere distinti per ogni singolo servizio offerto.

Oltre ai report statistici dovrà essere prodotta ogni fine anno una relazione complessiva sull'andamento dei servizi evidenziando eventuali criticità, proposte di miglioramento, revisioni progettuali da apportare all'attività.

È prevista la possibilità, senza oneri aggiuntivi per il Comune, di chiedere altre forme di rendicontazione sull'andamento dei servizi e delle attività erogate, concordando tempi e modi con il Soggetto Attuatore.

In caso di necessità di chiarimenti in merito alla predetta documentazione, il Comune richiederà gli opportuni chiarimenti che dovranno essere tempestivamente forniti dal Soggetto Attuatore.

Monitoraggio del Livello dei Servizi

Sono calendarizzati incontri con periodicità annuale con l'Amministrazione per la verifica dell'adeguatezza del livello qualitativo del servizio nel corso del tempo, tenendo conto del progresso scientifico, tecnologico, ecc., al fine di eventualmente modificare le prestazioni in un'ottica evolutiva anche con riferimento a parametri quantitativi (es. dovuti a mutamenti demografici o socio territoriali).

Con la sottoscrizione della presente Convenzione, il Soggetto Attuatore assume l'impegno – in attuazione del principio di buona fede – di comunicare al Comune di Milano le criticità e le problematiche che dovessero insorgere al fine di poter scongiurare, ove possibile, possibili conflitti tra le Parti.

Rendicontazione del finanziamento concesso dalla Fondazione Cariplo

Il contributo concesso dalla Fondazione Cariplo sarà soggetto alle normali modalità di rendicontazione previste dalla Fondazione Cariplo medesima; le regole di rendicontazione saranno sottoscritte dal Soggetto Attuatore in sede di accettazione del contributo.

ART. 21 – IMPEGNI ECONOMICI E FINANZIARI

Il valore complessivo degli interventi infrastrutturali e dei costi di avvio dell'erogazione delle attività in fase di start-up, pari a quattro anni, è stimato in Euro 1.736.000,00, tenuto conto del contributo di Fondazione Cariplo di Euro 1.300.000,00 e della quota di cofinanziamento pari a Euro 436.000,00 (di cui Euro 144.500,00 quale cofinanziamento obbligatorio ed Euro 291.500,00 quale cofinanziamento aggiuntivo) da parte del Soggetto Attuatore.

Fondazione Cariplo, ha deliberato in data 16 febbraio 2021 il proprio contributo da erogare in fase di start-up per la parte infrastrutturale e gestionale nella misura massima di Euro 1.300.000,00. L'erogazione di tale contributo sarà disciplinata da un'apposita Convenzione tra il Soggetto Attuatore e Fondazione Cariplo nonché dalle regole di rendicontazione dei contributi adottate da quest'ultima e sottoscritte dal Soggetto Attuatore in sede di accettazione del medesimo contributo.

Le risorse messe direttamente a disposizione dal Soggetto Attuatore in termini di risorse finanziarie, beni immobili, attrezzature/strumentazioni, automezzi, risorse

umane, capacità del Soggetto Attuatore di reperire contributi e/o finanziamenti da parte di enti non pubblici, costi di coordinamento ed organizzazione delle attività, cura dei rapporti con l'Amministrazione, presidio delle politiche di qualità sono pari ad Euro 436.000,00.

ART. 22 – CANONE DI CONCESSIONE

A partire dal quinto anno, decorrente dalla data della firma della presente Convenzione, il Soggetto Attuatore dovrà garantire un canone annuo fisso pari a complessivi € 30.000,00, da erogarsi al Comune di Milano in quote trimestrali ciascuna di € 7.500,00, secondo le modalità dallo stesso comunicate.

Il Soggetto Attuatore si obbliga a rispettare tutti gli obblighi di tracciabilità dei flussi finanziari di cui all'art. 3 della Legge 13 agosto 2010, n. 136.

ART. 23 – RISCHI CONNESSI ALL'EROGAZIONE DEI SERVIZI ED ATTIVITÀ SOCIALI

I rischi e le responsabilità collegate all'erogazione dei servizi e delle attività di cui al precedente articolo 4, sono a carico del Soggetto Attuatore, fatte salve eventuali cause di forza maggiore che dovranno essere valutate con l'Amministrazione al verificarsi delle stesse.

ART. 24 – VARIAZIONI IN CORSO DI ESECUZIONE DEL PROGETTO

Eventuali modifiche, prescrizioni o variazioni, rispetto a quanto pattuito, richieste dal Comune o concordate tra le Parti in sede di erogazione dei servizi e delle attività sociali saranno definite, in coerenza con le finalità e gli obiettivi complessivi del progetto, nell'ambito dell'organismo integrato di governance di cui all'Art. 20 tenendo conto dell'evoluzione dei bisogni del contesto territoriale e delle necessità dettate dalla sostenibilità economica del progetto.

ART. 25 – FORZA MAGGIORE

È condiviso tra le Parti in misura paritetica il rischio di forza maggiore, connesso alla possibilità del verificarsi di eventi o circostanze al di fuori del ragionevole controllo del Soggetto Attuatore o del Comune da cui derivi l'impossibilità anche temporanea, parziale o totale, per ciascuna delle due Parti, di adempiere alle proprie obbligazioni ai sensi della presente Convenzione.

Gli eventi o le circostanze di cui al comma precedente sono rappresentanti da:

- a) guerra, terrorismo, sommossa o simili eventi o circostanze;
- b) terremoti;
- c) calamità naturali, incendi, inondazioni o simili eventi o circostanze.

ART. 26 – PROCEDURE DI RICONSEGNA

Alla naturale scadenza della Convenzione, ovvero entro i 30 (trenta) giorni successivi alla notificazione della revoca o della risoluzione o della decadenza disposte per qualsiasi titolo ai sensi della Convenzione, il Soggetto Attuatore è obbligato a riconsegnare all'Amministrazione, gli spazi comprese le addizioni e le migliorie, in perfetto stato di manutenzione e conservazione, liberi da persone o cose, unitamente alla relativa documentazione tecnica aggiornata, con espressa esclusione, a qualunque titolo, di qualsiasi forma di indennizzo o di corrispettivo a carico dell'Amministrazione. Ciò anche per eventuali investimenti effettuati dal Soggetto Attuatore e non interamente ammortizzati.

Nel caso di inottemperanza, l'Amministrazione procederà allo sgombero d'ufficio a spese del Soggetto Attuatore rivalendosi sulla cauzione di cui all'Art.34 e senza alcun pregiudizio di ogni altra azione che possa competere all'Amministrazione stessa.

All'atto della riconsegna degli spazi verrà redatto, in contraddittorio tra le parti, un verbale di riconsegna attestante la consistenza e lo stato di manutenzione degli

stessi. Ogni danno accertato comporterà per il Soggetto Attuatore, oltre al pagamento dei costi necessari per ripristinare il corretto stato di manutenzione e di efficienza, l'obbligo del risarcimento.

L'immobile dovrà essere restituito in perfetto stato di manutenzione.

ART. 27 - LIVELLI E QUALITA' DEL SERVIZIO

Fermo restando che i livelli di qualità del servizio sono stati disciplinati compiutamente dalle Parti nell'ambito del progetto complessivo di erogazione dei servizi e attività sociali approvato dalla Parti a conclusione della fase di co-progettazione e successiva revisione, il Soggetto Attuatore dovrà rispettare i seguenti obblighi di servizio:

1. apertura regolare, anche nel periodo estivo, delle strutture ed erogazione dei servizi e delle attività sociali sulla base di una programmazione di carattere generale che dovrà essere concordata con l'Amministrazione Comunale con cadenza annuale.

Il Soggetto Attuatore non può sospendere le attività ed i servizi erogati in seguito a decisione unilaterale, nemmeno nel caso in cui fossero in atto controversie con l'Amministrazione Comunale. Potranno essere concordati con l'Amministrazione eventuali periodi di sospensione delle attività.

2. l'accesso agli utenti con disabilità.

DISCIPLINA CONVENZIONALE

ART. 28 – DOCUMENTI FACENTI PARTE INTEGRALE DELLA CONVENZIONE

Sono parte integrante e sostanziale della Convenzione:

- il “*Documento di co-progettazione*” con riferimento al contesto in cui è inserito il servizio (Allegato A);

- le planimetrie degli spazi messi a disposizione dal Comune di Milano (Allegati B e C);
- l'offerta presentata dal Soggetto Attuatore in sede di istruttoria pubblica (Allegato D);
- il progetto gestionale di erogazione dei servizi e delle attività approvato dalle Parti a conclusione della fase di co-progettazione e successiva revisione, contenente le ulteriori clausole integrative della presente Convenzione definite in tali sedi, il Piano Economico Finanziario (PEF) e il progetto architettonico assentito. (Allegato E).

ART. 29 – CONDIZIONI GENERALI DI CONTRATTO

La sottoscrizione della Convenzione e dei suoi allegati da parte del Soggetto Attuatore equivale a dichiarazione di perfetta conoscenza delle leggi, dei regolamenti e di tutta la normativa vigente in materia di co-progettazione.

L'interpretazione delle disposizioni della presente Convenzione deve essere effettuata, tenendo conto delle finalità perseguite con il contratto. In ogni caso trovano applicazione gli articoli dal 1362 al 1369 C.C.

Il Comune di Milano è impegnato nella lotta alla corruzione in ogni sua manifestazione. In particolare, allo scopo di evitare le occasioni di pratiche illecite ha introdotto l'obbligo di sottoscrivere e consegnare congiuntamente all'offerta il Patto di Integrità.

Con tale Patto di Integrità si intende garantire anche la corretta e trasparente esecuzione del contratto assegnato.

Il Comune di Milano verificherà l'applicazione del Patto di Integrità sia da parte del Soggetto Attuatore, sia da parte dei propri dipendenti, collaboratori e consulenti.

ART. 30 - FALLIMENTO DEL SOGGETTO ATTUATORE

Il fallimento del Soggetto Attuatore comporta, lo scioglimento *ope legis* della Convenzione o del vincolo giuridico sorto a seguito dell'aggiudicazione facendo salvo la speciale disciplina prevista dall'art. 48 commi 17 e 18 e dall'art. 110 del D.Lgs. 50/2016.

PENALI CAUZIONE E GARANZIE

ART. 31 – PENALI PER RITARDI E INADEMPIENZE

In caso di violazione degli obblighi previsti dalla Convenzione l'Amministrazione applicherà le penali di seguito indicate:

	OGGETTO:	Importo penalità
1	Per ogni giorno solare di ritardo nell'avvio delle attività rispetto alla data di cui all'art. 7 “fino a un massimo di 90 giorni, decorsi i quali la Convenzione potrà essere risolta, verrà applicata una penale di	€ 300,00 per ogni giornata
2	Mancato rispetto degli obblighi di cui all'art 20, paragrafo “ Monitoraggio e Controllo ” (per ogni violazione)	€ 2.500,00 per ogni violazione
3	Pagamento del contributo fisso di cui all'art. 22 con un ritardo superiore a 30 giorni, per ogni giorno ulteriore di ritardo (massimo 90 giorni di ritardo)	€ 100,00
4	Per negligenze, ritardi, omissioni nel	€ 100,00



	pagamento delle utenze con disservizio per l'utenza (per ogni giorno)	
5	Mancata trasmissione, entro il termine del 30 giugno di ogni anno, del resoconto economico-gestionale (per ogni giorno di ritardo)	€ 200,00
6	Sospensione del servizio all'utenza, per decisione unilaterale del Soggetto Attuatore, per ogni giornata	€ 300,00
7	Per impossibile fruizione, imputabile al Soggetto Attuatore, delle giornate messe a disposizione dell'Amministrazione Comunale (per ogni giornata)	€ 300,00
8	Per inosservanza degli obblighi connessi alla manutenzione ordinaria e straordinaria	da € 100,00 a € 10.000,00, in relazione alla gravità dell'inosservanza
9	Inosservanza del cronoprogramma per la realizzazione dei lavori di cui all'art. 6 (per ogni giorno di ritardo, fino ad massimo di 30 giorni, decorsi i quali potrà risolversi la Convenzione)	€ 300,00

10	Conduzione tecnica e funzionale degli spazi tale da pregiudicare l'incolumità e la salute degli utenti (per ogni violazione)	da € 100,00 a € 10.000,00, in relazione alla gravità della violazione
11	Ritardi nella consegna del progetto esecutivo (al giorno, fino ad massimo di 30 giorni, decorsi i quali potrà risolversi la Convenzione)	€ 200,00
12	Per ogni altro inadempimento agli obblighi contrattuali non previsto ai punti precedenti. L'inadempimento contestato deve essere puntualmente descritto e motivato da parte dell'Amministrazione.	da € 100,00 a € 10.000,00, in relazione alla gravità dell'inadempimento

Le penali verranno detratte con cadenza semestrale dalla cauzione definitiva che dovrà essere immediatamente reintegrata. Nel caso in cui la cauzione definitiva sia di importo insufficiente a seguito di riduzioni per possesso di certificazioni ai sensi degli artt. 103 e 93 comma 7, l'importo dovrà essere pagato dal Soggetto Attuatore con apposito bonifico.

L'applicazione delle penali dovrà essere preceduta da regolare contestazione dell'inadempienza da parte del RUP, verso cui il Soggetto Attuatore avrà la facoltà di presentare le proprie controdeduzioni entro e non oltre 10 (dieci) giorni dalla comunicazione della contestazione inviata dall'Amministrazione.

In caso di mancata presentazione o accoglimento delle controdeduzioni o nel caso il Soggetto Attuatore, dove possibile, non abbia provveduto a sanare entro 20

giorni le situazioni che hanno determinato l'applicazione della penale, l'Amministrazione procederà all'applicazione delle sopra citate penali.

È fatto salvo il diritto dell'Amministrazione al risarcimento dell'eventuale ulteriore danno e l'esercizio qualora necessario di ulteriori azioni, ivi compresa la denuncia alle autorità competenti, qualora siano riscontrate violazioni di legge.

ART. 32 – REFERENTI DELLA CONVENZIONE

Il Soggetto Attuatore dovrà indicare, almeno 10 giorni prima dell'inizio delle attività, il nominativo e i numeri telefonici (fisso e cellulare) di uno o più referenti che dovrà/dovranno essere sempre reperibile/i da parte dell'Amministrazione Comunale.

Il/i referente/i dovrà/dovranno essere autorizzato/i, sin dall'inizio della prestazione, ad accogliere qualsiasi richiesta/segnalazione da parte dell'Amministrazione Comunale e a porre in essere tutte le misure atte alla rapida ed efficace soluzione di quanto segnalato.

L'Amministrazione, indicherà i propri referenti amministrativi e tecnici che cureranno la parte relativa alle attività amministrative e contabili legate alla Convenzione.

ART. 33 - CESSIONE DELLA CONVENZIONE

È vietato cedere anche parzialmente la presente Convenzione, pena l'immediata risoluzione della stessa e il risarcimento dei danni e delle spese causate al Comune di Milano.

È fatto divieto di subappaltare totalmente o parzialmente le attività, al di fuori degli eventuali rapporti di partenariato, individuati in sede di Offerta, pena l'immediata risoluzione della Convenzione ed il risarcimento dei danni, e di quanto previsto dalla vigente disciplina di riferimento, in quanto applicabile.

ART. 34 – CAUZIONE DEFINITIVA

Il Soggetto Attuatore ha prestato la cauzione definitiva di € 72.250,00 (settantaduemiladuecentocinquanta/00) mediante fideiussione assicurativa n. 1781084 rilasciata il 10 giugno 2021 da ELBA Compagnia di Assicurazioni e Riassicurazioni S.p.A. – Agenzia di ZANETTI ASSICURAZIONI - Verona in atti del Comune di Milano.

La cauzione in questione si intende a garanzia dell'adempimento di tutte le obbligazioni assunte, con la sottoscrizione della Convenzione e del risarcimento dei danni derivanti da eventuali inadempienze, fatta, comunque, salva la risarcibilità del maggior danno.

L'importo della suddetta garanzia risulta ridotto ai sensi dell'art. 103 – comma 1 – del D.Lgs. 50/2016 e s.m.i., in quanto il contraente risulta essere un raggruppamento di microimprese, piccole o medie imprese.

La garanzia ha validità temporale quinquennale; entro 90 giorni antecedenti allo scadere del termine il Soggetto Attuatore si impegna a fornire nuova garanzia, ovvero a trasmettere appendice di proroga alla precedente, senza soluzione di continuità fino all'emissione del Certificato di Verifica di Conformità. La garanzia ha, comunque, efficacia fino ad apposita comunicazione liberatoria (*costituita anche dalla semplice restituzione del documento di garanzia*) da parte dell'Amministrazione beneficiaria, con la quale verrà attestata l'assenza oppure la definizione di ogni eventuale eccezione e controversia, sorte in dipendenza dell'esecuzione del contratto. L'Amministrazione emetterà la comunicazione liberatoria entro 30 giorni dallo scadere del quinquennio di durata della garanzia laddove entro tale termine il Soggetto Attuatore abbia prodotto agli atti dell'Amministrazione idonea garanzia per il periodo successivo, senza soluzione

di continuità con lo stesso o altro operatore del mercato. L'eventuale mancata produzione di nuova garanzia entro 10 giorni dalla scadenza della precedente costituisce grave inadempimento con conseguente risoluzione della Convenzione ai sensi dell'art. 1456 del Cod. Civ., né libera il precedente garante.

La garanzia dovrà essere immediatamente reintegrata qualora, in fase di esecuzione delle prestazioni previste dalla Convenzione, essa sia stata escussa parzialmente o totalmente a seguito di ritardi o altre inadempienze da parte del Soggetto Attuatore.

L'incameramento della garanzia avviene con atto unilaterale dell'Amministrazione, senza necessità di dichiarazione giudiziale, fermo restando il diritto del Soggetto Attuatore di proporre azione innanzi l'autorità giudiziaria ordinaria.

L'Amministrazione potrà avvalersi della cauzione definitiva, parzialmente o totalmente, per le spese delle prestazioni da eseguirsi d'ufficio, nonché per il rimborso delle maggiori somme pagate durante la Convenzione in confronto ai risultati della liquidazione finale.

In caso di risoluzione del contratto disposta in danno del Soggetto Attuatore, l'Amministrazione ha diritto di avvalersi della cauzione definitiva per le maggiori spese sostenute per il completamento delle prestazioni, nonché per eventuali ulteriori danni conseguenti.

In caso di inadempienze del Soggetto Attuatore per l'inosservanza di norme e prescrizioni dei contratti collettivi, delle leggi e dei regolamenti sulla tutela, protezione, assicurazione, assistenza e sicurezza dei lavoratori che espletano la prestazione, l'Amministrazione ha diritto di avvalersi della cauzione per provvedere all'eventuale pagamento di quanto dovuto dal Soggetto Attuatore.

La cauzione definitiva in questione è progressivamente svincolata a misura dell'avanzamento dell'esecuzione, nel limite massimo dell'80% dell'iniziale importo garantito. Lo svincolo, nei termini e per le entità anzidetti, è automatico senza necessità di benestare dell'Amministrazione, con la sola condizione della preventiva consegna all'istituto garante, da parte del Soggetto Attuatore, del documento, in originale o in copia autentica, attestante l'avvenuta esecuzione.

L'ammontare residuo pari al 20% dell'iniziale importo garantito deve permanere fino alla data di emissione del certificato finale di verifica di conformità attestante la corretta esecuzione del contratto.

ART. 35 – POLIZZA ASSICURATIVA

Il Soggetto Attuatore è obbligato a produrre una polizza assicurativa RC (responsabilità civile) che tenga indenne l'Amministrazione da tutti i rischi di esecuzione della prestazione da qualsiasi causa determinati. La polizza per responsabilità civile per danni causati a terzi: persone (compreso il personale dell'Amministrazione), animali e cose, con esclusivo riferimento alla prestazione in questione, dovrà avere il seguente massimale unico per sinistro:

Euro 3.000.000,00 (tremilioni/00).

Il Soggetto attuatore deve altresì produrre una polizza a copertura del c.d. rischio locativo, intendendosi per tale le conseguenze della responsabilità civile che gravino sul conduttore di un immobile, ai sensi degli artt. 1588, 1589 e 1611 del C.C., per i danni ai beni immobili di proprietà di terzi dal conduttore stesso condotti in locazione, e prodotti da sinistro indennizzabile a termini di polizza; la somma assicurata deve essere pari al valore di ricostruzione a nuovo dell'immobile oggetto della presente Convenzione, stimato dall'amministrazione comunale.

In alternativa alla stipulazione delle polizze che precedono, il Soggetto Attuatore potrà dimostrare l'esistenza di una polizza, già attivata, avente le medesime caratteristiche indicate per quella specifica. In tal caso, si dovrà produrre un'appendice alla stessa, nella quale si espliciti che la polizza in questione copre anche il servizio svolto per conto dell'Amministrazione.

Copia delle polizze, specifiche o come appendici alle polizze esistenti, conformi all'originale ai sensi di legge, dovrà essere consegnata anticipatamente all'avvio delle prestazioni al R.U.P., unitamente alla quietanza di intervenuto pagamento del premio. Quest'ultima dovrà essere presentata con la periodicità prevista dalla polizza stessa, onde verificare il permanere della validità nel corso della durata del servizio.

La copertura assicurativa, che dovrà coprire anche i danni causati dalle eventuali imprese sub- appaltatrici, decorre dalla data prevista per l'inizio della prestazione e dovrà avere durata sino alla data contrattualmente prevista per il termine della prestazione (art. 8).

Qualora il Soggetto Attuatore sia un RTI sarà a cura dell'impresa capogruppo presentare la suddetta polizza.

ART. 36 – GARANZIA PER LE OPERE E GLI IMPIANTI

Il Soggetto Attuatore è obbligato a costituire e consegnare all'Amministrazione, almeno dieci giorni prima dell'inizio dei lavori di cui all'art. 6, anche una polizza di assicurazione che copra i danni subiti dall'Amministrazione a causa del danneggiamento o della distruzione totale o parziale di impianti ed opere, anche preesistenti, verificatisi nel corso dell'esecuzione dei lavori. L'importo della somma da assicurare è pari a € 560.000,00. La polizza deve assicurare

L'Amministrazione contro la responsabilità civile per danni causati a terzi nel corso dell'esecuzione dei lavori, con un massimale pari ad almeno € 500.000,00.

La copertura assicurativa decorre dalla data di consegna dei lavori e cessa alla data di emissione del certificato di collaudo provvisorio o del certificato di regolare esecuzione o comunque decorsi dodici mesi dalla data di ultimazione dei lavori risultante dal relativo certificato. Ove sia stato offerto un periodo di garanzia, la polizza assicurativa è sostituita da una polizza che tenga indenni le stazioni appaltanti da tutti i rischi connessi all'utilizzo delle lavorazioni in garanzia o agli interventi per la loro eventuale sostituzione o rifacimento. L'omesso o il ritardato pagamento delle somme dovute a titolo di premio o di commissione da parte dell'esecutore non comporta l'inefficacia della garanzia nei confronti della stazione appaltante.

NORME FINALI

ART. 37 – RISOLUZIONE

L'Amministrazione si riserva la facoltà di procedere alla risoluzione del contratto, previa diffida ad adempiere ai sensi degli artt. 1453 e 1454 Cod. Civ., in caso di grave inadempimento e di penali per un importo complessivo superiore al 10% dell'importo della cauzione definitiva.

Si potrà procedere alla risoluzione del contratto, ai sensi dell'art. 1456 Cod. Civ., nei seguenti casi:

1. mancata realizzazione dei servizi e delle attività sociali e mancato rispetto dei tempi previsti per l'insediamento dei suddetti servizi ed attività, nell'ipotesi di grave ritardo;

2. inosservanza delle leggi in materia di rapporti di lavoro, correttezza e correttezza contributiva; inosservanza alle norme di legge circa l'assunzione del personale e la retribuzione dello stesso;
3. inosservanza delle leggi in materia di sicurezza;
4. inadempimento rispetto agli obblighi in materia di trattamento dei dati personali;
5. inadempimento di anche uno solo dei componenti del RTI - Soggetto Attuatore degli obblighi tributari nei confronti del Comune di Milano, ovvero mancato versamento di due rate, nel caso di rateizzazione di debiti pregressi, anche non consecutive, delle diverse imposte e tasse prescritte dai Regolamenti comunali vigenti nel periodo di durata della Convenzione;
6. subappalto in violazione del divieto di cui al precedente articolo 33;
7. mancata costituzione, entro e non oltre 10 giorni dalla scadenza della precedente e senza soluzione di continuità, della cauzione definitiva di cui al precedente articolo 34 per la durata della presente Convenzione;
8. nel caso in cui le transazioni finanziarie siano eseguite senza l'utilizzo di bonifico bancario o postale ovvero degli altri strumenti idonei a consentire la piena tracciabilità delle stesse, così come previsto dall'art. 3 comma 8 della Legge 13.08.2010 n. 136;
9. il contraente venga diffidato due volte, con nota scritta, circa la puntuale esecuzione della prestazione nel rispetto dei termini contrattuali;
10. l'avvio del servizio abbia inizio con un ritardo superiore a 90 giorni solari;
11. nel caso dovessero permanere le condizioni che hanno portato all'addebito delle penali previste dal presente schema di Convenzione;

12. grave inosservanza da parte del personale del Soggetto Attuatore del Codice di comportamento adottato dal Comune di Milano con deliberazione di Giunta Comunale n. 2659/2013.

13. mancato rispetto della destinazione della struttura messa a disposizione.

In ogni caso è fatto salvo il diritto dell'Amministrazione di richiedere il risarcimento dei danni subiti.

Le Parti si danno reciprocamente atto che il Consiglio di Amministrazione della Fondazione Cariplo può deliberare, in applicazione della relativa regolamentazione, di revocare in tutto o in parte il finanziamento concesso. Nella suddetta ipotesi l'Amministrazione Comunale, si riserva di assumere le conseguenti decisioni in ordine alla prosecuzione della Convenzione anche in dipendenza delle risorse economico-finanziarie disponibili.

ART. 38 – CESSAZIONE, REVOCA PER MOTIVI DI INTERESSE PUBBLICO E RECESSO

La Convenzione può essere revocata dall'Amministrazione per motivi di pubblico interesse. L'efficacia della revoca della Convenzione è sottoposta alla condizione del pagamento da parte dell'Amministrazione delle somme previste al comma 4 dell'art. 176 del D.Lgs. 50/2016 e s.m.i..

L'Amministrazione ha diritto di recedere dalla Convenzione in tutti i casi previsti dalla legge.

ART. 39 - RESPONSABILITA'

Il Soggetto Attuatore è responsabile nei confronti dell'Amministrazione dell'esatto adempimento delle prestazioni oggetto del contratto.

Il Soggetto Attuatore è, altresì, responsabile nei confronti dell'Amministrazione e dei terzi dei danni di qualsiasi natura, materiali o immateriali, diretti ed indiretti,

causati a cose o persone e connessi all'esecuzione del contratto, anche se derivanti dall'operato dei suoi dipendenti e consulenti, nonché dall'operato di eventuali subappaltatori.

È fatto obbligo al Soggetto Attuatore di mantenere l'Amministrazione sollevata ed indenne da richieste di risarcimento dei danni e da eventuali azioni legali promosse da terzi.

ART. 40 – VIGILANZA E CONTROLLI

L'Amministrazione ha la facoltà di verificare in qualsiasi momento, durante l'erogazione delle attività/servizi, il regolare ed esatto adempimento delle prestazioni, e a tal fine:

- potrà utilizzare le modalità di verifica e controllo ritenute più adeguate rispetto alla specificità della prestazione;
- accedere a qualsiasi area/mezzo relativi al servizio svolto;
- effettuare controlli/accertamenti sul personale impiegato nell'esecuzione della prestazione.

ART. 41 - FORO COMPETENTE

Per tutte le controversie che dovessero sorgere sulla validità, efficacia, interpretazione, esecuzione e scioglimento della Convenzione, sarà competente esclusivamente il Foro di Milano.

ART. 42 – RINVIO A NORME DI DIRITTO VIGENTI

Per quanto non è contemplato nel presente Convenzione, si fa rinvio alle Leggi e Regolamenti in vigore. La Convenzione, ed ogni obbligazione relativa alla stessa, è regolata dalla legge italiana.

ART. 43 – STIPULAZIONE CONVENZIONE- SPESE, IMPOSTE E TASSE

La Convenzione sarà stipulata **in modalità elettronica** in forma privatistica. Al Soggetto Attuatore sarà richiesta la disponibilità della firma digitale.

La Convenzione è immediatamente efficace, fatte salve eventuali clausole risolutive espresse, ivi comprese.

Tutte le eventuali spese, imposte e tasse inerenti alla Convenzione, sono a carico del Soggetto Attuatore. È in capo al Soggetto Attuatore il rischio di modifiche alla normativa fiscale intervenute durante la vigenza della Convenzione.

Per quanto riguarda l'I.V.A. si fa espresso rinvio alle disposizioni di legge in materia.

ART. 44 – TRATTAMENTO DI DATI PERSONALI

Ai sensi dell'art. 4 – punto 1 del Regolamento UE 2016/679 sulla protezione dei dati personali (d'ora in avanti Regolamento), si intende per dato personale: qualsiasi informazione riguardante una persona fisica, identificata o identificabile. Si considera identificabile la persona fisica che può essere identificata, indirettamente o indirettamente, con particolare riferimento ad un identificativo come il nome, un numero di identificazione, dati relativi all'ubicazione, un identificativo on line o ad uno o più elementi caratteristici della sua identità fisica, fisiologica, genetica, psichica, economica, culturale o sociale.

In base al predetto art. 4 – punto 7 - del Regolamento, il Titolare del Trattamento è la persona fisica o giuridica, l'autorità pubblica il servizio o altro organismo che singolarmente o insieme ad altri determina le finalità e i mezzi del trattamento dei dati personali.

A questo riguardo il Soggetto Attuatore dispone e gestisce in forma autonoma e sotto la propria responsabilità, la tecnologia, gli strumenti, le risorse e l'organizzazione, senza possibilità da parte del Comune di interferire direttamente

sull'organizzazione interna e sulle finalità perseguite, che restano totalmente in capo a tale soggetto, il quale assume quindi la qualità di titolare del trattamento dei dati personali con autonomi poteri decisionali nell'esercizio delle proprie ed esclusive funzioni e in ragione della posizione rivestita adotta tutte le misure, tecniche e organizzative, per la protezione dei dati personali.

Per la parte di propria ed esclusiva competenza anche con riguardo alle funzioni amministrative- contabili e di rendicontazione, il Comune di Milano assume la qualità di distinto e autonomo Titolare del trattamento dei dati, osservando i principi e le disposizioni del Regolamento.

Le Parti, in osservanza al principio di proporzionalità ed in relazione agli obblighi derivanti dalla posizione rivestita, si scambiano esclusivamente i dati indispensabili per l'applicazione della presente Convenzione.

Per tutto quanto non previsto dal presente articolo, si rimanda al Regolamento e alle disposizioni applicabili in materia, compresi il D.Lgs. n. 196/2003 e i provvedimenti dell'Autorità Garante per la protezione dei dati personali.

Scritto su pagine 46 (quarantasei) e righe 15 (quindici) di quest'ultima.

Contratto esente dal bollo ai sensi del D.Lgs. 117/2017.

Convenzione firmata digitalmente ex art. 32 comma 14 del D.Lgs. 50/2016 e s.m.i. da:

Dario Moneta per il COMUNE DI MILANO

Thomas Emmenegger per la FABBRICA DI OLINDA – Capogruppo RTI