

2. The Scugnizzo Liberato (Naples, Italy)

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1 Introduction

The Scugnizzo Liberato is one of the bottom-up experiments formally recognized by the Municipality of Naples as part of their broader strategy of heritage development. The focus of this strategy is to give value to common goods and reinterpret the traditional legal institute of the “civic use” (*uso civico*). It is located in the seventeenth-century complex of San Francesco delle Cappuccinelle in the heart of the historic city centre of Naples. The Scugnizzo Liberato experiment started on September 29th 2015 when it was squatted by the Scacco Matto organization. Recognized as a common good of the city, it is currently considered to be a place of congregation and socializing as well as an experiment of urban regeneration.

2 Timeline

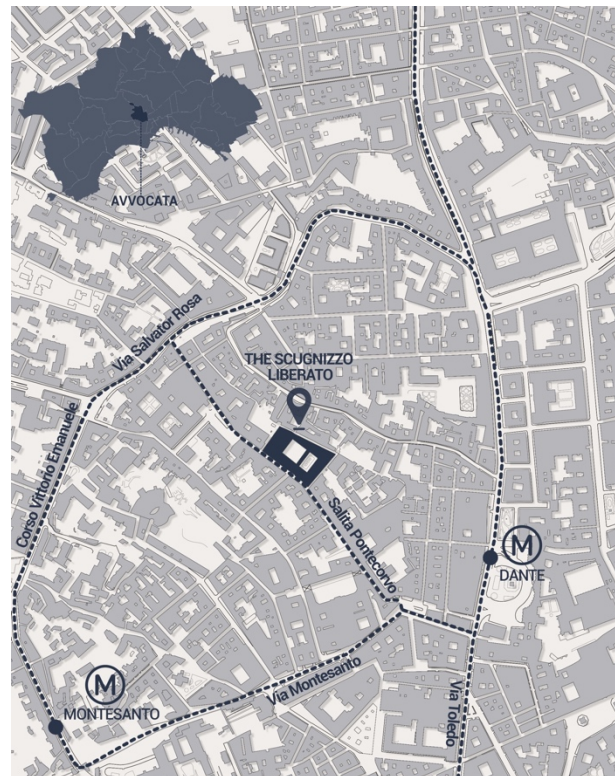
- 1585 – Foundation of the Cappuccinelle
- 1613 – Extension of the former structure
- 1616 (or 1621) - The convent becomes a cloistered convent
- 1746 – 1748 - Addition of new functions, of a building and two belvederes
- 1756 – 1767 - Partial renovation of the complex
- 1809 – The monastery is converted into the Filangieri Institute (*Istituto Filangieri*)
- 1925 – 1930 – Filangieri Institute named Juvenile observation institute
- 1945 –1980 – Filangieri Institute named Rehabilitation Institute
- 1980 – The building was abandoned after the Irpinia earthquake
- 1980 – 1985 – Eduardo De Filippo financed a renovation of the complex
- 1999 – The Filangieri Institute becomes a diurnal multifunctional centre
- 2000 – University of Naples Parthenope was purchased of the Cappuccinelle complex for academic purposes
- 2005 – 2009 - The Cappuccinelle complex was declared an Italian cultural asset
- 2014 – The ownership of the Cappuccinelle property was passed to the Municipality Council
- 2015 – The complex was occupied by the Scacco Matto organization and launched as Scugnizzo Liberato
- 2016 – Inclusion of the Scugnizzo Liberato among the urban commons of the municipality
- 2019 –Through the Institutional Development Agreement – Naples City Centre (Contratto istituzionale di Sviluppo – Centro storico di Napoli) was assigned a capital of 7.500.000 euros to restore the Cappuccinelle

3 The history of the building

In 1585, the San Francesco delle Cappuccinelle convent was founded by Duchess Eleonora Scarpato, widow of the notary and Duke Luca Giglio. She financed the construction of a small church and a shelter for young women in her house, with the aim of thanking Assisi Saint to whom she believes healed her. The Cappuccinelle shelter and convent became so frequently used that, in 1613, it was necessary to enlarge the space due to the growing number of inhabitants. For this reason, the Giglio-Scarpato's property extended to the nearby De Mari building. In the first decades of the 17th century, the monastery was transformed into a cloistered convent¹. New properties were acquired up until 1712, when the complex was reshaped into baroque forms by the architect Giovan Battista Nuclerio, who carried out the renovation of the church. The same architect constructed the dome and the bell tower, which have been both demolished for safety reasons post-World War II. Between 1746 and 1748 a new workshop, a furnace, a cellar, a cistern, a refectory with kitchen and a mill with a new barn were built. In the same period, an infirmary was added in a new area of the monastery as well as two belvederes, one covered and the other uncovered. The latter is still clearly visible from the street as a result of aerial arches that were designed between the 1600s and 1700s by the architect Cosimo Fanzago².



Picture 1. Location of Scugnizzo Liberato (Google Earth)



Picture 2. Location map

¹ Contrasting bibliographic sources indicate a period between 1616 and 1621.

² Other interventions between 1756 and 1760 are to be attributed to the work of architect Niccolò Tagliacozzi Canale who carried out some transformations in stucco and marble, for example of the church façade and of the front door.

The 1775 G. Carafa Duce di Noja's topographic map shows the definitive design of the block, which has remained unchanged to this day³.

The first significant renovation to the building was made in 1809 which was ordered by Gioacchino Murat during the French control of the South of Italy⁴. In the same year, it was decided to suppress the monastery and to convert it into a juvenile detention centre, named Filangieri Institute after Gaetano Filangieri, a famous Neapolitan jurist. Although the institute changed its name several times⁵, it continued to be a juvenile detention centre into the following century. As a consequence of a destructive earthquake happened in Naples in 1980⁶, the building was severely damaged and thus abandoned. Hence, the complex underwent several changes, including the construction of the apartments for the director and his officers, who will play a big part in the internal construction of the building. In order to achieve the abovementioned conversion of the building, it was crucial – and to some extent still is – to support and commitment of Eduardo De Filippo⁷. In 1985, after becoming a senator of the Italian Republic, he financed the construction of a theatre within the Filangieri Institute; the purpose was to transform a place of detention into a social and cultural space. "Eduardo's dream", as it is still remembered⁸, embraced an overall rethinking of the former prison and it gave an essential push towards the development of the building. His objective was to give a different purpose to the complex by transforming it into a recovery centre based on craft labs, rehabilitation and educational activities. However, the project failed and remained incomplete. In 2006, the so-called "Eduardo regional law"⁹ "Interventions in support of improving youths living condition in Campania", was no longer financed. Nevertheless, in 1999, a further restoration project – promoted by De Filippo – was concluded and the building was transformed into a Day-time Multifunctional Centre (*Centro polifunzionale diurno*).

"I spent about one year in the Filangieri Institute. I am still very grateful to Eduardo De Filippo who supported the renovation of the theatre. Thanks to him, we had the possibility to leave our cells, and experience different activities. Before that, we were locked in our cells 24/7. Just getting out of there was so important for us." Vincenzo Vidone

³ It is also showed in the map of Naples Schiavoni - Giambarba (1872 - 1880) and then in the cadastral map of the Municipality of Naples (1896-1897).

⁴ He was the King of the Napoleonic Regno di Napoli.

⁵ During the fascist dictatorship (1925 – 1930) it was called Juvenile observation institute (*Istituto di osservazione minorile*) while between WWII post-war and the late Seventies (1945-1980), it was called Rehabilitation Institute (*Istituto di rieducazione*). Although the specific name underwent some changes, when it was a juvenile detention centre it was almost always called the Filangieri Institute.

⁶ The Irpinia earthquake involved the whole region of central Campania and Basilicata on November 23rd 1980.

⁷ Eduardo De Filippo was a Neapolitan theatrical author, actor and director, among the most eminent figures of the Italian theatre of the 20th century.

⁸ This is often recall during interviews with Scugnizzo Liberato activists.

⁹ Regional Law no. 41 of 1987.



Picture 3. A view from the rooftop nowadays (the areal arches)

In 2000, the Filangieri Institute was purchased¹⁰ by the University of Naples Parthenope in order to use the complex for academic purposes (Scala, 2018). However, after six years, only the consolidation of the areal arches of the uncovered belvedere was carried out whereas the structure itself went through 15 years of abandonment.

Meanwhile, the complex – such as many other Neapolitan cultural assets (Montanari, 2013) – was robbed of its more precious materials (e.g. gold and church decorations, metal cell bars, etc.), and it was then informally occupied by local citizens. Moreover, a part of the complex was also used as a branch of the local high school over a time period. In 2014, the Municipality acquired the property on the base of a valorization agreement as regulated by the “Cultural Federal Agreement” (Federalismo Culturale, art. 5 (5) of dlgs.85/2010)¹¹.

Finally, in 2015, the Scacco Matto¹² organization re-opened the structure with a different name: Scugnizzo Liberato. Few months later, the Municipality of Naples recognised the Scugnizzo Liberato as “an emerging common” (bene comune

¹⁰ In these years, contrasting bibliographic sources about the property.

¹¹ It establishes the procedure to transfer cultural heritage assets, from the Italian national management to local administrations which present enhancement programs which need to be approved by the Ministry of Cultural activities and heritage and tourism (MiBACT).

¹² Scacco Matto is a group of local university student activists formed in 2015. Scacco Matto literally means “checkmate”.

emergente) through the Municipal Council Resolution no. 446 of 2016. Since then, it has been part of a network of disused public assets, known as Common goods of Naples Municipality (*Beni comuni della città di Napoli*).

4 The initiative

"The Scugnizzo Liberato shows that despite there being many abandoned spaces in Naples they are still able to add to the vitality of the city. A sort of pride is hidden behind the people who are engaged in the transforming this ancient place into a collective one. It is a way to take back what was, and has always been, ours. Scugnizzi¹³ are those rebels who aim to free Naples from everything that is choking its potential. Scugnizzi do not need prisons but alternatives to become new partisans of the community's needs and wishes." Cristiano Ferraro

On September 29th 2015, a symbolic date for the city of Naples¹⁴, the activists of the Scacco Matto group, with the support of local citizens, re-opened the former convent launching the Scugnizzo Liberato. The initial phase of the new life of the building was characterized by initiatives which reclaimed the value of this asset. Showing – along with other urban commons of the city – to what extent social and political activists' actions assume a proactive role in the heritage regeneration processes (Gargiulo and Cirulli, 2017). The main purpose of the occupation is **"to fulfil Eduardo's dream"**, namely overcoming the stigmatization which affected the structure over the Centuries.

"It was in the dream of Eduardo De Filippo to turn the convent into a daily multi-functional centre where different kinds of courses and craft labs can be hosted. Therefore, the goal was to create a shared knowledge, and we stay put in this endeavour." Cristiano Ferraro

The project ultimately aims at redeeming **the figure of the *scugnizzo*** itself. The term *scugnizzo* is usually used to indicate young men who have committed crimes and are confined in a specific neighbourhood, due to this they lack a concrete chance to go beyond its physical and social boundaries. Giving the ex-convent a new identity as Scugnizzo Liberato, which literally means "released Scugnizzo", represents a symbolic way to relieve new and old *scugnizzi* from this kind of burden. These reasons thus make the Scugnizzo Liberato a public space, managed independently by a community which rejects any form of "fascism, sexism, discrimination and abuse"¹⁵.

¹³ The term *scugnizzo* comes from the Neapolitan dialect and it indicates a lively and smart street-boy who is used to rely on poorly honest expedients. The term is known and adopted throughout Italy.

¹⁴ It is the anniversary of the "Four Days of Naples" (*Le quattro giornate di Napoli*), a historical popular insurrection occurred during the WWII, between September 27th and 30th 1943. Civilians, with the contribution of soldiers loyal to the Southern Kingdom, released the city of Naples from the occupation of Wehrmacht forces, assisted by groups of local fascists. Therefore, this day was chosen to recall and represent an important moment of resistance in the city.

¹⁵ These are constitutionally oriented principles that belongs to all experiments enabled by the Municipality of Naples.

The Scugnizzo Liberato shows how Eduardo de Filippo's contribution – tangible and intangible – as a well-known patron was decisive for the future of the following experiment. Eduardo's status as an icon of Neapolitan popular culture has constituted a kind of "brand image" for the project. His vision has been influencing the regeneration project, still impacting and guiding its current development. This evidence shows to what extent a "cultural leadership" is also a crucial element of successful participative process. Looking at the Scugnizzo, suggesting valuable visions and rising the community awareness regarding the potential of the Cappuccinelle (people and buildings) is the most significant legacy of Eduardo.



Picture 4. The Scugnizzo Liberato entrance

The word *scugnizzo* comes from Neapolitan popular usage and generally indicates a lively and smart street child who is used to scraping a living by not entirely honest means. The term was used for the first time around the end of the 19th century by Ferdinando Russo, a Neapolitan poet and journalist. In 1887 he composed a collection of sonnets called "*E' Scugnizze*" in which he talked about everyday life in Naples, including street children whose presence was typical part of the urban landscape (De Blasi, 2006). As De Blasi (2006) underlined, Russo's point of view was influenced by other Italian and European literary works such as *La Ginevra* by Antonio Ranieri and *Oliver Twist* by Charles Dickens. Therefore, these works increased the attention paid to the underworld of children living in the street without any practical support. As a result, the concept of *scugnizzo* was

popularized and adopted throughout Italy, although different words were used in different areas. Scugnizzo Liberato – which literally means “released *scugnizzo*” – aims at liberating old and new *scugnizzi* from this condition, which is still very common in the working-class districts of Naples. Thus, naming the project *Scugnizzo Liberato*, the community want to shed a light on how, in this kind of context, reusing and regenerating a heritage building could encourage the caring of the most vulnerable residents of the city.

5 Influences

Two concepts assumed a crucial role in the Scugnizzo Liberato project: the mutual support and the “do it yourself” (DIY) practices as basis for collective living. The Scugnizzo community supports the culture of mutuality, as a universal value inherent in the everyday life of the community itself, promoting social cohesion and inclusion. Such aspects, it has to be noticed, concern all those Neapolitan experiences which aim at strengthening the capacities of the most fragile subjects of the city. Self-recovery and collective care of the space represent the cornerstones of “civic use” (*uso civico*) practices. By recovering the history of the place, they practically support and reshape the collective imaginary and “in-common” narrative. This is considered a starting point for the participatory evolution of the project, as well as the primary mission of an authentic collective interest¹⁶.

6 Buildings and complex description

The main entrance of the Scugnizzo Liberato complex is located at Salita Pontecorvo n°46 which leads to a rectangular plan around a squared courtyard. The complex is surrounded by a high wall, visible from Vico Lungo Pontecorvo, a small alley that follows the south-east side and the back of the area. The convent surface measures about 10.000 sqm, distributed across 6 levels, one of which is a half-ground floor¹⁷.

¹⁶ See: Adaptive reuse.

¹⁷ Since the complex develops on a steep hill side, the ground floor is in part above the ground and in part below it. For the distribution of all functions see: Activities.



Picture 5. The main courtyard of the complex from the second floor

It is important to notice that the difficulties in managing such a large complex were one of the main reasons behind the dissolution of the Scacco Matto organization¹⁸. Two external courtyards located on different levels make up the ground floor. The smaller one can be reached straight from the main entrance, while the second one is on the highest level. Both courtyards are divided by a pedestrian corridor that leads to their respective entrances. Two *bassi*¹⁹, located on both sides of the main entrance, are currently used as residences and two apartments of different size are located on the half-ground floor. On the first floor there is a wide gallery with high naves and barrel vaults. The gallery surrounds the whole perimeter of both yards and other spaces: a small theatre, a gym, creative labs, study rooms and toilets.

¹⁸ Interview with Fabrizio Vitali. Naples, 11th December 2018.

¹⁹ The *basso* is a ground level house constituted by one, or less frequently two, rooms, facing the street where it often extends through unauthorized (temporary or not) installations. It is a multifunctional space with no rigid partitions or functional areas, seamlessly connected to the public space.

The entrance to the church, currently not accessible, is located on the first floor too; it has a main nave supported by four pairs of columns and it measures around 400sqm.



Picture 6. The church

The second floor is made up of modular offices, classrooms and living areas. The living areas, former detention facilities, consist of a series of rooms with a toilet. Whilst few of the rooms have been repaired (a drawing-creative lab called *disegnatoio*, and some rooms employed as warehouses). The main part of this floor is perishing. Although it has no offices, the third floor is comparable to the second one, as it hosts a similar number of living spaces and classrooms. Wide hallways cover the entire perimeter and balconies define the outdoors. Such as the second floor, it lies in a state of abandonment. As Giaccio explains:

"This is one of the rooms that still shows its original shape: the small domed vault, once fully frescoed. The one still visible depicts the Madonna Veronica with a veil showing an image of Christ's face. Humidity is wearing it off; in fact, it is destroying everything. See that spot on the shoulder of the Madonna? It is constantly growing. Ah, and do you see the angel over there? When it rains, it looks like he has tears in his eyes!" Giaccio



Picture 7. View of the domed vault

The surface of the fourth floor is around half of the total size of the complex and its height has been increased. The floor hosts mainly classrooms that run along the courtyard perimeter. The fourth floor is in the same state as the previous ones. The long-lasting state of neglect determined the poor preservation of the convent, recently certified by a technical-estimative evaluation carried out by the Naples Municipal Offices.

7 Adaptive re-use

Along the centuries, the layout of the convent (1500-1700) underwent significant transformations that affected the façades and increased the number of floors. Thus, it is in a continuous process of adaptation, at the end of which the Scugnizzo Liberato project will be the most recent intervention. The adaptive re-use of the Cappuccinelle convent is at the very core of the complex social and political process which motivates the group. Before 2015, the Scacco Matto group founded its political activity on an abandoned spaces recovery campaign, striving for social participation. The re-use project is reclaiming the complex through a spatial justice prospective. The starting point for the Scugnizzo community "civic use" (*uso civico*) has been through self-recovery operations that they consider are a basic tool for collective living. It has been argued that inhabiting and taking care of the space (or, on a broader scale, of the city), is part of a legitimization process which creates a "right" to decide the use of the spaces. This kind of reuse thus constitutes an incremental project based on small steps²⁰ and, mainly, on self-organization / building. Currently, the ground and the first floor have been made accessible through a series of ongoing interventions, periodically planned and verified by the Scugnizzo management assembly (*assemblea di gestione*)²¹. Among its objectives, the assembly aims to carry out the restoration through initiatives which should generate multiple ripple effects. The gathering of the communities around the spaces is part of the progressive reactivation. As activists recall, when the complex was first occupied, it was inaccessible due to widespread mould and vegetation. However, restoration works between the 80s and 90s, in particular the construction of the theatre and the gym, provided important anchoring points for the reuse project.

"The building started to be restored, especially in the first period, thanks to people's efforts. When we arrived to the convent it was traumatic: both courts were completely covered with grass and trees that were rooted up to the internal rooms of the complex. In addition, the condition of the church clearly showed that many assets were plundered." Gaetano Quattromani

Therefore, the initial works focused on minimal operations to ensure the safety of the complex²², allowing the use of some spaces. When the Scugnizzo Liberato was formally recognized by the Municipality of Naples, an official collaboration began. Then, restoration practices were aligned with safety and usability regulations. It is relevant to underline that the recognition of the ex-Cappuccinelle had been taking place in context of severe economic austerity, due to the pre-bankruptcy state of

²⁰ Interview with Valerio Figliuolo. Naples, 27th April 2019.

²¹ See: Governance and community.

²² Since the informal phase lasted several months, this was developed without the technical opinion of the municipality. The evaluation process, thus, consisted in an informal technical consultancy based on community's expertise.

the Municipality²³. Although managerial costs are partially remitted to the public authority²⁴, economic difficulties emerged, for instance, the disposal of the large amounts of construction waste as well as in ordinary repairing techniques²⁵. As Fabrizio Vitali states:

"These issues have been solved - and still are – following the "Neapolitan style": effectively connecting people towards a common goal. In this perspective, maintaining an informal relationship with the public authority is also essential. We advance our requests by calling councillors and assessors. We can say that the most effective method to communicate with the administration remains the direct one." Fabrizio Vitali

The maintenance of the building has been ensured through a sort of public-private-people collaboration, evaluating the available social and territorial capital. Hence, methods and objectives are negotiated through interventions based on a strong interdisciplinary approach and with available resources. Moreover, one or more public officials of the administration are directly engaged in the project, in order to ensure a permanent contact between the community and the municipality and to avoid time-consuming processes. Overall, interventions of the complex have been made on one hand because of personal commitment from the community of inhabitants and on the other hand thanks to the support of the public administration. Up until now they consisted of:

- Securing the complex in light of the assessment of the overall structure run in accordance with the law. Consequently, the closure of the church and of the prison director's house have been decided;
- Ordinary maintenance works such as: waterproofing the roof without alteration of the original characteristics; interventions for plasters, painting and interior coatings; electrical and water systems adaptation; repairing of the sewer system; door installations;
- Extraordinary maintenance works such as: moving or adding partition walls to create an open space bar area; paving and finishing work; construction of a soundproofing system for the theatre;
- Integration and recovery of furniture to design outdoor and indoor areas.

8 Context

The Scugnizzo Liberato is situated in the historical area of the city and it includes some of the most important squares and main streets of the city: on one side,

²³ In 2013, the Naples City Council declared pre-bankruptcy, namely an interim phase during which it is recognized the financial crisis of the PA, but it is still reversible. Since that, it has opened up a multiannual procedure that aims at restoring the debt of the Municipalities by including the State's participation.

²⁴ See: Actors.

²⁵ In particular, a water leak dating back to the years of the juvenile prison.

Piazza Dante and via Toledo and, on the other, via Salvator Rosa and Corso Vittorio Emanuele. This area can be accessed by public transportation that can be easily reached from the Cappuccinelle ex-convent. Conversely, the Cappuccinelle area is hardly accessible by cars due to the high urban density and the narrowness of the alleys. Specifically, located in the Avvocata area, the Scugnizzo Liberato is in the second municipality of the city, along with Montecalvario, Mercato, Pendino, Porto, San Giuseppe. As part of the city centre of Naples, the area has acquired urban relevance due to its historical character. Avvocata, commonly known as “Pignasecca”, is characterized by a texture of narrow streets and ancient buildings dated back to the 1700s. Its tuff artefacts, inner openings, street markets and many minor artworks make it a tourist destination. As it is well-known, the historical centre of Naples is still densely populated²⁶. In 2016, the population of the II Municipality was about 10% (98.337) of the total population of Naples (981.374). Between 2010 and 2016, there has been an increase in foreigners of about 101,11%, and it has reached 14% of the centre’s population (13.241), one third of which resides in the Avvocata district (4.356)²⁷. In comparison to the average rate of social unrest²⁸ in Avvocata is in line with the average rate in Naples. However, Avvocata has one of the highest rates of unemployment in Naples, 7,27% compared to the city average of 7,06%²⁹. Avvocata, such as many other popular areas of the historical centre in Naples, shows a spontaneous mingle of urbanisation due to different groups which inhabit the area: low-income families carrying out activities to the limit of legality; middle class composed by public employees; documented and undocumented immigrants; intellectuals who belong to the high class and own the buildings of the area (Laino, 2017). The Salita di Pontecorvo, where the Cappuccinelle complex is located, is considered by many as “another world”. It is mainly composed of clans, meaning that the majority of the residents are relatives to a certain extent³⁰. In the opinion of the Scugnizzo activists, this situation notably facilitates the interaction among local inhabitants.



Picture 8. View of Avvocata district

²⁶ As the 2017 National Statistical Report (Istat, 2017) shows the city centre of Naples is a “popular area susceptible to degradation” that still housing about 2/3 of the City Council population.

²⁷ Statistic Office, Naples Municipality Council. Online, available at:

<http://www.comune.napoli.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/34362>.

²⁸ The “social unrest index” is based on the rate of unemployment and the enrollment rate in the schools in the city and is compared to the national average.

²⁹ In Naples, the “social unrest index” is 11,09, with a peak of 25,78 in *Scampia* and a drop of 1,45 in *Arenella*. In *Avvocata* it is 6,84. Ibidem, Appendix B.

³⁰ Interview with Fabrizio Vitali. Naples, 11th December 2018.

9 Regulations and policies

The ongoing process happening in the Cappuccinelle complex is part of a broader strategy adopted by the Municipality of Naples, based on common goods and the notion of “civic uses” (*usi civici*) which are defined as the local community’s right “to benefit from (state, local or private) lands, water and forest [...] subject to construction and privatization restrictions”³¹. Specifically, the Municipality has been experimenting with new urban governance tools to give back to the local community public and private abandoned properties. This term “civic use” (*uso civico*), thus, refers to a collective free use of public and private spaces, inspired by the constitutional principles of art. 43 of the Italian Constitution³². It «focuses on the possibility to entrust the ‘user communities’ (along with public bodies) with the management of essential services or energy resources» (Ciancio, 2018:287). The Neapolitan model has brought citizens to the core of the decision-making process, overcoming the dualism of the public-private regime based on new community relations (Masella, 2018). Since 2011, the neo-elected Mayor Luigi De Magistris has been opening the way to a new shared and participatory system to identify and implement local policies inspired by principles and concepts of the commons. After the well-known national referendum (June 2011), during which Italians were called to vote about common goods related matters (e.g. water)³³, Naples was the first (and in some respect the only) city to put into practice the referendums results regarding the issue of water supply³⁴. Hence, several of the city council and mayor’s office resolutions have been carried out to the framework of the urban commons’ assets. The first act of 2011 was the modification of the Municipality Statute by including the legal notion of *common goods* (art.3, c.2)³⁵, and establishing Italy’s first department for this matter: Department of Town Planning and Common Goods’ (*Assessorato ai beni comuni e all’urbanistica*). In 2012, the Naples Laboratory for the Constituent of Common Goods (*Laboratorio Napoli per una costituente dei beni comuni*) was established³⁶. The laboratory is composed of thematic chambers accessible to citizens that can act as an advisory body and express citizens’ concerns. The Laboratory, thus, is set to support the development of bottom-up initiatives meant for the care and regeneration of the urban commons. In the same year, the Regulation of the Council for the Legislation of Common Goods (*Regolamento delle consulte per la disciplina dei beni comuni*) was also approved to set principles for the governance and management of

³¹ Local act no. 458, 2017.

³² Constitution of the Italian Republic, part I - Rights and duties of citizens, Title III - Economic relations, art.43: “For the purposes of the general benefit, the law may originally reserve or transfer, by expropriation and subject to compensation, to the State, or to public entities or to community of workers or users, certain companies or categories of companies, which refer to essential public services or energy sources or to monopolies and that have a prominent general interest.”

³³ This was the opportunity to clarify Italians’ opinion about four topics: the first two regarded local public services, namely water service privatization, and the following nuclear energy and legitimate impediment (*legittimo impedimento*).

³⁴ We refer to the transformation of the former company for the hydric service, Naples Water Resources Company (*Azienda Risorse Idriche Napoli*), in accordance with the principles of the commons, i.e. *Abc Naples – Water Common Good (Abc Napoli - Acqua Bene Comune)*.

³⁵ The Council resolution no. 24 of 22.09.2011 included in Title I of the Statute, entitled Fundamental purposes and values: “The Municipality of Naples, in order to also protect the future generations, recognizes common goods as functional to the exercise of fundamental rights in the ecological context and it guarantees their full enjoyment in the sphere of municipal competences.”

³⁶ Council resolution no. 8, 18th April 2012. See: <http://www.comune.napoli.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/14959>.

common goods for 2013³⁷. In this framework, the initiative held in March 2012 carried out by part of the workers of the cultural sector³⁸ played a crucial role in this policy-making process. In particular, we refer to the informal occupation of a 16th-century public building (about 4000 square meters) located in the historical city centre of Naples, known as the Ex Asilo Filangieri. In 2013, the building was renovated to host the Universal Forum of Culture³⁹ and it was at the centre of controversy because of the absence of transparency in the management of the event and of the building itself (Ciancio, 2018). Hence, the choice to use the Ex Asilo Filangieri as the location of the International Forum of Cultures inspired the occupation of the space. Since, activists stated, this would have produced an additional underused public space (Ostanel, 2017). Moreover, members of the workers of the cultural sector movement founded the group *La Balena* by gathering experts, in particular lawyers, strongly engaged in the regulation of the commons⁴⁰. The group started working on a proposal to regulate the use of common goods in order to submit it to the local authority in charge. Their intention was to surpass the classic concession agreement model, which is founded on the monopolistic view of the public-private partnership, and to recognize the existence of an “informal community” (city inhabitants and local communities) to collectively act in the general interest (Iaione, 2019). Thus, the Ex Asilo became a proactive actor in a dialogical process with the public authority representatives. The first step in the process was: “[...] to guarantee a democratic form of management of the monumental common good called the Ex Asilo Filangieri. In accordance with art. 43 of the Constitution, **in order to facilitate the practice of the *uso civico* of the common goods**, in relation to the community of cultural workers”⁴¹. Hence, with the resolution no.400 (2012), the Municipality started to recognise and co-design urban common governance mechanisms through the involvement of the community inhabitants that wanted to deliver forms of cultural and social services. The ex-Asilo Filangieri is identified as a place where free access and the enjoyment of common goods are ensured, and where the culture of the commons develops (Piscopo, 2017).

³⁷ Resolution no.17/2013

³⁸ In Italy the group ‘workers of immaterial labour’ (*lavoratori dello spettacolo e dell’immateriale*) had already occupied other important spaces such as the Teatro Valle in Rome.

³⁹ The Universal Forum of Cultures Foundation (*Fondazione Forum Universale delle Culture*) was established by Council Resolution no. 16, 29th September 2009. Promoted by UNESCO, the Universal Forum of Cultures is an event that takes place periodically in different cities and territories. It has a specific a format designed to stimulate attention on cultural issues such as dialogue among different cultures, languages and religions, human development and societies.

⁴⁰ It is important to underline that the civic use policy tool design not derived mainly from the Municipality, but it is the Ex Asilo the main designer and creator of it (Ostanel, 2017).

⁴¹ Resolution no. 400 of May 25th, 2012.

The “civic use” (uso civico) is a traditional legal institute which dates back to old rights of collective enjoyment of earthly goods (Cinanni, 1962). The reinterpretation of this “device”, which has been taking place in Naples, transfers this old right from the original structures of pasture, hunting or firewood to abandoned real estate and urban context.

Relying on this concept, a city regulation was conceived and drafted by grassroots organizations within a squatted public building in Naples’ historic center, named Ex Asilo Filangieri. In parallel, several resolutions approved by the city council of Naples (e.g. no. 400/2012; 893/2015; 446/2016) recognize squatted places if they serve community needs (cultural services, welfare, refugee protection, health services, housing). The city pays ordinary expenses, the building is collectively managed, and the property remains public. Since there is neither a transfer nor a delegation of the good, the process does not correspond to a specific set of provisions under Italian law. On the contrary, self-organization and self-governance are identified as legal forms by the municipal regulation. Miciarelli (2017) points out that it represents an unusual and creative use of the law. The process aims at researching alternative regulations, which are also inspired by principles based on “horizontal subsidiarity” (*sussidiarietà orizzontale*). This results in the change of Art. 118 of the Italian Constitution in 2001, which now states that “[...] State, regions, metropolitan cities, provinces and municipalities encourage the autonomous initiative of citizens in starting collective interest activities”. Based on Iaione’s point of view (2019), it has enabled citizens, as individuals or as part of associations, to take care of common interests, breaking up the public authorities’ habitual monopoly in that field. Hence, it has supported an opportunity to develop a new governance model which takes into account the concept of the commons.

In 2013, the Municipality of Naples further consolidated the ongoing process with the introduction of **the Permanent Observatory of Common Goods (*Osservatorio permanente sui beni comuni della città di Napoli*)**. The observatory is a public body with analytical and operational functions on the common goods protection and management. It is also entrusted with the inventory of the municipal properties, including private assets, abandoned, unused or underused. This body is composed of eleven experts in the field of common goods who have experience in social activism, including representatives of the current Neapolitan common goods network⁴². It carries out “*study functions, analysis and plans for the protection and management of the commons*”; it evaluates the Municipalities Councils proposals and proposals of the Commissions Council concerning common goods. It has been argued that the Observatory is, in practice, the space where «mutual learning between “low” and “high” cultures» (Ostanel, 2017:14) takes place.

⁴² The Observatory was established by the Mayoral Decree 314/2013. The body was renewed in January 2019 (mayoral decree no. 16, 28th January 2019).

The Permanent Observatory of Common Goods (Osservatorio permanente sui beni comuni della città di Napoli) is an important experiment in terms of institutional innovation which supports community involvement and community building. The Observatory as an advisory body was established by a Mayoral Decree (no. 314/2013) and its members are selected through public notice, or by mayoral appointment. The members of the observatory are not remunerated. They meet in public assemblies and anyone can take part, as a way to ensure open and horizontal discussions.

Specifically, they work on mapping used and unused public or private properties (always abandoned), to encourage their reuse in cultural and social activities. Furthermore, the observatory supports the self-governing process of the communities taking care of public properties and contributes to the development of declarations of public use and urban collectives. It promotes the creation of links between the different associations and volunteering networks on the territory; it works with the relevant departments to collect requests for temporary use and common use of those properties to be assessed; it evaluates the proposals in deliberations with a focus on common properties, participative democracy, new municipalism and fundamental rights like the right to housing (Mayoral Decree 314/2013).

In 2015, a further step forward was the establishment of the "Directions for the identification and management of real estate assets of the Municipality of Naples, that are not being used or partially used and perceived by the community as 'commons' and susceptible to collective use" (*Indirizzi per l'individuazione e la gestione dei beni del patrimonio immobiliare del Comune di Napoli, inutilizzati o parzialmente utilizzati, percepiti dalla comunità come "beni comuni" e suscettibili di fruizione collettiva*)⁴³. This Municipality Resolution established the possibility to identify a common good as being characterized by a "civic and collective use" (*uso civico e collettivo*). Consequently, the public administration gives citizens (as informal group of citizens and not organized in a specific legal entity) «the space to be active in forms of co-management of the political and cultural process of the city» (Miciarelli in Ciancio, 2018:289).

"Scugnizzo Liberato is part of a group of buildings which were first occupied then allocated to the municipality, because it belongs to and is used by a community of citizens. So, the gift is not for associations or legal-accredited bodies but for a community that, by its own nature, changes over time." Enrico Tommaselli

In the same year, this regulatory process also led to the drafting of the **"Declaration of the Urban and Civic and Collective use"** (*Dichiarazione di uso civico e collettivo urbano*), written by the ex Asilo community and approved by the Municipality Council⁴⁴. The declaration is composed of a set of rules that carved out the self-governance of the good by the community of inhabitants. Thus, "the autonomous model (capable of generating a self-regulation system) containing the declaration of civic and collective urban use (...) as a set of rules to access, the

⁴³ Council resolution no. 7, 2015, amending resolution no. 259 of 2014. Moreover, it is important to underline resolution no.259 of 2014 that included an administration proposal on privately owned abandoned heritage.

⁴⁴ Resolution no. 893, 2015.

program and develop activities as an innovative model of the government of the public space⁴⁵ was adopted. In 2016⁴⁶, seven public properties being informally occupied were recognized as “relevant civic spaces to be ascribed to the category of urban commons”⁴⁷ giving life to the so-called network of “freed spaces” (*spazi liberati*) in the city. Along with the former Cappuccinelle convent there are the former Schipa School; Villa Medusa; ex-Lido Pola; ex-Opg (nowadays ex-Opg Je so ‘pazz); former Teresiane convent (now Giardino Liberato di Materdei); former convent of Santa Maria della Fede (now Santa Fede Liberata). Also recognized as “emerging common goods”, these assets represent a community-led initiative, carried out by groups of citizens and / or committees. They transformed the abovementioned assets into places “of strong sociality, elaboration of thought, of intergenerational solidarity and of deep rooting on the territory” (Piscopo, 2017). As Daniela Buonanno⁴⁸ points out, in order to have a common good, there must be a cohesive community of neighbourhood inhabitants, aware and capable of bearing the responsibility of the process.

Moreover, on the model of the ex-Asilo, the recognition by Municipality resolution no. 446 (2016) will be finalised with adequate agreements after the communities managing the spaces draft a Declaration of Civic and Collective Use (*Dichiarazione di uso civico e collettivo urbano*) ensuring that the governance of the assets are inclusive, accessible and impartial (Iaione, 2019). However, it is still an ongoing process for all the seven spaces. It has to be noted that the Department of Town Planning and Commons Goods’ (*Assessorato ai beni comuni e all’urbanistica*) evaluates the civic use of the property by monitoring the promoted public services⁴⁹ and checking the real openness of the self-governing process. Annually, each space has to provide the administration with a detailed report on the activities carried out and on the results of the self-government process.

The abovementioned processes, thus, defines the administrative structure has led to the formalization of the commons in Naples. In synthesis, the Municipality, owner and administrator of the good, manages it through third parties (Micciarelli, 2017), putting in place of a new form of public-community or public - civic partnership (PCPs) (Iaione, 2019).

Since there is neither custody nor a delegation of the good, the process does not correspond to a specific legal set that is recognized by Italian law. On the contrary, self-organization and self-governance are identified as legal forms by the Municipality regulation.

In this context, the municipality fosters «the development of a civil environment, supporting the citizens in their process of becoming a proper institution themselves» (Ciancio, 2018:289). Naples’ Urban Civic Uses policy aims to recognize the urban commons as collectively owned, overcoming both the individual property regime and the traditional public management one (Scala, 2018). As mentioned by Iaione (2019), this allowed for the community-led initiatives to be recognized and institutionalized which ensured that both parties

⁴⁵ Ibidem.

⁴⁶ Resolution no. 446, 2016

⁴⁷ Ibidem.

⁴⁸ Interview with Daniella Buonanno. Naples, 24th April 2019.

⁴⁹ Accessibility and quality are among the main indicators of the evaluation framework.

involved were autonomous: citizens involved in the reuse and the municipality are enabling the practice.

Finally, it is worth it to note that the majority of these spaces⁵⁰ are in the historic centre of the city and identified as a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1995. In particular, the former Asilo Filangieri was part of the UNESCO Big Project (*Grande Progetto UNESCO*)⁵¹, i.e. the enhancement plan operating in the UNESCO area (approximately 720 hectares), which includes the whole city built before World War II. Within this perimeter, the municipal administration monitors landscape and urban conditions, as well as characteristics of renovation/construction projects in accordance with limits set by law. The Department of Town Planning and Common Goods' (*Assessorato ai beni comuni e all'urbanistica*) has been collaborating with superintendence offices, to define possible trajectories of reuse. One of the main issues is how to make the system more flexible, particularly with respect to the change of use. Although the Neapolitan model has recently gained recognition as part of the European best practices⁵², it has to be noted that in Italy it has been widely criticized from the viewpoint that it creates tools to foster illegal practices i.e. building occupations⁵³.

10 Actors

In order to describe all the actors involved in the Scugnizzo Liberato, we will proceed chronologically. As mentioned above, the Scugnizzo Liberato arose from the Scacco Matto, a group of local university student activists formed in 2015. Since the beginning, the group founded its political activity on a campaign to recover abandoned spaces located in the Avvocata area by encouraging citizens' participation. Firstly, the Scacco Matto occupied a small space next to the Montesanto Station⁵⁴ and to the former Filangieri Institute. In September 2015, the group squatted the Cappuccinelle complex and, with the aim of involving the inhabitants in the management of the space, activists immediately opened it to everyone. Then, the Scacco Matto expanded progressively, becoming first and foremost a network of collectives, including the inhabitants of the neighbourhood and other city groups such as *Nadir - Napoli direzione opposta* and *Nablus*.

"We have put up posters to communicate that this space was once again open for all. We strived to inform everyone that we wanted to recover and re-functionalize it collectively. This transparency increased the popularity of the project and the overall citizens' involvement. People were also very curious about the space itself, since it had been locked for almost two decades. They were curious about what was hidden inside. Many of them approached us, so we could establish our first relationships" Valerio Figliuolo

Hence, the will to establish a dialogue with the public authority emerged among the Scacco Matto activists who decided to join the local "neo-municipal" movement

⁵⁰ All except for ex Lido Pola and Villa Medusa which are in the Bagnoli area in the west of the city.

⁵¹ See: Heritage.

⁵² See Transfer Network, Urbact III: <https://urbact.eu/civic-estate>.

⁵³ These aspects were presented in depth by Elena Ostanel in a lesson held on 11 April 2019 at the Master U-rise (Urban Regeneration and social innovation). Focus of the lesson was "Local government innovation".

⁵⁴ This is the urban railway stop serving the Avvocata district. It is five minutes' walk from the Scugnizzo.

Massa Critica. Massa Critica was born in October 2015 as a shared platform composed of political stakeholders, including associations, committees, city networks and urban movements (Gargiuolo and Cirulli, 2017). Its objective was *"to affect the governance of our territories, to continue the path of active resistance that makes the city of Naples an exceptional laboratory of self-organization that sometimes manages to dictate the political agenda also to the municipal administrations; to open places of political discussion and generalize them; to rethink forms, methods, contents, and ways of relating"*⁵⁵. The purpose of Massa Critica was to support the creation of active citizenship models through a path of dialogue with the municipality, in order to reach the kind of relationship already created with the Asilo Filangieri community. Objectives were discussed in thematic meetings in which the topics of how the common goods and real estate played a central role. While the two main resolutions on the matter – i.e. *Declaration of civic and collective urban use of the Asilo Filangieri*, and the *identification of the seven spaces of civic importance ascribable to the category of common assets* – were approved. Meanwhile, the Scacco Matto network broke up which gave space to a new territorial community, the Scugnizzo community. Nevertheless, the Scugnizzo Liberato has kept cooperating with the other communities of the commons, trying to bring forward this experience collectively. The platform proposed by Massa Critica went on to become the Table of Common Goods or Public Assembly of Freed Spaces (*Tavolo dei beni comuni* or *Assemblea pubblica degli spazi liberati*) which includes some representatives of the seven spaces, along with the ex-Asilo Filangieri community. The assembly gathers at least once per month, at the former Asilo Filangieri, in order to discuss hypothetical new tools to improve the governance of the common goods and to strengthen existing experiences in matter of self-organization, self-government, self-recovery and community participation. Hence, it keeps tracing the path towards the common goods by following the administrative, political and social outcomes. Moreover, this coalition has collectively written the *"Declaration of the Urban and Civic and Collective use"* (*Dichiarazione di uso civico e collettivo urbano*), of all spaces, sharing this responsibility with the entire network:

"In February 2019, after a year of collective action, all the spaces were able to write their civic use declaration for a public urban use. The municipal administration should approve them all by the end of 2019. Since topics such as self-management and communication are key elements on the Table of Common Goods, we decided on a joint coordination of the declaration for the use of the areas." Gaia Del Giudice

The work of this table flows into the Permanent Observatory on the Common Goods (*Osservatorio permanente cittadino sui beni comuni*) which mediates between the collective work of the table and the municipal administration, working in synergy with the civil society⁵⁶. As it is clear, another central actor is the municipality itself. If its role is crucial in the definition of the policy and legal framework of the commons, with the formal recognition of each common good, such as the Scugnizzo Liberato, the Municipality undertakes specific responsibilities on that asset e.g. managing expenses and utilities and by ensuring adequate accessibility and safety of the building. Despite this, as already argued, the economic support

⁵⁵ See: www.massacriticanapoli.org/istruzioni-per-luso/.

⁵⁶ See: Governance and Community.

of the municipality, is in practice often insufficient. Especially in the case of extraordinary maintenance costs⁵⁷, preventing the proper maintenance of the Cappuccinelle convent. As Fabrizio Vitali underlines, on some occasions it was possible to overcome the public impasse solely by private citizens cooperating. Within the Naples' Municipality, the first partners for the refurbishment of the building were:

- The Special Water Company for the Common Good (*azienda speciale acqua bene comune Napoli*) – ABC, a Company born from the transformation into a special public company of ARIN S.p.A. and which operates in order to ensure the excellent quality of water distributed and the regularity of the supply;
- Waste Management and separate waste collection, with the Environmental Health Services Company (*azienda servizi igiene ambientale*) - ASIA Napoli Spa - Napoli Spa, the joint-stock company with local public capital, for waste disposal and green area cleaning.
- The Parks and Gardens Management Service (*gestione parchi e giardini*) is part of an "online service card", which allows citizens to consult the list of all the services they can request from the municipal offices⁵⁸.

At neighbourhood level, the Scugnizzo community shares many of the assembly moments with other subjects of the Neapolitan political scene and with collectives and urban movements outside the network of the commons. These are committed mostly to environmental issues and to the right to housing or student collectives, including: *Zero81* - Mutual Aid Lab^{*}; *Collettivo Autorganizzato Universitario Napoli (CAU)*^{*}; *Isurgencia* – community centre^{*}; Committee of the former Convitto Monachelle^{*}; *Terra nostra autogestita*^{*}; *Si Cobas Napolii* – organized worker union^{*}; MOPE - Campaign for housing and social space rights^{*}; *SPAZIO DAMM* (Diego Armando Maradona Montesanto^{*} – a self-administered area; *Casa delle donne di Napoli* – women association^{*}; Link Napoli University Union^{*}; USB – Basic union^{*}; Rete SET – City against mass tourism – Naples^{*}; Occupied Mezzocannone (Mezzocannone Occupato)^{*}; *Non una di meno Napoli*^{*}; The occupied church in Montesanto; *Parco dei Ventaglieri* – Coordinated Social Ground. The dialogical effort, above described and mainly held "outside" the complex, in the urban environment, shows the willingness of the group not only to share and encourage good practices but also to foster the debate, as Fabrizio Vitale states, "in terms of mutualism and active citizenships with national bodies that work on the matters." In the managing of internal activities of the complex, the network of actors varies systematically. As an exception, part of these actors run the macro-area of stable activities (craft labs and mutual support activities). These groups are: the artisan community (including teachers of the Arts Academy in Naples); several communities of migrants, especially the Sri Lanka and Cabo Verde communities based in Avvocata; *Nadir*, a collective composed of musicians and technicians who follow the cultural production; *Cuore di maschera*, a group for theatre productions; the *Naples popular aid network* that, thanks to the group *Oggi nessuno escluso*, fights poverty and discrimination; *Nablus*, a collective promoting activities for

⁵⁷ Interview with Fabrizio Vitali. Naples, 31st July 2019.

⁵⁸ See: <http://www.altuoservizio.comune.napoli.it/main.php>.

migrant integration; *Banda Basaglia* teaching music; the *Aya lab*, an art collective; the *Neapolis balfolk* group, proposing dance lessons; the *Spartak San Gennaro* group, to support a soccer popular project. Finally, the Morra Foundation, administering the Hermann Nitsch Museum - Archive Laboratory for contemporary arts, located alongside the Salita Pontecorvo, cooperates with the Scugnizzo and the municipality to transform Avvocata district into an art and craftsmanship neighbourhood⁵⁹.

11 Governance and community

The Scugnizzo Liberato is a co-designed space where plural and heterogeneous communities take actions, by activating services and sharing experiences with neighbours. As previously introduced, it is a "territorial community" engaged in a project based on the principles of mutualism, self-management and self-recovery.

"Before joining the process, neighbours used this place. Then, we gradually involved them in the overall management, sharing a common goal: how to re-use this space. Others, like migrants, instead, joined immediately. Due to several reasons, among which the size of the complex itself, everyone considered this space a place that could fill several needs. Thus, the Cappuccinelle became attractive, and it keeps attracting many." Fabrizio Vitale

As activists underline, the Scugnizzo is self-governed through interdependent and radically democratic practices. Spatial organization and activities are planned at weekly assemblies where all interested citizens (even those outside the Scugnizzo community) are invited to participate. This organization aims at consolidating the relationship between the community and project, creating bonds of mutual trust and cooperative dialogue which are needed to achieve results. In addition, Gaetano Quattromani⁶⁰ maintains that these moments of congregation are fundamental in allowing interactions among community members – usually coming across the ex-convent in different times, spaces and manners. Additionally, assemblies are also the opportunity to share ideas about specific management issues and to encourage the exchange of good practices. Assemblies are organized as follow: (a) a *management assembly (assemblea di gestione)* and (b) four *thematic assemblies (tavoli tematici)*. Whereas the latter gathers community members engaged or interested in specific topics, the former is a sovereign assembly which brings together the whole community. It must be noticed that interviewees conferred equal value to both kinds of meeting, stressing the a-hierarchical logic of the system. During the management assembly (*assemblea di gestione*) the routine management of the complex it is organized, meaning the activities are programmed, the recovery work is scheduled, as well as communication and logistic. To mediate disagreements, several interaction activities are taken in concrete and supported by a psychologist of the Scugnizzo community, who attends the assembly in person. As mentioned above, the four thematic assemblies (*tavoli tematici*) focus on the most relevant themes of the Scugnizzo: craft,

⁵⁹ Interview with Fabrizio Vitali. Naples, 31st July 2019.

⁶⁰ Interview with Gaetano Quattromani. Naples, 31st July 2019.

mutualism, culture & events, and narrative. The first, craft assembly, brings together artisans, coffee shop and kitchen activists. This assembly has been created to support a productive and economic perspective of the common goods. The mutual aid assembly aims to build and to put in practice a territorial strategy based on mutualism. It includes representatives of the community, particularly who are able to deal with relationship problems which often occur in the ordinary living of the community. The activity of the third assembly, culture & events, is mainly to focus on the management of cultural activities, festival and events taking place in the Scugnizzo (weekly, monthly and annually). Finally, the narration assembly is a discussion space where a communication strategy regarding the common goods is put forward. As Fabrizio Vitali argues, since the former Scacco Matto group came from a counterculture movement and strongly political-oriented, a reflection upon this represents a significant chance to build a new and more inclusive identity⁶¹. The decision making in the assemblies relies on the consensus model, never on majority vote, due to the fact that they are oriented to inspire a common feeling around each and every choice. These are also accompanied by “informal moments” e.g. chatting, meetings which are parts of the daily life of the space, etc. are crucial factors in the ex-convent management. By considering the disadvantaged conditions of Avvocata district, Fabrizio Vitali⁶² underlines the significance of these moments. In other words, establishing solid links among people and spaces ensures the Scugnizzo liveability. This system is linked externally with the Table of Common Goods or Public Assembly of Freed Spaces (*Tavolo dei beni comuni* or *Assemblea Pubblica degli spazi liberati*), with the ex-Asilo Filangieri and thus with the Permanent Observatory on the Common Goods (*Osservatorio permanente cittadino sui beni comuni*)⁶³.

12 Activities

For the Scugnizzo community, the artisan vocation of the former convent has been of crucial value, since the beginning of the occupation. This is due to the nature of the neighbourhood itself, reflecting both the objectives of the UNESCO Big Project (*Grande Progetto Unesco*) and of the Municipality Council of Naples⁶⁴. Indeed, the thematic area of intervention identified creative arts and craftsmanship has promoted the rediscovery of local labour and traditional activities. As Giuseppe Sbrescia⁶⁵ points out, the number of artisanal activities, which have always characterized the city centre, are decreasing and often replaced by tourist activities. The project received the municipality support, that was based on the existing territorial strategy to support artisanal activities in the historic centre area

⁶¹ Interview with Fabrizio Vitali. Naples, 31st July 2019.

⁶² Interview with Fabrizio Vitali. Naples, 26th April 2019.

⁶³ See: Regulation and policy.

⁶⁴ Regulation 875/2012 defines the list of the great project called “Historical Centre of Naples, valorisation of the UNESCO site”, approved by the Region. The program includes actions aimed at recovering and enhancing the historical centre of Naples through the restoration of monuments and buildings and through an series of intervention on the urban landscape and the public areas management (Napoli website – <http://www.comune.napoli.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/26910>). See also: Heritage.

⁶⁵ Interview with Giuseppe Sbrescia. Naples, April 26th 2019.

of the city. Laboratories occupying rooms faced on the main courtyard and alongside the aisles at the first floor were opened.



Picture 9. Inside the main courtyard, view of some craft labs

The project Scugnizzo Factory is composed of all current craft labs and it proposes courses aimed at safeguarding traditional crafts and at widespread related knowledge. Laboratories include both free courses for children and teenagers and paid ones for adults; self-produced objects are sold to generate income to reinvest in the activities (e.g. materials) and in the space itself (maintenance).

It is significant to underline that artisans, as well as everyone else, don't pay any rent to run their activities⁶⁶. Decisions about rooms' allocation - to singles or groups - are collectively taken in the management assembly. Selective criteria are: requests presented by people in need of a workspace, specifically oriented to support and develop craft traditions, are often preferred; spaces must not be subjected to "exclusive uses" but still have to be shared and managed in a common way; grantees have to participate in the collective restoration and management of the complex in addition to the single space⁶⁷.

Currently, laboratories actives are distributed at ground and first floor as follows:
(Ground Floor)

⁶⁶ See also: Impact.

⁶⁷ Interview with Giaccio. Naples, 3rd August 2019.

- The restoration laboratory: to restore antique pieces of furniture;
- The carpentry laboratory: to create wood objects (e.g. skate ramps, wooden sound boxes);
- The textile laboratory: to learn cutting, sewing, textile processing, dyeing and tailoring (run by a teacher of the Academy of Fine Arts of Naples);
- The recycling laboratory: to recycle plastic creatively;
- The sculpture laboratory: to bas-relief, fretwork and papier-mâché woodworking (run by a teacher of the Academy of Fine Arts of Naples);
- The glass laboratory: artistic stained-glass windows, glass cutting and composition;
- The goldsmith's laboratory: to create jewels made with fretwork and welding technique;
- The stone mosaic laboratory: to learn about practical foundations of mosaic art;

(First Floor)

- The ceramic laboratory: to learn about manual clay processing. Ceramic glazes and traditional majolica painting decoration are carried out.
- The creative arts lab: graphic arts, illustration & cartoon lab, lithography, etching and etching, metalworking;
- The serigraphy laboratory.



Picture 10. Building's diagram exposed at the ground floor

The main courtyard is also used as a football field and it hosts weekly the Spartakus San Gennaro, a popular soccer project participated by local teenagers. Additionally, the groups Nablus and Oggi Nessuno Escluso have been jointly running a school of language. Along with Italian and English courses, they offer activities such as legal assistance for immigrants (available also to Italian inhabitants of the area as long as they are willing to undertake shared paths) and a canteen for the homeless and the distribution of food and clothes.

On the ground floor there are also the following uses:

- La Scugnizzzeria, an information point;
- a museum which collects photographs, artefact, documents of the complex; in addition, some former cells witnessed the past use of the Istituto Filangieri as a prison;
- an open space, consisting of a bar and a free room mainly dedicated to assembly and other variable activities;
- a kitchen and a canteen.

As mentioned, a church (currently closed) can be accessed from the first floor where the gym, the language school, study rooms, and the theatre are also located. Some areas and rooms at the first floor are used by the Sri Lankan and Cape Verdean communities which every Sunday transform the gallery in a ceremonial space for the religious service. This space is also the venue for several cultural events among which the UE' FEST⁶⁸, the Mediterranean festival of comics and self-produced prints which since April 2017 takes place in the Scugnizzo annually. As the UE' FEST is gradually gaining national recognition, it's important to keep reminding us that the Scugnizzo Liberato promotes an intense program of cultural events of great importance at the local and metropolitan level, which include concerts, book presentations, and theatre performances. Programs and activities change continuously, including "regular" activities and "external" proposals. Although the flexibility and the dynamics of this process strongly encourage the communities' participation, it has to be noticed that the rapid turnover shows also a weakness in terms of management.

⁶⁸ The festival is self-organized and self-produced by independent authors and producers of the underground scene.



Picture 11. The Scugnizzo community in the theatre. (<https://it.ulule.com/scugnizzo-liberato/>)



Picture 12. The gym (photo by Vittoria Boccia)



Picture 13. The restoration laboratory

13 Impact

The governance of the commons has been gaining national and international recognition. Naples is considered a relevant laboratory of urban and social innovation, widely observed, studied and discussed. Obviously, the impact of the Scugnizzo experience cannot be considered apart from the complex context within which it emerged. For this reason, impacts of the macro and micro urban scale will be conveyed jointly. Indeed, as a result of the ex-Asilo Filangieri experience and of the following legal innovations, in 2017, Naples was selected as an URBACT best practice⁶⁹. In 2018, Naples joined the Civic eState - URBACT III project as a lead partner. Civic eState net is one of the 25 "Transfer Networks" approved by URBACT in April 2018. Its purpose is to consolidate and implement the use of the common goods and collective practices of heritage management, propagating the Neapolitan experience. In particular, the network has been developing a focus on

⁶⁹ See: <http://urbact.eu/lost-found>.

sustainability issues, addressing one of the most significant weakness of the Naples' experience⁷⁰.

By applying the framework of the commons, Barcelona, for instance, is currently working on a set of regulations to manage (selected) cultural heritage assets. A similar process has occurred also in other Italian cities such as Turin and Palermo. Locally, the network of the commons has been strongly impacting the metropolitan and urban area of Naples, boosting a cultural shift. In other words, the (social and territorial) mobilization put in place in the Scugnizzo, and in the other Neapolitan common goods, is changing preconceptions regarding places and people⁷¹. As Lina Mele states, this sets the ground for a more inclusive environment:

"The Scugnizzo is a lively place frequented by both the folks of the block and by many others. I see people from all walks of life passing by. And I like this because it is the key to inclusion."

Additionally, from a different cultural perspective, the Scugnizzo has been attracting great interest not only at local level but also at metropolitan level due to the cultural proposal variety. It mainly comprehends alternative music, arts and theatre events, and it encourages the development of underground cultures. In particular:

"Our theatre is considered one of the best concert halls in Naples! It really attracts a significant audience since is known we offer high-level countercultural events and setting. For us, this is in accordance with our political principles based on mutuality." Valerio Figliuolo

With reference to the space, the adaptive reuse process has also a strong impact on the Avvocata district itself. As several interviewees point out, the Scugnizzo opening has improved the liveability of the area. Indeed, the former Cappuccinelle Convent is situated in a dense and compact urban area that lacks significant gathering space and square. The Scugnizzo, thus, offers a new urban centre characterised by a high degree of freedom and inclusion, providing the Avvocata district with a meeting place, a *piazza*, which it lacked. Moreover, as the section "activities" shows, the re-functionalization of the former complex provided the district with new services, both cultural and social. With regards to this, craft labs have a double role. In addition to being an incentive for learning artisanal labour, the spaces are granted for free which is a form of public support to the craftsmen who are economically disadvantaged⁷². Furthermore, the project sheds a light on other abandoned spaces converging in the same area, and on many communities around them⁷³.

⁷⁰ See: The economic model.

⁷¹ e.g. those related to occupy movements. Interview with Valerio Figliuolo, 3rd August 2019.

⁷² Interview with Marco Pinto, master of the restoration laboratory. Naples, 11th December 2018.

⁷³ Interview with Valerio Figliuolo. Naples, 3rd August 2019.

14 Heritage

"This is a former 17th Century convent, it is not a joke! We know we have a huge responsibility, so it is clear that we cannot just think about a socio-political project or occupying the building in the previous fashion. It is too precious. The community is becoming conscious of the architectural and historical value of the Cappuccinelle. Thus, the program of activities needs to agree and proceed parallel to a restoration project, preserving the complex in its integrity. In order to attain this aim, we are cooperating with the public authority." Gaetano Quattromani

Between 2009 and 2012, the Cappuccinelle complex⁷⁴ was declared an Italian cultural asset, in accordance with the Rules on cultural assets and landscape (*Codice dei beni culturali e del paesaggio*, d.lgs. 22/01/2004 no. 42). Since then, the Ministry for Heritage and Cultural Activities (MIBAC) is responsible for supervising the conservation of the Cappuccinelle complex. Also, it implies that any intervention on the complex must be approved by the local *Soprintendenza*, a branch of the MiBACT which has the responsibility to assure the conservation and management of cultural heritage within a specific territory.

The complex is situated in the historical centre of Naples, inscribed in the list of UNESCO assets since 1995. As mentioned above, the UNESCO Big Project (*Grande Progetto UNESCO per Napoli*) is a renovation plan which embraces the entire UNESCO area (about 720 hectares). So far, 26 projects have been financed thanks to 2014-2020 POR FESR Campania funds. With the exception of the ex-Asilo Filangieri, no interventions are foreseen for those assets currently identified as common goods. Even though the Scugnizzo Liberato is not included among the interventions selected for the UNESCO Big Project, the area where the former convent is located, namely *Montesanto*, underwent a large-scale renovation public program which affected the urban and infrastructural dimensions⁷⁵. As mentioned, in 2014 the ownership of the Cappuccinelle property was passed to the Municipality Council. Hence, the UNESCO Program service presented a restoration proposal for the ex-convent⁷⁶, with the aim of preserving it by assuring proper maintenance and public accessibility. Moreover, the proposal includes the cultural purpose of the "Isola Pontecorvo"⁷⁷ and of part of the Avvocata neighbourhood by the

⁷⁴ Decrees no. 232, 01st December 2005 and no. 568, 03rd July 2009 approved by the Regional Director of landscape and cultural assets of the Campania Region (*Direzione regionale per i beni culturali e paesaggistici della Campania*).

⁷⁵ Among public interventions there are: the transformation of historical buildings in social housing buildings, the recovery of the Ventaglieri Park; the restoration of *via Pignasecca*; *via* and *piazzetta Olivella* including the monumental staircase of *Montesanto* (completed); the recovery of the *Vico Lepri* school complex; interventions in the *Trinità delle Monache* convent (considered the most relevant monumental and landscape centre in the area); the escalator system between *Via Ventaglieri* and *Salita Cappuccinelle*; the *Montesanto* metro station (Line 1), the Funicular change Funicular – circumflegrea, connected with metro Line 2 (construction work is about to start); the *Diaz* and *Montecalvario* stations (work in progress) and the cableway project Museo – Museo (Resolution no. 905, 2015).

⁷⁶ The restoration motion is included in the Enhancement Program of the Cappuccinelle Complex.

⁷⁷ Resolution no. 905, 2015.

restauration of key public and private buildings aimed at creating the “neighbourhood of the arts” (*quartiere dell’arte*). The plan includes also Nitsch Museum, the cultural structure next to the Scugnizzo Liberato. This objective is part of a wider project of artistic and cultural improvement of the historical centre. As discussed, the Scugnizzo project concerning the uses (e.g. craft, culture, etc.) met the expectations of UNESCO and of the public authorities. In July 2019, several public authorities⁷⁸ signed the Institutional Development Agreement – Naples City Centre (*Contratto istituzionale di Sviluppo – Centro storico di Napoli*). The agreement assigned a capital of 7.500.000 euros to restoration of the ex-Cappuccinelle. The funds will be invested in the 2014 enhancement project which is part of the operative plan Culture and Tourism - FSC 2014/2020 (*Cultura e turismo*). This combination of funds, community and public interests shows an innovation in terms of urban strategy, explicitly supported by the Municipality, as evident from the words of Massimo Santoro:

“It is a particularly innovative operation that being undertaken in the ex-Cappuccinelle. In fact, we are organizing activities that fit with the inhabitants’ uses and practices. We could have said: ‘Project financing!’ and surely a private investor would have invested in the project. Instead, we decided to make another choice and we will keep looking for financing for the restoration of these assets. These buildings are not well preserved. Our objective is to intervene with these buildings in a way that is compatible with their current use through opportunities of financing that present itself to us.” Massimo Santoro

In the interim stage of the financial transfer, the Municipality wants to develop a participation project with the Scugnizzo community. As Massimo Santoro⁷⁹ states, it is a very delicate stage since it will probably find the disagreement of the community that often claims exclusive rights on building, although in violation of the Municipality regulations. The restoration project will follow public procedures set by local building regulations and national laws concerning cultural heritage, i.e. it will need to be approved by the responsible superintendent. In this regard, Santoro also highlights that the physical alteration of the complex is an unsolved issue since these buildings are managed by people that have low or no expertise in matter of cultural good and restoration. Although conflicts might arise between Soprintendenza’s requirements and those claimed by current users, it is significant to underline the relevance that the cultural value of the Cappuccinelle has for the Scugnizzo community. This is witnessed also by an important collection of memorabilia which includes documents, stamps, writings, wall paintings and

⁷⁸ Among which: Ministry of Cultural Assets and Activities (MiBAC), Naples Municipality Council, Campania Region and Ministry of Southern area.

⁷⁹ Interview with Massimo Santoro. Naples, 2nd August 2019.

ancient tools. This former collection is displayed in the small museum at the entrance of the ex-convent.



Picture 14. A view from the rooftop

15 The economic model

According with the “civic use” (*uso civico*) model, the Scugnizzo community autonomously defines its own rules of use of the ex-Cappuccinelle, including any decision on its economic life. Though partially tested, the economic model of the Scugnizzo is still in an initial phase. The aim of the community is to create a “mutual aid fund”, inspired by models of “regenerative” welfare, namely a system based on facilities which are able to regenerate the community economy. Profits produced by cultural activities should generate – as they already did – outcomes to invest in other material and immaterial activities such as courses and physical redevelopment of the spaces and, thus, this model shall support self-employment. Ideally, the fund should absorb urgent needs of community workers and, at the same time, safeguard the sustainability of the overall (economic and not) system. To guarantee fairness and balance, community representatives have been charged with the responsibility to manage the overall economy of the ex-convent. In particular, fundraising and mediation between community and institutions are assigned to them.

"To define our model, it has been very important to take part in 2017 – along with the ex-Asilo Filangeri - to Culturability, a national call promoted by Unipolis foundation⁸⁰. This was an opportunity to shape the model we would like to proceed towards. We transform the old Cappuccinelle in a new factory where materials and knowledge are re-processed and promoted. For this reason, we want to support in parallel the production of the spaces and the inclusion of young generations." Fabrizio Vitali

It must be noticed that the Scugnizzo community – as others common goods - has a short-term "adoption" of the complex which depends on the current Mayor's mandate⁸¹. Activists underlined that this impacted on the implementation of a long-term and strategic vision of the project, weakening their efforts towards a more consistent fundraising. Current economy and management of the Scugnizzo are strongly related to the restoring and caretaking of the space, programmed in relation to structural priorities and/or emergency. So far, the Scugnizzo community has relied almost exclusively on self-financing, investing profits from cultural events. These, indeed, have mainly been used to repair and restore the structure and its facilities. In addition, artisans independently finance materials and tools to develop laboratories, which include both courses held on a volunteer basis (children and adolescents) and paid (adults); self-produced objects are sold to generate income to be reinvested in the activities (e.g. materials) and still in the space itself (maintenance). However, in 2017 it was launched a crowdfunding campaign to support the renovation project of the theatre. In particular, this profit was invested in the sound insulation of the space, protecting the neighbourhood from noise⁸².

In conclusion, the city pays for ordinary expenses such as utilities and security guards, as mentioned above, because they do not have enough economic resources to invest in the common goods. Despite this, other relevant details need to be mentioned. Naples' policies are aimed at transforming the city assets into social infrastructures that are of public value and have social impact (Iaione, 2019). Hence, it considers the social value (e.g. community service) within the economic value. Consequentially, the public real estate has gone from an asset that compensates for municipal losses, to resource that enables self-organisation groups to act for the collective interest. Therefore, it changes the main objective of the Municipality from maximizing economic value (exchange value) to maximizing social value (use value). Furthermore, the municipality provides the building for free for the community. The procedures concerning the traditional

⁸⁰ Culturability is a call for proposals supporting social innovation projects focused on recuperation of spaces. In September 2017, the Ex Asilo won this competition. As Ciancio (2008) highlights, it was the first time that a bank foundation recognized the participation in a contest about social regeneration by giving the award to an informal community.

⁸¹ It must be pointed out that the legal experimentations based on civic uses hereby discussed are linked to the specific mandates of the Mayor Luigi De Magistris (I mandate 2011-2016, and II mandate 2016-). In other words, the recognition of the "7+1" cultural assets, under the umbrella of the common goods, will be over with the conclusion of the Mayor's mandate. This, it has been argued, represents one of the main criticalities of the Neapolitans approach. Moreover, due to this fact many accused the Mayor of political-electoral alliance with some social movements in Naples. Therefore, in order to ensure a more sustainable and durable process, it has been decided to rely on constitutional principles, re-frame the administrative structure of the City Council (i.e. putting in place the Department of Common Goods and Planning, the Observatory of Common Goods, etc.) and mobilize strong communities of reference (Interview with Daniela Buonanno and Giuseppe Sbrescia. Naples, 26th April 2019).

⁸² It is the result of a consultation between the community and neighbours which complained about the noise during the night.

assignment of public real estate such as rental payments, expansive municipal charges, complicated procedures about safety standard, etc are therefore free: as occupiers that have been formally recognized, the community is now free from these restrictions (Laino, 2018).

16 Communication

Communication is mainly addressed inside the “storytelling assembly”, a discussion space that encourages a new narrative of the common goods by developing communicative strategies interlinked with specific urban issues of the city.

This is expressed in the following channels:

- Facebook page (<https://www.facebook.com/ScugnizzoLiberato/>);
- Twitter (<https://twitter.com/scugnizzolibero>);
- Instagram (<https://www.instagram.com/scugnizzoliberto/>);
- Website (<https://scugnizzoliberto.org/>).

Facebook and the website mainly present programs and activities. They are also tools used by the municipal offices to monitor the evolution of the spaces, in accordance with municipal resolutions.

Interviewees

Giuseppe Sbrescia, Naples City Council - Department of Common Goods and Planning

Massimo Santoro, Naples City Council - Director of the UNESCO Big Project (*Grande Progetto UNESCO*)

Maria Teresa Sepe, Naples City Council - UNESCO Big Project (*Grande Progetto UNESCO*)

Daniela Buonanno, Naples City Council - Department of Common Goods and Planning

Fabrizio Vitale, activist of Scugnizzo Liberato

Valerio Figliulo, activist of Scugnizzo Liberato

Enrico Tomaselli, activist of Scugnizzo Liberato

Lina Mele, activist of Scugnizzo Liberato

Gaetano Quattromani, activist of Scugnizzo Liberato

Giampiero Riccio, inhabitant of the Avvocata district

Gigi Monaco, inhabitant of the Avvocata district

Silvana Giannotta, activist of Giardino Liberato

Maria Cerreta, Full Professor at the University of Federico II in Naples – Architecture Department

Gaia del Giudice, PhD Researcher at University of Napoli Federico II – Department of Architecture and activist of Asilo Filangieri

Giaccio, activist of Scugnizzo Liberato

Francesca Paola Milione, PhD Researcher at the University of Napoli Federico II – Department of Architecture

Vincenzo Vidone, ex-prisoner of the Filangieri Institute and activist of Scugnizzo Liberato (<https://scugnizzoliberato.org/servizi-tv/>)

Cristiano Ferraro, activist of Scugnizzo Liberato (<https://scugnizzoliberato.org/servizi-tv/>)

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