

Title:

The collective properties in the 21st century. Long – standing models, brand – new views

Author

Francesco Minora<sup>1</sup>

[francesco.minora@euricse.eu](mailto:francesco.minora@euricse.eu)

## Abstract

The thesis argued in this paper is that considering territorial dimension significant in the study of the commons implies the need to reflect on the concept of sustainability and in particular, drives us to deepen the relation between environmental conservation and local development.

The paper shows the main results achieved during a PhD in Territorial Planning conducted by the proposer at the Faculty of Architecture at the Polytechnic of Milan. The object of the study is represented by some particular forms of collective properties, a thousand years old institutions born spontaneously and still placed today in trace in central and northern Italy, especially in the Alps.

In the paper it'll be shown how the author has tried to integrate the territorial dimension in the general IAD framework in two different ways:

- observing the outcomes of social and spatial presence of these institutions in local contexts in which the collective properties are placed, and then observing the relation between them and the areas around which they are located in;
- watching how the management system of land collectively owned is used in different areas characterized by different uses (forestral - pastoral, agricultural, urban) and in different time frameworks.

The research highlights how the institutional principles of success identified by Ostrom (1990) and used by many researchers cannot explain some crucial and specific aspects that are relevant for the territorial government. More generally, the paper raises the question of the relevance of these ancient forms of land management in recent territorial planning policies.

## 1. Introduction

The IAD framework (Ostrom, 2005) (Ostrom, Gardner, & Walker, 1994) identifies three exogenous variables that influence the main unit of analysis defined as “action arena”: the biophysical conditions, the attributes of the community and the rules which institutions use to govern the commons. It seems clear that internally this method of analysis does not imply an explicit concept of territory, although in the literature it has been applied to many forms of common – pool resources, including the land. In fact the term territory itself it hasn't been defined in explicit terms within the IAD framework, where, it is preferred the terms "biophysical conditions".

However this does not deny the absolute interest of this method of analysis for territorial studies because:

- it seeks to provide explanations to the institutional changes of government of a resource, without losing the complexity of analysis;
- the analysis focuses on how the actors play with respect to the resource management;
- this approach focuses mainly on the outcomes of the choices of government, where rules play a central role, without taking for granted that those ones are always important in the analyzed situations;

---

<sup>1</sup> Francesco Minora is a Post doc reseacher 2011 incoming (call 1) within the “Trentino - PCO-FUND-GA-2008-226070” programme Cofunded by The Province of Trento & The European Commission

- it makes the researcher aware of the scale of analysis to be taken;
- it is often applied to the study of goods with high environmental value, with particular reference to the issue of sustainability;
- it is dynamic in the sense that it focuses on the evolution of governance and transformation in the management of the resource, in other words it provides the means to describe how natural systems and social systems coevolve over time.

The reasons for adopting this system of analysis to the study of certain territories are surely many more than those listed here. However, the main purpose of this paper is to argue which specific aspects related to territorial studies can be considered to explain more precisely the relationship that binds these elements to the general theory on the commons, i.e. how some territorial aspects affect as exogenous variables the action arena. To explain these considerations we will use some cases particularly emblematic that can simplify the relation between the territorial dimension and the IAD framework.

## 2. Looking for an institutional concept of territory: some evidence from an Italian literary review

According to the theory on the commons is pretty obvious that the management and government system of a CPR is related to the ownership regime in use, i.e. the institutional system of rules is extremely variable and different.

One of the focal axes on which the theory on the commons focuses its effort is to demonstrate that a resource has certain characteristics and that there are several solutions to face problems of collective action (e.g. free-riding) in order to be made exploitable over the time.

The point is that these solutions are always localized in certain parts of the earth. Although the analytical effort is aimed at defining regularity of human choices, the variety of situations is inherently assumed as an essential point of the theory on the commons.

Continuing with this reasoning we can see that each territory expresses a specific management model even for the same resource: for example the water that comes from the same source can be managed upstream according to a self-management system based on a common property regime (e.g. the cases described by Ostrom, 1990), while downstream and in the city it can be managed according to a logic of individual private property.

The river or the watershed that hosts water cannot be assimilated, however, entirely as the resource it offers. It is a too narrow view. A river as well as a watershed are spatial objects, in the sense that depending on where they're studied they can be managed in an entirely different way because they have social, political, economic, environmental, etc. connotations entirely different for the institutions that deal with them in that particular place.

So for those facing the study of these situations without evading the territorial component of the resource analyzed (e.g. studying the river as well as the water), an analyst will be needed to relate the various forms of management and the various types of ownership regimes.

According to this perspective, the territory looks like something fragmented as pointed out by Secchi B. (1984)

“if in the past it was recognizable a figure of *continuity*, as dominant in the nineteenth century, in the representation of territory, cities and societies in recent decades it is prevailing the image of the *fragment* as an expression of a society made up of minorities, minimal rationality, multiple individualities”.

In particular, some authors stresses the idea that the territory can be configured by the use made of it, that it is built by the practices of use of its inhabitants; the territory is not a model of reality, but a model of action (Crosta P. L.; 1998). The theory of the commons seems to be related to this idea of territory to the extent that it considers the costs of action, including conflicts, lack of information, research information, etc. (transaction costs) within the action arena.

It is as if there were an analytic tension between the effort to understand the "action arena as a holon" (Ostrom, 2005), analyzing the socio - environment systems in which (Steiner, 2000):

“the environment must be seized in its systemic dimension, as a combination of material elements and factors of use, the results of which are territorial units, landscape and environment, or the combination that are each more than the sum of the parts we can see with eyes”

and the effort to study the institutional diversity within the territory to which these institutions exist.

Understanding institutional diversity, is largely an attempt to read the diversity, complexity and dynamism of the local contexts in which the institutions are located. If we embed a community in the concept of territory, as in the IAD framework the attributes of the community are relevant as exogenous variables, the territory itself can play a relevant role in setting the action arena (Triglia, 2005) (Bagnasco, 1979)

“Territory in the past has been the result of geographical and historical determinism. Today the territory is active, an entity that can play a role in the production processes of external economies”.

“it is taken of the specificity of the contexts and the environmental conditions of the territory. For the first time it is recognized that land use and structural characteristics of social formations occur in different forms where the historical and territorial conditions are different; a faithful portrait of the (Italian) society must be based on a diversified national territory, breaking the dual pattern north-south”.

Assuming this perspective that emphasizes the role of local and institutional diversity of the territory, than it is important to specify what determinates the concept of place (Agnew 1991):

“The concept of place here proposed has three important elements that are intertwined each other: the *local*, that is the scenario in which social relationships are formed (this can be informal or institutional), the *location*, i.e. the geographical area including the scenario of social interaction defined by social and economic processes that operate on a larger scale and the *sense of place*, i.e. the "local sense of feeling". For example homes, workplaces, schools, churches, etc. create nodes around which circulate in its entirety and that human activities may create a sense of place, both geographically and socially. The place then refers to separate areas, although "elastic" in which scenarios are situated for the formation of social relationships and that people can identify with. The "paths" and "projects" of everyday life, make the place, understood in this three meanings, the real link. To the extent that the places in these three areas are similar, interconnected and contiguous, you can refer to a "region" made up of places. In this situation, the sense of place can be projected in the region or even in a nation and give rise to regionalism or nationalism. The sense of place should not be limited to the scale of the locality”.

Local, location and sense of place shape the action arena, but, according to an institutional analysis, what is really relevant is the contract defined by communities to manage their resources. In these places communities are configured so as a "contractual communities" (Foldvary 1994) (Moroni and Brunetta 2008).

The concept of the action arena though has a high relevance for territorial studies. This is confirmed by some authors who point out that the forms of government of the territories now pass through the most innovative “contractualism of policies” (Bobbio, 2006) (Donolo, 2006); institutions express systems of government according to a variable geometry, in which the specificities of the territories are recognized, and in which they act adapting to the needs of local communities and contexts, coming into relationship with the actors and their positions in a flexible manner, without imposing an ascribed idea of territorial development from above, but they know how to implement flexible governance arrangements within a framework of general government, promoting local communities to define specific local regulation actions that must be consistent with the general framework.

### 3. Territorial aspects and the study of the commons

According to what I have argued, in order to integrate the territorial dimension in the analysis proposed

by the institutionalist theory of the commons, it should take into account the fact that different forms of management co-exist on the same asset in any territory, and so those particular forms of self-managed communities, described in the literature on the commons, must be observed in relation to the context in which they are located.

This means not only to observe inner institutional mechanisms of governing the commons, but also how these institutions interact with the surrounding area and the outcomes that this interaction produces on it.

It must therefore be paid particular attention to the location of the case study (urban, suburban, rural, mountain, etc..) assuming that each context has its own specific spatial characteristics and to the use of the land. The first element helps to define the constitutional rules used to govern the resource by the community, the second item instead helps to define the operational rules.

Two other territorial elements which can be considered because they affects directly or indirectly the action arena are represented by the size of the area collectively owned and its shape. These elements may affect from one side the attribute of the community and from the other they can affect the ability of government of the institution in relation to other institutions.

Both the cases presented in this paper start up as institutions for tilling the land, but we can find repeated cases all over the Alps. The input of local community's action is thus political, since the purpose of the action of these communities was to control the territory. In general it is coherent to read the experiences of self-government of the land as a process of settlement, aimed at making habitable the contexts in which these institutions insist.

The traces that are left by this process of settlement, regulatory and organizational outcomes of the action of these local communities, can help us understanding if and how they contribute to determining the territorial specificities. The land can then be used as means to show how institutional diversity takes shape and body. The cases present in the next lines can clearly show how the territorial dimension may affect the action arena.

Some other more specific criteria for the selection of these experiences are represented by the fact that they are repeated in the local context in which they are located (the Padana plain, the Ampezzo valley), and they have a structural relevance in the municipal area which they are settled (the number of members of the community with respect to residents in the municipality, the total area held in common ownership compared to the total municipal area).

#### **4. Collective properties in Italy: few legal framework information**

Dealing with collective properties, in Italy the Act n. 1766/1927 is the most important law still in force. The Act identifies land under the collective ownership regime with the following characteristics of "quasi state ownership" (Tomasella 2000):

- Indivisibility: the land is held as an undivided community asset;
- Inalienability: the land cannot be alienated, and represents a reserve;
- Inusufructibility: the common good cannot be owned simply using it;
- Perennial land restriction to agro – forestal – pastoral activities, though with subsequent laws especially in the tourist areas of the mountain, more flexible forms of transformation have been introduced where it is permitted to change these uses constraining the restoration of heritage converted.

The law, which aimed to discourage collective proprietary regimes, abolished land used for agricultural activities (Category B), and instead protected those lands if their use was pastoral or forestal one (Category A).

The application of this law means that there are so "civic uses lands" ("terre di uso civico") and "closed collective properties", called "agricultural associations and universities". The former can be managed by the municipality or the hamlet of a municipality ("Amministrazione Separata di Uso Civico / ASUC"), though it is owned by people living in that (part of the) Comune, while the second would have existed if not harm the general public interest, and they should have to be opened to the enjoyment of the whole population. The figure of the liquidators of civic uses was drawn up for the purposes of this law.

The main difference between these two forms of collective ownership is not only to the criteria of access

the community (narrower criteria of access, usually based on agnatic bond, is defined in “closed” collective properties), but also in the fact that members of the latter are specifically requested and obliged to care the land thanks to voluntary activities, thus contributing to its growth.

## 5. Relevant territorial issues for an institutional analysis

### 5.1. Dimension

The two collective properties discussed in this paper are The Agrarian Partecipanze of Cento (Ferrara), located in the Po plain consisting of two different institutions called The Partecipanza of Cento and the Partecipanza of Pieve di Cento, and the Regole of Cortina (Belluno), located in the mountain setting of the Ampezzo Valley.

They are ancient institutions which hold significant assets as collective ownership of land. These institutions, though in quite different ways, have been able to develop strategies for institutional survival across centuries.

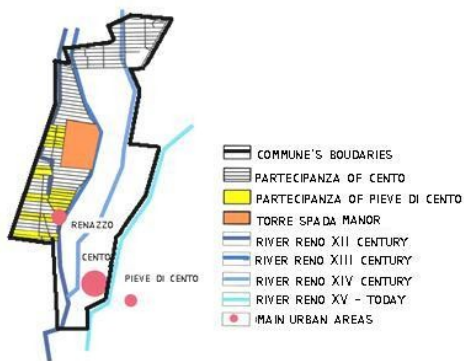
The next table summarizes the consistency of their ownership with respect to their areas where they’re located.

	Partecipanza of Cento (year 1999)	Partecipanza of Pieve di Cento (year 2006)	Regole di Cortina d’Ampezzo (year 2001)
Tot. land collectively owned (ha)	1250	301	15.395
Index of land occupation (tot. land collectively owned / tot. land within mnicila boundary)	24,23%		60,48%
n. members	3033	1610	1.336
Index of demographic incidence (n. members / tot. residents within the Commune)	11,06 %		20,98%

**Table 1** Collectively owned lands compared to local figures

The structural importance of these two properties at the local level is evident from the figures in the table, both in terms of the size of the property itself, and in demographic terms.

It should be noted that in particular in the case of Cento, historical and demographic studies have associated the presence of the Partecipanza to a particular population structure: in fact, it can be noted a very high concentration of population all over the centuries compared to the surroundings. Even today, the density of this town is of 500 inhabitants per sq km, far superior to the rest of the province and the same value of the city of Ferrara in which there are 330 inhabitants per sq km. Local historical studies agree in pointing out that surely there is a link between the Partecipanze and the index of population density.



**Figure 1** The Partecipanze of Cento

The main mechanism by which the Partecipanze works is a twenty years subdivision of land collectively owned in plots parceled to all members of the community, who are enrolled in a special register, descendants of the ancient original families who acquired the rights to use land in exchange for their land reclamation in the twelfth century by the original owner, the Church.

Some historical studies have shown that this partition has probably impacted on raising the population density, since the right to use one or more parcels of land to each head of family had for many centuries a positive factor for the community of participants.

Some local people told me this situation has shown that, in times of severe crisis, such as a war, these lands avoided the misery for participant families. So the collective ownership would help to lower the level of mortality.

Another reason is to be found in the fact that as a collective property, it is subjected more than other forms of property to over-crowding and over-exploitation of the resource.

Some scholars (Sarti & Fabbri, 2004) point out that the lure of being able to cultivate their own plot of land, an operation that happened in the past subletting areas owned to the foreigners, attracted many people on the area.

In fact, the rule that defines as successors to the right of use land only sons and not daughters is aimed at limiting the number of participants, since the family that had only female descendants would lose all rights of use.

Another rule that defines strict criteria to curb the number of claimants to the land use is the fact that “the fireplace has to smoke”, that means every family had to grant on-site presence of a considerable number of days per years, or risk losing the right. There were people responsible for supervision of this rule until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

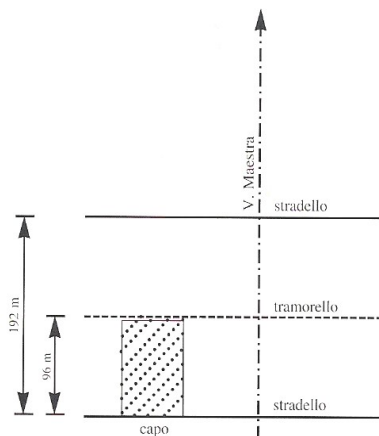
Moreover, this rule meant that the participants live on site and then populate the rural areas in a systematic way and that’s way this area is more populous than any other rural area nearby.

What is seen historically in these lands is a slow process of settlement of the urban population in rural areas. In the next paragraph it will be observed the physical outcomes of this process: for now, suffice to emphasize that the collective lands are still drawn into the subdivision on the basis of the six districts of the ancient Cento: Di Mezzo, Da Sera, Da Dimani, Malgrato, Corporeno, Buonacompra.

This historical fact shows that the collective lands, although located in the rural hamlets of Cento, as Renazzo for example, were somehow connected to the old town and the participants, a "community" in the "community", have distinguished themselves gradually by the new inhabitants, settling on land they own, away from the city and confirming their identity by settling in their areas. The formal separation of this community from the local population came with the advent of modern Commune by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Until then, the Partecipanza was the main body of the local government.

## 5.2. The land use

The case of Cento is interesting for the particular history of this institution. Unlike other Partecipanze located in nearby municipalities, those of the City of Cento showed a particular propensity for edification. The figure proposes a typical partition of the plots of land collectively owned.



**Figure 2** The subdivision of the land collectively owned (source AAVV 2000)



**Figure 3** a Typical building of rural area

Since the 17<sup>th</sup> century those people who had the opportunity began to build their own building, by virtue of the fact that under the regulation of that period, it was given priority to the cultivation of land near their own home.

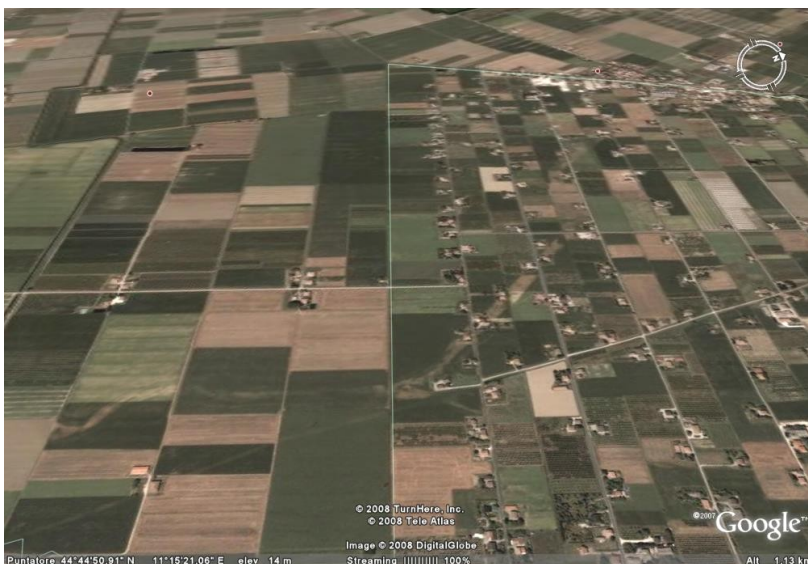
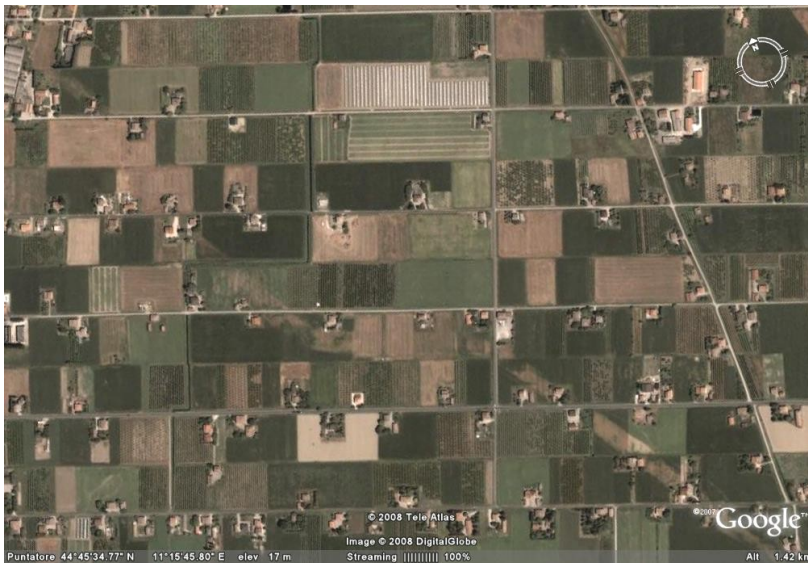
This led to the need for the Partecipanza to regulate this phenomenon accompanying the process so it could happen in a coordinated way and did not damage crops.

The homes were then placed at a minimum distance (60 meters) and always located at the side road (stradello in the figure) facing

south.

This building process took place according to very specific technical features: the bricks were produced in some ovens that are still visible today, although not used anymore. The same architectural features of houses have completely unique, non-traceable except in those areas (AAVV, 2000).

This phenomenon over the centuries led to a landscape feature of urbanized countryside, as evidenced by these views.



**Figure 4** View over the rural areas of Cento

This landscape can look like to what is known as a UNESCO cultural landscape, the international organization that has the aim to protect the world heritage according to a global convention. This definition is internationally accepted and used by public institutions with the aim of taking measures to protect the heritage<sup>2</sup>:

"Cultural landscapes represent the combined works of nature and of man "designated in Article 1 of the Convention. They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and / or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal"

UNESCO identifies three types of cultural landscapes:

1. "The most easily identifiable is the clearly defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man. This

<sup>2</sup> Online source: [whc.unesco.org/en/culturallandscape/](http://whc.unesco.org/en/culturallandscape/)

embraces garden and parkland landscapes constructed for aesthetic reasons which are often (but not always) associated with religious or other monumental buildings and ensembles.

2. “The second category is the organically evolved landscape. This results from an initial social, economic, administrative, and / or religious imperative and has developed its present form by association with and in response to its natural environment. Such landscapes reflect that process of evolution in their form and component features. They fall into two sub-categories:
  - Relict (or fossil) landscape is one in which an evolutionary process came to an end at some time in the past, either abruptly or over a period. Its distinguishing features are significant, however, still visible in material form.
  - Continuing landscape is one which retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress. At the same time it exhibits significant material evidence of its evolution over time”.
3. “The final category is the associative cultural landscape. The inclusion of such landscapes on the World Heritage List is justifiable by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent”.

As we will observe, maybe the closest type of landscape to put on Cento’s situation is the organic continuing one. Of course, it is not in the intention of the writer to think about this case study as a well one that could fall on the list of world heritages in order to be saved. The definition of cultural landscapes used by UNESCO is written here with the aim to carry out a descriptive exercise, in order to have a key reading of the phenomenon and so that witnesses will be displayed in the next few lines. In Florence (2000)<sup>3</sup> the European Council defined a common strategy all over Europe. In this convention landscape is defined as:

“(Art. 1 a) an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors;”

There it is recognized that:

“the landscape has an important public interest role in the cultural, ecological, environmental and social fields, and constitutes a resource favourable to economic activity and whose protection, management and planning can contribute to job creation;

Aware that the landscape contributes to the formation of local cultures and that it is a basic component of the European natural and cultural heritage, contributing to human well-being and consolidation of the European identity;

Acknowledging that the landscape is an important part of the quality of life for people everywhere: in urban areas and in the countryside, in degraded areas as well as in areas of high quality, in areas recognised as being of outstanding beauty as well as everyday areas”.

The high fragmentation of these areas has produced a type of property throughout the city that tend to be small sized as revealed the first cadastral map of the City of Cento of 1752 (AA.VV., 1994). Social outcomes of this local ownership were particularly evident when over the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Partecipanze has lost their importance, in conjunction with the loss of power of governing the territory. Every family has begun to enter into its own business related to industrial production of some large engine manufacturing industries that are located in this area and the neighboring municipalities, as well as for many centuries, every family had managed and operated his own small plot of land.

With the availability of land, several families have built small sheds for the implementation of these activities. This widespread entrepreneurship has produced excellent results sometimes, as in the case of the family of Lamborghini, a brand known all around the world today.

---

<sup>3</sup> Online source: [conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/176.htm](http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/176.htm)



The biophysical conditions of a place, therefore, vary significantly over time depending on the action and institutional transformation of the choices made by members of the local community.

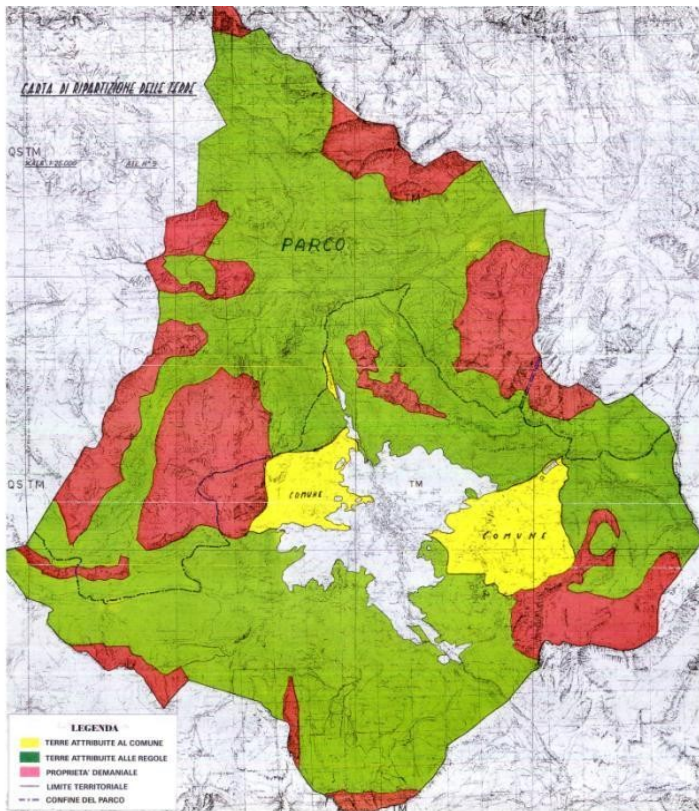
### 5.3. The localization

The experience of the Regole of Cortina d'Ampezzo, eleven separate institutions recently gathered in a single institution, can underline another important aspect of the study of the commons from a territorial perspective. The history of these institutions, like those of Cento, has undergone significant changes during the 20<sup>th</sup> century only with the advent of the modern Commune that has replaced this institution in land management. Forestry and pastures left their importance thanks also to community members as well, who moved to the production of services related to an economy based on tourism.

Cortina's collective lands (the green ones in the figure) are located in areas surrounding the valley and ring in a clear manner the whole built environment of the valley as you can see in the picture.

As in the previous case, the decrease of interest in forestal and pastoral activities in favour of more lucrative activities such as tourism has weakened the weight and significance of this institution on local decision-making processes related to land transformation.

The structural weight of the Regole, however, remains evident, since it can move a substantial number of votes in favor of specific municipal electoral lists.



**Figure 5** The Regole lands (green areas), The Municipal lands (yellow ones), The Statal lands (red ones), the private individual lands (no color)

The park is located in particular in the north, in continuity with the nearby park of the Province of Bolzano of the Senes Braies. This option allows to expand thus a reserve of biodiversity that already exists.

But many questions remain open: the phenomenon of land rent hasn't been ruled for several decades and many Regolieri today decide to leave the Ampezzo valley, because of the high cost of homes sold to foreign investors and started to buy homes in the neighbors and then consuming the land in the surrounding areas.

This contradicts the role of the above Regole, which have the power to act only on areas of their property. Of course the problem of loss of Regolieri care about these institutions, but there has not yet been developed sufficiently cost-effective mechanisms to stop this bleeding. The future of these institutions is held over just how far they will tackle this problem.

One of the most interesting aspects of this experience is determined by the fact that the Veneto Region, in the early '90s, has decided to revitalize these institutions that would surely go to die because of financial shortfalls, creating a regional park on collective lands of Cortina and leaving it managed by the staff of the Regole.

This agreement, as well as ensure a consistent financial flow, has publicly confirmed the role of these ancient institutions in maintaining the environmental balance in time and nature conservation, confirming in practice with an institutional agreement what in theory was already known.

The Regole are now considered Family Mountain Communities (Comunioni Familiari Montane). It is a legal institution of a private nature, though they are recognized functions of a public nature (Romagnoli and Trebeschi 1975; Romagnoli, Trebeschi and Germanò, et al. 1992). For them, the Italian law now assigns an important role in the management of pastures and forests and the preservation of environmental values.

## 5.4. The shape

The particular form shown in the image allows us to understand the role of these institutions in the definition of choices of transformation. In fact if a private developer wants to promote the construction of new ski slopes, he should necessarily go on the land of the Regole. This makes this institution, as owners of the land, able to impose certain decisions binding for promoters, as compensation for environmental imbalances produced by these activities.

The changes are permitted in the tourist extent to which collective ownership of cut down trees are restored by planting a minimum quantity of seedlings according to the increasing altitude (50 seedlings if under 1400 meters above sea level, 75 seedlings of 1400 above sea level and 100 seedlings above 1600 meters above sea level, 25 seedlings of mugho pine each square meters) and then, ultimately, new ground to be planted has to be found. The cut plants remain Regole's property. Also the one who provides the logging must revive the surfaces at their own expense. These compensatory mechanisms limit and control the development of tourism activities, although not entirely foreclosed. The land remains the property of the Regole, which allow to use new users under specific agreements.

## 6. Conclusions

From an institutional point of view if we were to classify the experiences described by the grid of eight design principles for institutional sustainability defined in the literature (Ostrom, 1990), probably these two institutions are examples of success, i.e. those institutions grant the resource will be exploited over time for future generations even though many changes have been occurred as it was described.

	Clearly defined boundaries	Proportional equivalence between benefits and costs	Collective choice agreements	Monitoring	Graduate sanctions	Conflict resolution mechanisms	Minimal recognition of rights to organize	Nestled enterprise
Centò	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Cortina	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

**Table 2 Design principles and the two cases presented**

The two examples given, though very summarized, underline not only the biophysical conditions of a resource can determine the range choices of participants within an action area, because many other aspects affect the latter.

Doing an institutional analysis from a territorial point of view, this paper shows at least four dimensions of analysis that should be taken into account. Although the dimension, the uses, the localization and the shape of the land collectively owned remain exogenous variables useful to better specify the relation between the biophysical aspects and the action arena, it should be clear that participants use for deciding about the management of their resource not only the rules as means for acting.

However, these experiences show that, if we assume the territorial dimension relevant in the institutional analysis considering the problems related to accessibility, proximity and concentration or density, the land acquires a multiplicity of meanings and values. This compels us to think it is essential in the decision-making process, within the action arena, not only the protection of the reproducibility of the resource over time, but also the growth and promotion of the economic value of the same as a variable for decision making and government process.

The concept of sustainability must therefore be made subject of detailed consideration, since the project of territory has importance and significance in the analysis conducted, i.e. the idea of development on the basis of which decisions are taken by local communities. This element tends not to be considered in the institutionalist analysis, as it is focused on the regulatory dimension.

This aspect is closely linked to the idea of local development that the communities give to it. The institutions survive even by force of inertia, as in the case of Centò. The project of territory allows to focus on the idea

that communities can reformulate their reason for existence all over time.

## Bibliography

- AA.VV. (1989). *Dall'artigianato all'industria. Protagonisti dell'industrializzazione centese*. Cento: Camera di Commercio.
- AA.VV. (2000). *L'agricoltura del pane e del paesaggio*. Cento: Partecipanza di Cento e Partecipanza di Pieve di Cento.
- AA.VV. (1994). *Storia di Cento, vol. 2*. Cento: Centro Studi Girolamo Baruffaldi.
- Agnew, J. (1991). *Luogo e politica*. Milano: Unicopoli.
- Bagnasco, A. (1979). *Tre Italie: la problematica territoriale dello sviluppo italiano*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Bobbio, L. (2006). Le politiche contrattualizzate. In C. Donolo, *Il futuro delle politiche pubbliche* (p. 59-79). Milano: Bruno Mondadori.
- Bollier, D. (2003). *Silent Theft. The private plunder of our common wealth*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Bromley, D. W. (1989). *Economic interests & institutions; the conceptual foundations of public policy*. New York: Basil Blackwell.
- Bromley, D. W. (1991). *Environment and Economy; Property rights & Public policy*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Basil Blackwell.
- Carestiato, N. (2007). La proprietà collettiva come opportunità di sviluppo locale sostenibile. *Quaderni del dottorato*. Padova.
- Casari, M. (2007, marzo). Emergence of Endogenous Legal Institutions: Property Rights and Community Governance in the Italian Alps. *The journal of Economic History, volume 67, n.1*, p. 191-226.
- Cerreti, C. (1994). L'analisi geografica delle terre comuni. XI.
- Crosta, P. L. (1998). *Politiche. Quale conoscenza per l'azione territoriale*. Milano: Franco Angeli.
- Donolo, C. (2003). *Il distretto sostenibile*. Milano: Franco Angeli.
- Donolo, C. (2006). *Il futuro delle politiche pubbliche*. Milano: Paravia Bruno Mondadori Editori.
- Foldvary, F. (1994). *Public goods and Private Communities*. Aldershot - UK: Edward Elgar Publishig.
- Moroni, S., & Brunetta, G. (2008). *Libertà e istituzioni nella città volontaria*. Milano: Bruno Mondadori.
- Nervi, P. (1999). *Il ruolo economico e sociale dei demani civici e delle proprietà collettive; le terre civiche: dove, per chi, per che cosa: atti della 3° riunione scientifica*. Padova: Cedam.
- Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the commons*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ostrom, E. (2005). *Understanding institutional diversity*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Ostrom, E., Gardner, R., & Walker, J. (1994). *Rules, Games, and Common - Pool Resources*. Ann Arbor: The University Michigan Press.
- Perrings, C. (1987). *Economy and environment: a theoretical essay on the interdependence of economic and environmental systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press.
- Romagnoli, E., & Trebeschi, C. (1975). *Comunioni familiari montane: testi legislativi, sentenze, studi e bibliografia*. Brescia: Paideia.
- Romagnoli, E., Trebeschi, C., Germanò, A., & Trebeschi, A. (1992). *Comunioni familiari montane; vol. 2*. Brescia: Paideia.
- Sarti, R., & Fabbri, R. (2004). *La popolazione del Comune di Cento; analisi dell'evoluzione storica e socio - demografica dei cittadini residenti dal 1958 al 2003 e confronto con la provincia di Ferrara*. Cento: Comune di Cento, Sistan Sistema Statistico Nazionale.
- Secchi, B. (1984). *Il racconto urbanistico*. Milano: Franco Angeli.
- Steiner, F. (2000). *Costruire il paesaggio. Un approccio ecologico alla pianificazione*. Milano: McGraw-Hill Companies.

Stevenson, G. G. (1991). *Common property economics*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge.

Tomasella, E. (2000). *Aspetti pubblicistici del regime dei beni regolieri*. Belluno: Istituto Bellunese di Ricerche Sociali e Culturali.

Torresani, S. (1998). Il territorio delle partecipanze agrarie emiliane: un archivio storico a cielo aperto. In P. Nervi, *I demani civici e le proprietà collettive: un altro modo di possedere, un diverso modo di gestire*. Padova: CEDAM.

Trigilia, C. (2005). *Sviluppo Locale. Un progetto per l'Italia*. Roma-Bari: Laterza.

Unesco, W. H. (2008, January). Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. *annex 3*. Parigi: World Heritage Centre.