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Commons – Practices, boundaries and thresholds

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EDITORIALE

Struggling for Commons

I *commons* sono diventati un tema cruciale del dibattito politico degli ultimi anni. Da un lato, il dibattito accademico si è concentrato sulla definizione di beni e servizi, e sull'analisi istituzionale della gestione dei beni comuni: alcuni studiosi hanno mostrato come l'autogestione delle comunità possa garantire la sostenibilità delle risorse, altri – di orientamento *mainstream* – presentano i *commons* come un fallimento del mercato, aprendo una nuova ondata di restrizioni.

Dall'altro lato, gruppi eterogenei di persone – i *commoners* – sperimentano da decenni la messa in comune di pratiche sociali e politiche. Queste pratiche hanno contribuito all'identificazione e alla ricognizione dei *commons*, trasformando i valori attuali e producendo peculiari relazioni spaziali e sociali. Le pratiche condivise che riguardano spazi, beni, tempi e conoscenze sono spesso diventate nuove espressioni di cittadinanza oltre che di stili di vita alternativi.

In ogni caso, il *commoning* non è ancora un progetto politico coerente; di conseguenza le forze sociali del capitale possono cooptare queste pratiche interstiziali, rendendole *mainstream* attraverso la creazione di nuovi mercati. I *commons* sono già stati discussi recentemente ne *lo Squaderno* (ad. es. n. 29, pp.25-27 e no. 25, pp. 29-31). Per proseguire queste tracce di riflessione la rivista ha deciso di dedicare un numero al tema, con l'obiettivo – tra gli altri – di definire alcune questioni per la costruzione di una coerente ed argomentata prospettiva critica del capitalismo sui *commons*. La *call* che abbiamo lanciato poneva alcune questioni, al fine di aprire un dibattito che affrontasse l'interpretazione e la retorica dei beni comuni, per come vengono misurate e applicate a spazi e luoghi specifici.

Gli autori che hanno risposto alla *call* hanno proposto riferimenti e racconti di esperienze molto diversi l'uno dall'altro, aprendo la discussione ben oltre i confini e le soglie consuete. I contributi spaziano dai temi più classici – che riprendono la teoria dei *commons* di Elinor Ostrom – a quelli più antagonisti – fondati su un'epistemologia che interpreta i commons nei loro molteplici e talvolta inediti caratteri sociali e spaziali.

In apertura, l'articolo di Garcia-Lopez ripercorre le principali linee di pensiero della teoria dei beni comuni. Attraverso un caso di studio in Messico, l'autore discute il successo dei beni comuni, ripercorrendo i principi già delineati da Ostrom. Garcia-Lopez sottolinea poi l'importanza del ruolo dello Stato nel garantire la durata del regime di proprietà dei *commons*, ma soprattutto il ruolo fondamentale della lotta dal basso per difendere i *commons* e la comunità che li gestisce. Nell'intervento successivo, dell'Angelo definisce come limite principale dei riferimenti diagnostici della Ostrom la poca attenzione che viene data al conflitto. Nella prospettiva proposta da dell'Angelo, al contrario, l'esistenza stessa di un *commons* discende dal conflitto. In tal modo, sia dell'Angelo che Garcia-Lopez invocano un approccio di ecologia politica per meglio strutturare le future analisi dei *commons*.

Al fine di comprendere i molteplici fattori che spiegano la durabilità dei *commons*, nel suo intervento Gailing considera la nozione di paesaggio. Mediante due casi di studio, Gailing mostra come sia la tensione tra *commons* e beni privati a dar forma alla costruzione sociale del paesaggio in Germania. Sulla stessa linea, Dini interpreta un particolare paesaggio, quello alpino in Italia, come un *common*. Tale paesaggio infatti definisce limiti netti all'azione umana e lo forza ad affrontare la propria vulnerabilità, trasformando il mantenimento dei *commons* da semplice opzione in vera e propria necessità.

Analizzando un caso per certi versi analogo, Moscovici presenta una situazione in New Jersey (USA), dove enti pubblici, società di capitali private e organizzazioni non governative sperimentano la gestione comune di quello che egli definisce un *commons* di lusso. Come Garcia-Lopez, ma in un contesto completamente differente, Moscovici sottolinea il ruolo dello Stato come un attore importante che favorisce la condivisione delle risorse.

Dopo questi casi di studio segue una serie di interventi che propongono riflessioni teoretiche. Muovendo da una prospettiva disciplinare diversa, centrata

EDITORIAL

Struggling for Commons

Commons is becoming an increasingly crucial topic in the political arena. On one hand, academic debate has focused on defining the characteristics of common goods and services, as well as on the analysis of managing institutional frameworks: in this vein, some scholars have shown how self-organised communities guarantee the sustainability of commons resources, while others – taking a mainstream approach – have described the commons as a failure of the market, in the wake of a new wave of enclosures.

On the other hand, a varied group of commoners have been experimenting for decades the pooling of social and political practices. These practices have contributed to the identification and recognition of commons; they have transformed current values and produced specific spatial and social relationships. These sets of pooling practices concerning spaces, goods, times and knowledges are often turned into the expression of new practices of citizenship as well as alternative life schemes.

In any case, commoning is not yet a coherent political project. The social forces of capital can easily co-opt those interstitial practices, creating new markets out of them. Commons have already been dealt with recently in *Io Squaderno* (see e.g. no. 29 pp.25-27 and no. 25, pp. 29-31). Following these contributions, we have decided to expand this study into a whole issue, aiming to move some steps – among the others – towards the building of a coherent and robust critical perspective about the capitalisms on the commons. The call raised several questions in order to foster a debate that would tackle the interpretation as well as the rhetoric of commons, as they are tested on, or applied to, specific spaces and places.

The authors who have answered the call have proposed very different frameworks and tales of experiences, opening up even more the discussion about the usual boundaries and thresholds. Contributions thus range from more classical ones – founded mainly on Elinor Ostrom's theory of commons – to more antagonistic ones – founded on an epistemology that interprets the commons' manifold and sometimes unexpected social and spatial features.

In the opening piece, Garcia-López summarizes the theory of commons. Using a case study from Mexico, he discusses the success of the commons, recapitulating the principles first outlined by Ostrom. Garcia-Lopez also points out the importance of the State role in guaranteeing the durability of common property regimes as well as the fundamental role of grass-roots struggles to defend them. In the following piece, dell'Angelo critically identifies the main limit of Ostrom's framework in the scant attention paid to conflicts. On the contrary, in the perspective advanced by dell'Angelo the very existence of a commons derives from conflict. Thus, both dell'Angelo and Garcia-López call for a political-ecological approach to better inform future analysis.

In order to understand the multiple factors that explain the durability of commons, in his contribution Gailing considers the notion of landscape. Through two case studies, he shows how the tension between commons and private goods shapes the social construction of the landscape in Germany. Along the same line, Dini proposes to interpret the Alpine landscape as a commons. Such a landscape, he argues, set clear limits to the human being and forced him/her to deal with his/her vulnerability, transforming the maintenance of a commons into a necessity rather than mere option.

Analyzing a somehow similar case, Moscovici discusses a case study from New Jersey (USA) where state bodies, private capital firms and non-governmental organizations are experimenting the joint management of what the author defines as a luxurious commons. Like Garcia-López, but in a completely different context, Moscovici underlines the role of the State as an important actor that fosters the pooling of resources. Blokker looks at the commons from a different disciplinary perspective, focused on constitutionalism. He highlights the strict relation that exists between the struggle for commons and the language of constitutional rights. In particular,

sul costituzionalismo, Blokker sottolinea la stretta relazione che esiste tra i conflitti per i *commons* e il linguaggio dei diritti costituzionali. In particolare, si concentra sull'importanza del potere costituente che emerge dal conflitto, oltre il potere giuridico e costituzionale nella democrazia contemporanea.

Nei loro interventi, sia Finidori sia Dawney sostengono che sia necessario passare dall'ontologia allo studio fenomenologico dei *commons*. Entrambi invitano ad andare oltre l'approccio classico, ampiamente discusso nei primi due articoli di questo numero. L'interesse attuale, per i due autori, risiede infatti nel comprendere le pratiche quotidiane di *commoning*: a questo proposito Finidori investiga principalmente l'*ethos* dei beni comuni, mentre Dawney sottolinea il processo di trasformazione degli attivisti dei *commons*. Anche in questo caso la lotta ed i rapporti di potere emergono come fattori fondamentali per dare forma ai *commons*. In linea con la prospettiva teorica di Finidori e Dawney, ed attraverso un'azione performativa in Portogallo, Traquino mostra poi come l'appropriazione di uno spazio pubblico per un progetto commerciale multiculturale può essere contrastato da pratiche di *commoning*, capaci di articolare differentemente gli spazi.

Il punto di partenza di Rose è invece il riconoscimento dei *commons* come nozione controversa. Adottando l'approccio di Hardt e Negri, che invitano a elaborare un progetto politico esplicito incentrato sui *commons*, Presentando il suo caso di studio a Salt Lake City, Rose presenta il conflitto come essenziale alla vita stressa del parco e alla sopravvivenza in esso di soggetti marginali. In prospettiva marxista, anche Cuppini critica quegli approcci che sovrappongono la discussione sui beni comuni e l'analisi dei *commons*. La distinzione tra i due concetti permette infatti di riconoscere i *commons* non come oggetto predeterminato dalla natura o dalle abitudini tradizionali, ma come il risultato di una continua lotta sociale. Infine, Guadagno presenta due casi di studio in Italia per mostrare come, a seguito di una tragedia, la mancanza di partecipazione dei cittadini, nella ricostruzione della città colpita, indebolisce i *commons*.

Il numero è arricchito dal contributo visuale di Andrea Sarti, che ci accompagna con le sue fotografie all'interno di alcuni luoghi in cui la cultura come *commons* è al centro di sperimentazioni ed elaborazioni.

La varietà di interpretazioni che emergono da questa rassegna potrebbe forse persuadere il lettore che una discussione univoca intorno ai beni comuni è difficilmente sviluppabile. Tuttavia, ad una lettura più approfondita, un terreno comune emerge. Anche se in modo differente, infatti, tutti i contributi identificano nella lotta un elemento essenziale. Tutti gli autori, sia quelli che leggono i *commons* con la lente delle interpretazioni teoriche classiche, sia quelli che lo fanno con sguardi più eclettici, descrivono la lotta come un aspetto strutturale che genera o fa durare a lungo i *commons*. In questo senso, è il conflitto sociale che dà forma e articola geograficamente e storicamente i rapporti di potere e che garantisce un'opzione praticabile per i *commons*.

Solo attraverso le pratiche di *commoning* nel tempo e nello spazio, che aggiornano i *commons* generando e rigenerando il loro (contro) potere, in particolare attraverso lotte orientate in senso anticapitalistico, le differenze esperienze potranno fondersi in un progetto politico coerente, proiettandosi ben al di là dei loro specifici, talvolta stretti, confini.

G.D'A., C.M.

he focuses on the importance of constituent power emerging from the conflict over legal and constitutional power in contemporary democracy. In their articles, both Finidori and Dawney argue in favour of a shift from ontological to phenomenological studies of commons. Concurrently, they invite to move beyond the classical approach extensively presented in the first two pieces of this issue. According to these authors, the current research interest lies in understanding the everyday practices of commoning: in this respect, while Finidori mainly investigates the ethos of commoning, Dawney stresses the transformative process of commons activists. From this perspective, struggle and power relations emerge as fundamental factors that shape the commons. In line with Finidori and Dawney's perspective, Traquino shows how the appropriation of a public place for a multicultural business project can be counteracted by practices of commoning, able to re-articulate differently those spaces.

Rose's starting point is the recognition of commons as a contested notion. In particular, Rose embraces Hardt and Negri's approach, along with their invitation towards an explicitly political approach to the common. Drawing from his case study of a public park in Salt Lake City, Rose discusses struggle as a constituent aspect of the park itself for marginal subjects' existence. From a Marxian perspective, Cuppini then criticizes the overlap between the notions of 'the common good' and 'the commons'. The distinction between these two notions is important to recognise the commons as not predetermined by nature or traditional customs, rather, as the outcome of social struggle. in the end piece, Guadagno discusses two cases from Italy to show how, in the aftermath of a tragedy, the lack of citizen participation in the reconstruction process undermines the commons.

The issue is enriched by Andrea Sarti's visual contribution, who accompanies us with his pictures into some spaces in Italy where cultural commons are currently being experimented.

The varieties of interpretations emerging from of the present issue may perhaps induce the reader to believe that a single discussion on the commons is hard to develop. Upon cautious reading, however, a shared ground among all articles emerges. Indeed, all contributors identify struggle as a constituent element of commons. Both those who look at commons through classical theories and those who look at commoning practices, identify struggle as a structural aspect that creates and even preserves the commons. In this sense, it is struggle that shapes and articulates, geographically and historically, those power relations capable of supporting the movement towards the commons.

Only through practices of commoning in space and time that update the commons and strengthen their (counter-)power, especially through anti-capitalist struggles, will different experiences be able to coalesce into a coherent political project, moving those experiences beyond their specific, and sometimes narrow, confines.

G.D'A., C.M.


Fen da la Val. del Mis
una storia, tante storie
una resistenza, Tante resistenze
NOVEMBRE 1943 GENFA ALTA
PRIMO NUCLEO PARTIGIANO
BELLUNESE "L. BOSCARIN"
NOVEMBRE 2012
CORTE CASSAZIONE SEZ UNITE
ACCOGLIE RICORSO COMITATO
ACQUA BENE COMUNE E BLOCCA
REALIZZAZIONE CENTRALE
IDROELETTRICA "VALLE DEL MIS"

Explaining the success of the commons
A multidisciplinary perspective

Gustavo A. García-López

Explaining the long-term success of collective or community-based natural resource governance is a complex endeavor. There are multiple theories and perspectives from which to draw on, and multiple external and internal forces at work. This paper addresses this question through the lens of common-pool resource (CPR) studies –often referred to as the "theory of the commons"– combined with insights from political ecology.

Until the 1980s, it was widely believed that CPRs could only be managed by the State or through private property[1]. CPR scholars showed that in fact groups of resource users at the local level *can* jointly create institutions –defined as customary rules regarding resource management/use– to sustainably manage those resources over long periods of time. The focus of this scholarship has been on the conditions under which this can happen. A centerpiece is Elinor Ostrom's (1990) eight "design principles" for long-lasting and ecologically-sustainable CPR management: well-defined boundaries of the resource being managed as well as of the group engaging in collective action; adaptation of local institutions to local conditions; rules defining how choices are made collectively; monitoring of user behavior and resource conditions; graduated sanctions for rule-violators; conflict-resolution mechanisms; local autonomy to self-organize; and "nested" governance between local institutions and higher levels of governance. Reviews have found strong to medium support for all eight principles while also identifying important critiques of them (Cox et al., 2010).

Later developments have showed that in addition to the institutional characteristics analyzed by Ostrom, there are a considerable number of other factors potentially affecting the success of local CPR management –ecological characteristics, characteristics of the group engaging in collective action (e.g. group size and heterogeneity of members), and exogenous socio-economic and political factors like the strength of the State, level of democracy, support from external actors like non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and social movements, social capital, globalization, and market access (Agrawal, 2001; Ostrom, 2009).

The role of the State and other external factors has remained understudied in CPR studies, but political ecology emerged as a field in the 1980s with a focus on these issues (Peet and Watts, 1996). Political ecology and CPR scholars shared the recognition of communities' ability to organize and sustainably manage local resources, but argued that exogenous political-economic factors often inhibited sustainable local use. For instance, Peluso's (1992) study of Indonesia showed how the State and corporations oppressed forest communities

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1 Garret Hardin's paper "The Tragedy of the Commons" clearly laid out the reasoning.

and prevented self-organization for resource management. At the same time, Peluso and other PE scholars emphasized on communities' struggles to defend their autonomy and the resources on which they depend for their subsistence –an "environmentalism of the poor" (Martínez-Alier, 2002).

The issue of power, also understudied in CPR analyses, has been a central concern in the political ecology tradition (Lund and Lund, 2005). Studies on power have shown not only the limitations of local CPR governance imposed by the State and corporations, but also that local CPR arrangements can often be captured by local elites.

Studies on power have shown not only the limitations of local common-pool resource governance imposed by the State and corporations, but also that local common-pool resource arrangements can often be captured by local elites

The case of Mexico can help illuminate the previous discussion. Approximately 52% of its entire territory and 65% of its temperate forests (the second highest percentage in the world) are estimated to be under community ownership (Bray et al., 2003). This is in stark contrast to countries like the United States, where the majority of forests are private property, or India, where all forests are public lands. Thousands of forest-owning communities currently manage forests on their own –mostly for timber extraction– under government-approved forest management plans. Hundreds have their own community forest enterprises which cooperatively harvest, process and market their timber, and many have also established conservation areas in their lands. This property rights regime was an outcome of the Mexican Revolution and the subsequent land redistribution programs embodied in Article 27 of the 1917 Constitution, which over a period of 60 years distributed land in common property to groups of landless peasants or indigenous communities. Today, an estimated 12 to 13 million people live in these forest communities; most of them are poor and depend on forests for their livelihoods.

Many studies have highlighted the successes of this case, calling it a "global model" for sustainable landscapes (Bray et al., 2003). Research has shown that forests under active community management have lower levels of deforestation than government-run protected areas; and contribute to poverty reduction, social capital, and conflict management. Overall, Mexico's community forestry offers strong support for Ostrom's design principles (Bray, 2013).

Yet Mexico's is also a story of the State and its policies, social movements, multi-level interactions between communities and external actors, changes in market forces, and power. The Mexican State has always had a decisive role in Mexican community forestry –after all, the State created the common property regime in the first place (Bray, 2013). Government actions such as bans on forest logging, neoliberal political-economic reforms, agricultural support programs, and economic pressures from expansion of tourism, urbanization or export crops, all have had a role in the outcomes of forest protection and socio-economic well-being of forest communities. The effect of these exogenous forces has not been homogeneous and in part has depended on the strength of local community institutions and the role of supporting NGOs.

This shows how difficult, violent and uneven the process of community-based CPR management often is, and the role of grassroots struggles to defend community autonomy and the commons. After the Constitutional recognition of common property, the Mexican State reversed course and decided to lease community forests to corporations for large-scale, often

unsustainable timber extraction. Community struggles led to a new law in 1986 supporting community forestry.

Inequalities and power relations within communities and between communities and the State or other stakeholders permeate the processes of CPR governance in Mexican forests (Wilshusen, 2009). Pérez-Cirera and Lovett (2006), for instance, show how more powerful actors –who have the technologies to extract more resources– can skirt the rules while enforcing them on others, leading to resource degradation.

Lastly, the Mexican case provides insights into the role of cross-scale/multi-level arrangements. Foresters, NGOs (Barsimantov, 2010) and inter-community associations[2] (García-López, 2013) have played key roles in supporting community forestry. However, the effect of these linkages is not always positive, and is mediated by the regionally-contingent historical relationships with communities.

In conclusion, the success of community-based CPR governance is the result of a complex combination of factors that vary across regional and historical contexts. Moreover, even a 'model' case such as Mexico's faces many difficulties and operates unevenly over space and time. Ostrom's design principles are certainly important, but they must be considered in the context of power relations and the manifold external forces, which often inhibit local commons governance. To make sense of this complexity and design better policies, which truly support grassroots CPR governance, it is needed to move away from the mainstream tendency of scholars and practitioners to focus on a few factors or model cases that serve as 'blueprints' or 'panaceas'. Rather, it should be followed an alternative approach which combines theory related to causal processes with practical engagement that helps identify key variables present or absent in particular settings. This "diagnostic framework" (Ostrom, 2009) will help us avoid 'institutional monocrops' and recognize the manifold paths for success and failure in the commons.

2 Groups where multiple communities collectively address regional socio-economic and ecological issues.

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Conflicts in the commons

Jampel Dell'Angelo

Whyis there a tendency in mainstream academia to treat sustainable development and common pool resources (CPRs) governance as conflict free? Is this a reflection of the influence of a power/knowledge dynamic that reinforces the expansion of contemporary capitalism over communing practices?

Sustainability ('process') and Sustainable Development ('product') have been popularized as a triadic optimization of the social, the environmental and the economic dimensions (Barbier 1987). Some authors have criticized this good-will optimistic idea. Munda, for example, points out that there are serious analytical limitations (or more simply it is impossible) to maximise simultaneously different conflicting dimensions (1995, 1996). Escobar, in a clear-cut comment, stresses that Sustainable Development is associated with the "death of nature" and the rise of an environmental managerial attitude (2011). Nevertheless, the notion of Sustainable Development resists criticism and its scientific and policy (stated) centrality increases in parallel with the worsening of the global environmental conditions.

What is surprising is the tendency to describe Sustainability and Sustainable Development issues, as conflict free. The positive and optimistic message of sustainable development does not highlight the many dimensions of conflicts that are associated: conflict between the economic, the environmental and the social dimensions, conflict between different generations and among the same current generation.

Specifically, in the sustainability arena, a central role is occupied by the theorization on natural Common Pool Resources, or in other words, the natural 'Commons'. Many of the natural resources addressed in the field of sustainability (e.g. forests, rangelands, fisheries, watersheds, etc.) are central in the CPRs theorization. As in the sustainability narrative, also for the theorization on CPRs, mainstream academia seems to neglect the centrality of conflict. For example, while in the field of Political Ecology, literature abounds in descriptions on conflicts over pastures, watersheds, forests and fisheries, in Institutional Analysis of Natural Resource Management (a field particularly relevant in the study of natural CPRs) there is very little if no attention to Conflict.

Conflict in CPRs studies is usually treated as a secondary condition. For example, the tendency in institutional studies on CPRs has been to describe conflicts like a negative condition that needs to be resolved for the sake of being resolved. Van Laerhoven and Andersson(2006) provide empirical evidence that conflict in natural resource management, is often misunderstood both, as a dependent variable (when the causes of conflicts are investigated) and as

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an explanatory variable (what are the consequences produced by conflict). The same authors (2013) arrive to the counter intuitive conclusion that conflictive actors and user groups of natural resources are not associated with unsuccessful resource governance. In other words they challenge and provide evidence that conflict is not an undermining condition of CPRs sustainable governance. Also, what is particularly interesting with their results, is that groups that are more organized and that have the typical features associated with successful resource governance such as autonomy, social capital and organization (2012, p. 6) are more correlated with conflicts than groups that don't have the same CPRs governance "success characteristics". Moreover the authors criticise the limits of responding to conflicts only in terms of conflict-resolution strategies which often are symptomatic treatments but do not address the causes properly.

The positive and optimistic message of sustainable development does not highlight the many dimensions of conflicts that are associated: conflict between the economic, the environmental and the social dimensions, conflict between different generations and among the same current generation

My interpretation of the neglected role of conflict in the mainstream theorization on Sustainable Development is that the enthusiasm of promoting a narrative, that justifies the possibility of advancement of the reproduction and reiteration of the current economic, financial and productive hegemonic modes (i.e. the various forms of Capitalisms, Mazzone 2012) but at the same time preserves the environment and the future generations' functionally overshadows conflict. Denouncing that the 'Emperor' Sustainable Development is 'naked', by exposing its oxymoronic nature and the inevitable dimensions of conflict among the current and different generations is clearly antagonistic to the reproduction of the status quo.

The theorization on common pool resources is involved in the same power/knowledge dynamic. For example, understanding the natural Commons according to the economics reductionist categories of 'subtractability" and "difficulty to exclude" is a clear reflection of what kind of epistemology, and implicitly what kind of political world vision, is behind a great deal of literature on CPRS. This is enhanced by the fact that, as described by Foucault (1984), the discursive nature of knowledge/power can be reiterated without being aware of its political intent. The problem with conflicts in CPRs theorization is that it pushes towards what, in Bachelard's words, would be an 'epistemological rupture'. Dealing with conflicts means invalidating the possibility of describing social phenomena in an 'objective' way and establishing 'truth'. This is a problem that still makes mainstream academia very uncomfortable.

Similarly acknowledging that conflicts in the commons might be more than just an external condition to mitigate, creates uncomfortable questions for the mainstream researcher interested in pursuing a career in academia. 'CPRs need to be managed, conflicts need to be removed (not by the scientist though) and an objective description of true sustainable practices must be provided'. This, in a caricaturist way synthesizes a shared position in mainstream CPRs analysis. Moreover the risk of engaging with conflicts as a central dimension in CPRs analysis is that it might reveal that in certain cases management is not the solution while the solution might lie in politics. This is a risky path. Mingling which politics is not acceptable in the rigorous mainstream scientific circles that aim at managing a sustainable development (. . . of the reproduction of capitalism, we might say).

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Landscape is a commons!

Ludger Gailing

Is landscape a common? And if so, how is landscape created as a common? – To answer these kinds of questions we need new ideas and approaches that regard the interpretations, discourses and social constructions of a commons. By exploring these immaterial aspects we open up a reflection about those features of common goods that relate to practices and cultural values.

Traditionally, the character of landscape as a common good has been analysed and conceptualised with reference to its materiality and to formal institutions, especially those formal institutions that influence the property of land. Consequently, the most important questions in this field of research were: Who owns the land? And: what are the physical aspects of the land? There exists a huge amount of interesting studies either about the historical reduction in the amount of land over which communal rights were operated or about the impressing remnants of collective property in many European landscapes.

Following the theory of institutional economics, goods are defined in general with reference to their levels of rivalry of consumption and excludability from consumption. Private goods are characterised by rivalry and the possibility of excluding other actors from consumption: the same private field can be ploughed only by one farmer, the same private residential building can be owned by one property owner, and so on. If one of these criteria, rivalry and excludability, does not apply, then the goods are common goods, which can be analytically divided into public goods, club or toll goods and common pool resources. Everyone can derive benefits from public goods without disturbing other users, e.g. some unspoilt panorama views in tourism landscapes. Club or toll goods are characterised by excludability and in that way rivalry can be avoided. Examples are garden plots with membership agreements, golf courses or some public gardens. But in the case of common pool resources (like a lake or common land), if it is impossible to exclude other actors, rivalry can be expected.

This perspective was used in landscape research to show: landscape is a heterogeneous good consisting physically of a multiplicity of common as well as private goods. In this institutionalist perspective, the change of landscapes was more or less regarded as a material by-product of policies and market forces. This traditional theoretical background of common good aspects of landscapes can be criticised for its biases such as economism, focus on materiality or property rights.

Since the early 1990s the research about the commons opened up for new issues. Elinor Ostrom developed a framework for understanding the perspectives for institutional natural

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resource governance with its famous design principles to guide long enduring common pool resource institutions. She influenced researchers who developed a framework to analyze socio-ecological systems. Local participation was increasingly perceived to be an integrated part of these systems. At the same time, their focus on collective action opened up possibilities for new social constructivist research about landscape as a commons.

What might be ideas and approaches for the conceptualisation of landscape based on social constructivist research? In fact, if you ask who owns the land, who has the property rights on some portions of the earth's surface and what are the good aspects of things and areas in landscapes, landscape is not necessarily a commons. But if you draw your attention to the immaterial aspects of landscape, then you will be aware of landscapes as something collective and indivisible. Then landscape is a common.

The traditional theoretical background of common good aspects of landscapes can be criticised for its biases such as economism, focus on materiality or property rights

Social constructivist research is suitable for the aim to stress the importance of the immateriality of landscapes. Recent work in human geography and sociology has widened the perspective in this direction: While the physical "reality" of landscapes remains an important point of reference, human agency, symbolic representations, normative constructions of images and – more generally – forms of cultural and social practice are acquiring greater importance.

The term "social construction of landscape" emphasises for example the relevance of subjective meanings and interpretations, but also the often neglected influence of cultural factors for any area perceived as a landscape.

The subjective constructions of landscapes are often taken into consideration when it comes to research about the social construction of landscapes. Landscape as a way of seeing is first of all dependent on subjective prerequisitions and individual feelings. At the same time, it is influenced by cultural factors such as norms, values, or political ideologies. Consequently, landscapes are often analysed as spatial entities, constituted in social and cultural processes. They are more or less distinct spatial units, emerging from ontologisations. The ontologisation of a landscape denotes that this specific portion of the earth's surface is understood as a specific spatial entity, independent of single opinions. Its existence is not negotiable. The third important dimension is also one that stresses immaterial aspects: Landscapes can be action areas or even action arenas in the sense of Elinor Ostrom.

I would like to discuss two short examples of the social construction of landscapes. The empirical manifestations are drawn from case studies of regional landscape development in Germany. The first case study is the Spreewald near Berlin in Eastern Germany. Since 1990 the Spreewald is protected as an UNESCO biosphere reserve due to its relevance as an inland delta of the river Spree. Social constructions of the Spreewald do not refer only to its status as a biosphere reserve, but also to its historical values or to its qualities for tourism and so on. Informal institutions are formative for the social construction of this specific landscape.

Important examples of such informal institutions are toponyms (e.g. "Spreewald"), constructions of landscape boundaries (e.g. between "Spreewald" and the bordering coal mining region), traditions as well as spatial images and symbols (like the gherkin, the haystack, the barge or wooden houses in Spreewald). These symbols are fundamental for tourism develop-

ment as well as for the policy of nature conservation or the rural development policy of the LEADER region.

All these immaterial factors are commons. They can form the regional basis of individual and collective identities, of regional utopia (connected with the ideal conception of "good life"), of regional ideologies, or of the material and immaterial heritage of a bounded space. Any individual or collective actor can use the immaterial factors. All the collective action in Spreewald have one thing in common: the reference to the above mentioned informal institutions that are specific to this reified landscape.

Eifel as the second case study region is located in Western Germany at the border to Belgium. Eifel is a low mountain range with vulcano lakes (so called maar lakes), dam reservoirs, architectural remnants of Roman times and the Middle Ages. It is a heterogenous landscape with forests, agriculture and grasslands. I mention this second example to show that in a short- and middle-term perspective all social constructions of a landscape can serve as a basis for political action – even in the case of a heterogeneous landscape like Eifel with its inconclusive landscape image.

Besides, a landscape can be interpreted as a collective action arena in the sense of Elinor Ostrom or as a regional political space. In such action arenas stakeholders managed to establish governance structures for the protection or the development of the landscape. During the past decades, a variety of action arenas, e.g. regional natural parks, regions of rural development as well as tourism regions have been constituted in Eifel. Internally the establishment of a landscape as an action arena guarantees a sort of regional self-organisation and capacity to act. Externally, it renders the articulation of regional interests and marketing effects possible. Under certain conditions the political action arenas can themselves be regional commons.

So what does it all mean? Approaches of social constructivism in landscape research place emphasis on the immaterial aspects of landscape such as landscape images, traditions, toponyms, constructions of identity, narratives of landscape or landscapes as complex political action arenas. On the one hand, these informal and immaterial factors have a strong impact on the common good aspects of landscapes – esp. on the way people collaborate in favour of common good aspects in a certain landscape or define a local community. On the other hand, they lay the groundwork for recent strategies concerning the commodification of landscapes.

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Montagna bene comune?

Roberto Dini

Chiunque abbia fatto almeno un'escursione in montagna si sarà senz'altro accorto di quella pratica consolidata che consiste nel salutarsi, anche tra perfetti sconosciuti, non appena ci si incrocia su di un sentiero. Cosa c'è dietro questo piccolo gesto apparentemente poco significativo?

Ciò che a prima vista sembra semplice e normale può essere invece letto come il segno di qualcosa di più complesso legato alla capacità che ha un determinato luogo di influenzare i comportamenti degli individui che lo frequentano e ci parla delle culture che da sempre lo contraddistinguono. Anche Marco Albino Ferrari interpreta la spontaneità del gesto come un atto di esistenza e di solidarietà in un ambiente ostile ed estraneo: «Io esisto», «in questo mondo che non è il mio mondo, io ti sono solidale» (Marco Albino Ferrari, 2009, p. 7).

Questo piccolo incipit ci invita a ragionare in modo più approfondito su quelle pratiche di fruizione e di percezione del territorio che ne influenzano inevitabilmente il modo di rapportarsi con esso e dunque di trasformarlo, rimettendo in gioco l'idea di "bene comune". In montagna si sovvertono le consuete regole spaziali nel rapporto tra le persone così come nel rapporto tra gli individui e lo spazio circostante. In alta quota le consolidate modalità di percezione e rappresentazione, di fruizione e di trasformazione dello spazio vengono meno e con esse anche il significato dei confini – mentali, prossemici, culturali.

Questa sorta di "resistenza" o inerzia ad alcuni processi globalizzati riscrive rappresentazioni e pratiche di fruizione del territorio ad esempio ridefinendo i confini tra pubblico e privato o ancora stimolando una maggiore responsabilizzazione individuale verso l'ambiente. Perché si verifica questo cambio di percezione e di comportamento?

Nell'ambiente alpestre l'uomo è soggetto ad una maggiore vulnerabilità e le condizioni limite che ci sono al contorno obbligano ad una maggiore attenzione sia verso le azioni individuali che verso la cooperazione. Nell'imponenza così come nella fragilità della montagna siamo più predisposti a comprendere le debolezze strutturali della natura umana (Salsa, 2013) e riscopriamo l'importanza dell'altro.

In tali condizioni riscopriamo l'utilità e la necessità del corpo, degli altri esseri umani, dell'ambiente, della natura, in generale dell'essenza delle cose che non può essere sostituita da surrogati, da sovrastrutture o da protesi tecnologiche, come succede invece quando ci troviamo immersi nella cultura urbana. Non è possibile delegare e ci si deve arrangiare con i propri mezzi. La montagna per la cultura contemporanea ha la funzione di un "altrove" (Giordano, Delfino, 2009) che richiama al senso di responsabilità e alla cooperazione riscoprendo

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alcuni dei valori persi nella dimensione urbana: il senso del limite e della misura, l'imprescindibilità dell'autosufficienza, dell'autonomia, della creatività, del saper fare, dell'adattarsi, dell'inventare sempre nuovi stili di vita. Pena la depauperazione e dunque l'estinzione.

Ecco che il significato profondo di bene comune viene riscritto alla luce della sua indispensabile necessità. Ad esempio, il significato della proprietà privata così come quello della norma e del confine tra legalità e illegalità viene sostituito da un forte e cosciente senso di appartenenza che detta di fatto le norme comportamentali per il rispetto reciproco e verso l'ambiente, necessarie per la propria conservazione di fronte a condizioni ostili. In montagna si è obbligati a collaborare e a convivere in armonia ed in continua sinergia con il territorio e con gli altri.

La montagna può essere considerata un bene comune anche perché è il prodotto di una stratificazione millenaria di azioni, segni, intenzionalità, progetti, saperi e culture

Sembra dunque che in un mondo in cui tutto diventa possibile e superabile, in montagna il concetto di limite ha ancora un senso (Salsa, 2013). *In primis* come limite rispetto alla fatica, alla conoscenza, alla ristrettezza di mezzi e risorse e alle difficoltà imposte dall'ambiente circostante. Quest'attitudine, riscontrabile nel montanaro come nell'alpinista, è ben riassunta nell'espressione di "stile alpino", e cioè nella capacità di ottimizzare le proprie risorse, di muoversi in modo efficace e veloce, di leggere ed interpretare con intelligenza le condizioni dell'ambiente in cui ci si trova. Ciò significa quindi rapportarsi in modo sinergico e non impattante con il territorio, non sfruttarlo ma anzi trarne beneficio senza comprometterlo.

La soglia della nostra libertà di azione in montagna non può quindi essere stabilita a priori ma di volta in volta si viene a definire in base al concetto di limite. Non essendo un dato di fatto va di volta in volta ricercata, discussa e quindi ne esce rafforzata o messa in crisi. Non è dunque un precetto immobile ed immutabile ma un concetto culturale che cambia e si trasforma a seconda degli attori in gioco, delle situazioni e del contesto. Proprio per questo i nostri comportamenti spaziali sono esito di uno sforzo critico e di una riflessione individuale critica e circostanziata. Questo rende la cultura alpina più "intelligente".

Questa capacità di adattarsi in modo dinamico ai repentini cambiamenti delle condizioni al contorno e talvolta di fare dei passi indietro fanno della montagna un vero e proprio laboratorio per la decrescita. Usando la "metafora dell'alpinismo" di Camanni, la cultura delle terre alte - così come la piccola comunità alpinistica - è stata in grado di evolversi in una continua altalena tra conservazione e innovazione in modo alquanto naturale e quindi si è salvata dalla degenerazione della tecnologia e del consumo (Camanni, 2010).

Infine un ultimo tema. La montagna può essere considerata un bene comune anche perché è il prodotto di una stratificazione millenaria di azioni, segni, intenzionalità, progetti, saperi e culture, un paesaggio costruito in cui natura e artificio sono inscindibili. Il territorio alpino da millenni non è più *wild*, non più un luogo illibato. Il suo suolo è stato minuziosamente antropizzato, lavorato e trasformato per renderlo abitabile e coltivabile attraverso una grandiosa - ma discreta - azione collettiva. Come direbbe Magnaghi, una delle più maestose opere d'arte corale (Magnaghi, 2000). Anche e soprattutto nell'ultimo secolo, il confine tra urbano e rurale, tra città e montagna ha acquisito significati differenti e molteplici. Il complesso sistema di urbanità e ruralità profondamente e variamente intrecciate e declinate ha reso le Alpi alla stregua di un grande laboratorio in cui sono stati sperimentati stili di vita ed evoluzioni innovativi fondati su di un rapporto più equilibrato con l'ambiente e la cultura

locale (Dematteis, 2009).

I cambiamenti sociali, economici, culturali e insediativi intrecciati con l'ambiente fisico e naturale hanno dunque prodotto un territorio orientato all'ibridazione, alla compenetrazione equilibrata, basata sulla consapevolezza della reciproca fragilità: la tecnica può danneggiare la natura ma a sua volta esserne sopraffatta. Il "distacco dal suolo" in montagna perde di senso. Ad esempio la necessità di un'architettura contestualizzata è un tema che attraversa tutta la cultura dalla modernità ad oggi. Il carattere "relazionale" dell'architettura alpina (De Rossi, Dini, 2012), la sua continua necessità di rapportarsi con il contesto naturale e storico diventa uno degli elementi fondanti anche oggi laddove la tecnologia potrebbe apparentemente produrre artificializzazioni utili a distaccarsene .

Questi sono alcuni temi che rendono le montagne un preziosissimo bene comune, forse l'ultimo baluardo di un senso della collettività ormai in fase di estinzione. Paradossalmente, pur non essendo più "al di sopra del mondo" ma facendone a tutti gli effetti parte (Cuaz, 2011), le montagne rimangono allo stesso tempo un arcipelago emerso - come nell'immagine dei Monti Naviganti (Rumiz, 2007) - che servirà da approdo di emergenza per i naufraghi dell'oceano globale e della pianura urbanizzata.

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Capturing a Luxurious Commons through State Intervention

Dan Moscovici

Seaview Resort is nestled on 270 hectares of New Jersey USA coast. Seaview is adjacent to the Pinelands National Reserve (an almost 500,000 hectare protected area) and is a historical landmark for the region. Founded in 1914 by Clarence H. Geist as a retreat for the wealthy, it brought some famous and powerful people to the Pinelands and the NJ Shore during its private ownership. Notables include Bing Crosby, Ben Hogan, Grace Kelly, The Rolling Stones, Bob Dylan and Presidents Eisenhower, Harding, Nixon, and Hoover (Dyson, 2011).

The resort, which hosted the 1942 Professional Golfers' Association Classic, boasts 270 rooms, 36 holes of championship golf, and is recognized by the National Trust for Historic Hotels of America. It was a private club until 1984 when Marriott Corporation purchased it (Robinson, 2000). In 2010, a State owned college, the Richard Stockton College purchased it for $20 million. Local citizens were at first concerned, government has the power to take land through eminent domain. However, the purchase price was fair and the land went from a private resort, exclusively for those who can afford it, to a state commons – owned and accessible by all citizens of the state.

Creating this luxurious commons initiates significant problems. First, what unique management structure will exist at the resort and will the different stakeholder priorities conflict? Second, what about the shift in the community of users? Before, wealthy patrons arrived for rest and relaxation, and now professors and students are researching environmental stewardship. Seaview is situated in a very sensitive ecosystem adjacent to wetlands, a shifting barrier island, a nationally protected forest, and close to another large preserve - Edwin B. Forsythe National Wildlife Refuge. However, with over 27,000 square feet of meeting space, 270 guest rooms, a spa, pools, fitness centers, restaurants, and two golf courses, there is no doubt that the environmental footprint of the resort is significant. The responsibility for environmental stewardship falls on Stockton College.

The College is a public, primarily undergraduate institution of liberal arts, sciences, and professional studies located on 650 hectares of wooded property in the Pinelands National Reserve, 12 miles northwest of Atlantic City. The College has had an environmental program since its inception in 1971, making it one of the oldest programs in the nation. Other sustainable achievements include the 400 closed loop geothermal wells installed in 1993, the first institutional application of an Aquifer Transfer Exchange System (ATES) in the US, over 2 MW of solar arrays, and degrees in Environmental Studies and Sustainability (Keyser, 2011). Given all of these initiatives and a commitment to sustainability as part of the 2020 planning process, there is an expectation for environmental planning at Seaview.

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Before this can be successful, this luxurious commons needs to overcome management problems. The college is uniquely partnered with two private management agencies (Dolce-hotel, Troon-golf). While driven by profits, they have a demonstrated history of environmental protection. Since 2008, the golf course has been certified as an Audubon cooperative sanctuary. Results include the protection of a species of special concern for the state – the Diamondback Terrapin – which were nesting on the golf course. This initiative created another partnership with the local non-profit Wetlands Institute. Together the public/private partnership ocuses on environmental planning, wildlife habitat management, outreach and education, chemical use reduction, water quality management and conservation (Kruchkowski, 2008). This experimental management arrangement now includes centralized state government, private capital firms, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

In addition, Troon has begun to compost all organics (branches, grasses, etc) on-site. This keeps large volumes of waste from being trucked to the landfill and also supplies needed nutrients back into the sandy soils. Sustainability initiatives often have a triple-bottom line benefit by saving or making money, helping local communities and protecting the environment simultaneously (Elkington, 1997). Whatever the primary motivation, the hotel operations department had recently upgraded the air handler units, improving energy efficiency. Furniture and carpets were recycled rather than landfilled. Water bottles were eliminated from the many business meetings and substituted with pitchers of purified water and lemonade. Windows were replaced throughout the facility, and 52 light fixtures were exchanged reducing energy demand from 300 to 37.5 watts per unit. Finally, in an attempt to purchase locally, Dolce was trying to upscale its 30-mile menu, which at the time of study only accounted for about 5% of food prepared on-site (Prakash, 2010). While environmental quality is increasing there is a new community presence – the public college student. They demand a greater voice and influence. Will they be granted this creative access or be excluded from this luxurious commons?

Professors were the first to engage with this notion of citizenship, helping to define the academic roles of students on this property. Through workshop discussions,students decided that environmental stewardship must be a priority for the new state land. This led to a semester researching potential environmental opportunities for their new campus. The faculty and student team focused on Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) standards, American Hotel & Lodging Association procedures (AH&LA), best management practices at other hotels and golf courses, and student research or experiences. The project culminated in a list of 130 recommendations, which could be implemented. The proposals were sorted into general categories such as education/outreach, energy, food, waste, and water, habitat, architectural changes, golf practices, and hotel operations.

Some of these projects require very little cost. Examples include: providing local environmental information at the concierge, watering lawns at night and based on weather, internships for Stockton students, owl and bat boxes in the trees, cleaning staff resetting thermostats, and on-site composting of food waste, to name a few. Other projects would require substantial financial investment, infrastructure, permitting and a paradigm shift in business operations. Examples include: erecting windmills along the Bay golf course, digging and implementing a cistern system to capture all rainwater and irrigate using this gray water, and purchasing and preparing all food and drinks from within a 30-mile radius. Other ideas include the restoration of ecological resources (building osprey platforms and oyster beds), economic gains from implementation (minimizing the purchase of water bottles and disposable plates/cups), and community outreach for the betterment of the local communities

(naturalist tours and local conferences). All the ideas exhibit strong potential; however, the implementation has thus far been slow. There were, and still are, many hurdles that stand in the way.

Obstacles in the quest to green Seaview are apparent. Seaview was technically purchased by a division of Stockton College known as SASI (Stockton Affiliated Services Inc.). SASI is a non-profit auxiliary organization, which utilizes innovative business solutions to provide services to the Stockton College community for items such as transportation, off-campus housing, dining services, and more. SASI has a certain level of autonomy, separating it from the academic community, complicating the management problems of this property. Furthermore, there is limited funding available at this time. Luckily, pedagogical opportunities abound.

The land went from a private resort, exclusively for those who can afford it, to a state commons, owned and accessible by all citizens of the state

Public students now can major in important contemporary fields of study through the creation of the luxurious commons. Students have already conducted projects through the Environmental Studies, Sustainability, and Hospitality Management programs. Opportunities already exist to study ecology, forestry and wildlife management, water & soil resources, geographic information systems (GIS), pollution remediation & environmental chemistry, sustainability, and environmental & regional planning. And now, students are developing research projects, internships or independent studies in topics which were not previously offered: agronomy, historic preservation, green hospitality, and ecotourism. Student opportunities are plentiful.

Seaview's transition from private resort to state educational land has developed a new set of stakeholders. This redefinition gives great influence to the academic and public communities and empowers the implementation of their goals for environmental stewardship. However, all parties should tread lightly in their agreements and practices. The experimental management structure between government, NGOs, and private corporations merely a partnership and will require rules, patience, and cooperation. It is possible that priorities will shift between these collaborators. Good administration and open dialogue between the community stakeholders are needed to sustain this creative luxurious commons.

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Show me the action
and I will show you the commons!

Helene Finidori

What I am proposing here is not quite a more precise definition of the nature of the commons, related boundaries and access rights. Rather, starting from existing definitions, I address the topic from the perspective of experience: how commons are created or emerge from a process that intimately associates people and the participatory and mindful ways in which they produce, manage or care for their shared resources or assets. I also outline how the essential principles of a commons logic could help amplify the action of other sustainability and social change initiatives in a way that can be geared towards growing the commons as a whole.

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Types of goods are traditionally distinguished based on their degree of rivalry (the extend to which the use of a good by one diminishes the availability for others) and excludability (the extend to which access to a good can be denied or limited). This perspective ignores for a large part the contextual and variable nature of goods in time and under the 'stress' of repeated activity. It does not take into account the fact that rivalry can be a matter of perception (a good may be categorized non rival because perceived as abundantly available irrespective of whether self-renewable or not, such as water in 'wet' places), of congestion (a good may be non rival up to a point of saturation, such as roads before they get jammed) or of yield point (a good may be non rival up to the limit beyond which there is no more resilience under stress and therefore no more self-regeneration, such as a savannah before desertification). It does not acknowledge that low rivalry goods can also be depleted and made unavailable as a result of toxic outputs of activity (externalities). Neither does it consider the fact that property and access, in other words excludability, create artificial boundaries that businesses for example are constantly seeking to expand by inventing new property rights or business models, as part of their 'natural' quest to extend the perimeter in which they can generate and capture value. The examples of patented seeds and attempts to patent the human genome are the most striking.

Both commons and public goods, although categorized as non-excludable, are increasingly being turned into private goods for the benefit of a few, generating artificial scarcities. This spans from education, to health care, security, and the genome, or from water, to seeds, knowledge, and software. As a result, people who were counting on participatory governance or government to protect and manage common or public goods for their collective benefit are increasingly excluded from decision-making and sometimes from use. The distinction between types of goods is becoming blurred. Goods tend to be defined not by their nature but increasingly by the divergence of interest between those who produce or

manage them and those who use them, and by what those who have the most 'power' over the goods want these goods to be . . .

Amid such complicated categorization, the Commons come into the picture, not anymore as the 'object' of the tragedy of the commons, but as what has actually escaped the tragedy. Commons in which commoners are commoning to participatively manage shared common goods, perfect manifestation of the commons ethos, are already somewhat sanctuarized and protected. But how do we handle the assets and goods that are 'not yet commons'. Those that are the most at risk of being enclosed or overexploited? Existing commons may provide cases for good if not best practices and offer organizational models or systems to emulate. But how do we get from here to there?

Presupposing the nature of goods and how they are managed traps us in a framework that prevents us from adopting an evolutionary perspective and from reclaiming the sustainable and equitable management of our unprotected factors of livelihood and enablement – what the commons actually are

Presupposing the nature of goods and how they are managed traps us in a framework that prevents us from adopting an evolutionary perspective and from reclaiming, from wherever we may be speaking, the sustainable and equitable management of our unprotected factors of livelihood and enablement. What the commons actually are. To the growing domain of enclosure, artificial scarcity and over-exploitation of resources, people and nature, commons activists oppose as alternative new categories of goods and organizational models, which are difficult to 'pin down' and explain in generalized terms. These models are also difficult to adopt and implement 'in one piece', hence the road may be a long one to travel. We should be looking at transformative processes as well.

Much of what social change and environmental activist groups and communities of practice are currently engaged in is related in a form or another to protecting the environment, people, resources from over-exploitation and abuse, even if not organized as commons, aligned with the commons ethos, or expressed in 'commons speak'. Commons activists should be focusing on the transformative mechanisms the various groups are using to protect, nurture, grow common and public domain goods and to actively out-design and prevent enclosure, over-exploitation and abuse of these goods. And they should help them do it better. Show me the action, and I will show you the commons! Each social change agent holds a piece of a response to the various manifestations of the tragedy of the commons and to making the world a thriving place. In other words, at the same time as commons advocates are promoting the commons as system or organizational model, they should focus on spreading and embedding the logic of the commons in social change activity and alternatives that already exists, together with the provisions that would prevent this logic and the resulting commons to be co-opted, so that people in other movements can feel more confident that the policies and models they recommend actually prevent or improve the practices as far as abuse and over exploitation or enclosures are concerned. Commons as organizational forms would emerge as the result of a diversity of communities and movements taking all kinds of social objects generative of livelihood into their care and hands, thus reclaiming them as a commons in the process.

This is already happening in the expansion of the commons movement. The *Economics and the Commons Conference* in Berlin last May for example drew more than 250 people from more than 30 countries, involved in a great variety of activities: from seeds, water, farmlands,

forests, software and the internet, social media, digital rights, human rights, open source hardware design, collective intelligence, digital currency design, hackerspaces and fablabs, crowdsourced democracy, cooperatives; to commoners trying to embed the commons principles in law and constitution, to reclaim utilities and to preserve scientific knowledge and creative works; or people defending livelihoods, sustainable lifestyles and the family or spiritual and indigenous traditions. A diversity of organizations and people connected through lose ties and with a variety of intentions, interests, cultural backgrounds and worldviews and no central direction, gathered around the commons as common ground, all identifying themselves with the commons because attracted by a commons logic that many were just starting to recognize.

The discussions during the Communications, Culture, Commons workshop made clear there was a universal aspect to the commons and to what drives social and sustainability movements across the globe, that could however not be given a clear definition. Rather than being 'defined', the commons could be expressed as a logic and aspiration, woven through different action logics, understandings and symbolic representations that could enable 'travel' within the commons, and could reach beyond the boundaries of what is traditionally encompassed under commons language.

By finding and articulating the commons logic underlying their activity, existing movements of all sorts could further strengthen their own narratives and contribute to amplify the coalescence of disparate efforts towards protecting, nurturing and growing the commons as a whole, by design. The awareness of each other and of the whole that movements would gain in the process would help resolve conflicting interests between commons. From this perspective, commons would serve as a medium for accelerating the adoption of practices that address social, environmental and economic dimensions in a sustainable, cohesive and interconnected manner. They could also serve as a vetting system to assess the impact of social change initiatives and sustainability policies and practices and help operate sometimes inescapable trade-offs, so that people within mainstream institutions trying to instill other logics into the system could do so in more confidence.

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Commoning: the production of common worlds

Leila Dawney

As a form of counter-capitalist political discourse, much of the language associated with the commons relies on the idea of some form of universal/ontological ground –a "natural" relationship between people, spaces and resources that has become erased through moves to enclose and to capture by destructive economic and political systems[1]. In these discourses, the drive to enclose can seem impossible to resist. This article proposes a different politics of the common: one that moves away from thinking about commons as that which is lost and which needs mourning, towards practices of commoning that, in many ways in at many different scales, work to produce a feeling of being in common. These feelings have the potential to elicit a change in consciousness and subjectivity that may have far-reaching political implications in terms of resisting neoliberal forms of life and experience.

Some of those who make claims for commons may do so in the name of ontology – or a foundational notion of right. This evocation of a natural state of holding resources in common is problematic, since it may invoke a primal state of communion with nature that is, of course fantasy and at its worst can invoking a "noble savage" figure and relies on a problematic model of social evolutionism in order to make its claim. These ontological claims to the commons tend to rely on a binary understanding of nature/society. Locke, for example, saw the commons in terms of the bounty of nature as made available to humanity – the "common wealth of the material world" which introduces a troubling nature-society dualism.

Discourses of the commons are often haunted by the idea of loss, where the forces of increasing enclosure and capture evoke the enclosure movement of the long nineteenth century, and its powerful narratives of law and land. In these stories and discourses, the commons are positioned as that which we once had, but have now gone. Political movements that draw on these narratives can play out as a mourning of this loss, rather than a mobilisation of these ideas as a tool for considering new and emerging terrains for building common worlds.

Instead of focusing on "the commons", then, as that which is lost, or as a natural relationship of livelihood and land, I suggest we leave behind us questions of ontology and of nature in favour of a phenomenological approach. This politics of the commons follows the work of Peter Linebaugh in employing the verb "commoning" to think about the processes and practices involved in helping to build worlds together. The usual story told is that we participate

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1 This essay is adapted from the publication "Problems of Participation: Reflections on Authority, Democracy, and the Struggle for Common Life". http://www.authorityresearch.net/essay-collection-problems-of-participation.html

in society through our relationship to our immediate families, and through our relationship to the State (what it does for us/what we have to give it) as individuals and families. The "commoning" that I outline here stems from practices that look beyond our immediate worlds, and an ethos that considers the effects of our actions in these terms. If we feel like we inhabit common worlds – that we have shared stakes that extend beyond the immediate – then we can foster an ethos of collective responsibility and care towards the world. We can produce the social, and make common worlds, interrupting the story that society is made up of individuals and families and governments, with nothing in between.

A politics of the common, then, can involve practices that make people feel part of something, and feel like they have collective stakes. This involves thinking about the material ways in which the common is produced that organises bodies so that a sense of shared life is enabled and fostered

As scholars and activists we can look at how the feeling of being in common is produced in different spaces and through different practices. These practices might include overtly political attempts to redefine the 'commons', or to reclaim particular spaces as held in common (for example the occupy movement), as well as those practices that also contribute to a sense of shared experience – that produce conviviality (common life) – like eating together, undergoing trauma, or parenthood. Political messages have weight when they are felt bodily, when they resonate with lived experience. This means that our experience of living in the world allows for some ideas to stick and for some to not. So some claims to solidarity may alienate people because there is a disconnect, a disjuncture, between message and experience, while others can bring people together in unexpected ways. Paying attention to practices helps us to think about how a sense of being in common, a sense of making a shared world, is achieved; what situations 'grip' us.

Rhetorical claims of commonality are augmented affectively through lived experience. For example, the daily experience and struggle of labour as necessity or obligation may be resonant with the production and augmentation of a sense of an "us" as hard-working, tax-paying citizens. It may also, perhaps in different political contexts, lead to a sense of being part of a collective labour movement. Press images of protestors who do not work, and whose upper-middle class background is stressed do not resonate with the experience of most working- and middle-class lives. Their authority to speak on behalf of others is undermined by their distance from the lived experience of those others, and the constant accentuation of that difference in the media.

A politics of the common, then, can involve practices that make people feel part of something, and feel like they have collective stakes. This involves thinking about the material ways in which the common is produced that organises bodies so that a sense of shared life is enabled and fostered. This may take place through the ordering of spaces - low fences and back alleys were highlighted in the sociologist Valerie Walkerdine's discussion of how working class communities in a Steelworks Town felt in common- and through objects (community defibrillators, memorials, tea, PCs) as well as through the things that people say and do . Sometimes it is possible to identify specific moments through which a sense of the common is produced - moments that may be unexpected. These moments are sites of the political and may indeed take place in unlikely places, for example in moments of shared living that give rise to a conviviality that exceeds the original framing of an event. Walkerdine discusses communal 'beingness' as a sense of holding or containment (being held). She writes of this containment as being produced in the Steelworks Town, through "a long history

of difficult and dangerous work, which must produce an anxiety about annihilation and the necessity to find ways of coping which could produce a sense of the continuity and security to counter the extreme uncertainty of the employment situation". So a sense of shared being, the production of common life, emerges in this instance as a way of coping with material conditions of precarity and struggle. It is not invoked; rather it takes place as a result of material and affective conditions of shared existence.

If lived experience can lead to this sense of being and becoming part of something, of partaking in a common world, then a new politics of the common can concern itself with what can be done to bring this about: how "practices of the common" can be used as a counter strategy to regimes of individualisation and neoliberalisation. Practising a politics of the common involves working out how to nurture these collective ways of being, in order to produce a sense of the "we" that is keenly felt. In doing so, shared practices and spaces can be claimed as common, and can produce a recognition of our shared stakes. The recognition and production of collective stakes can move us to do things that extend beyond our immediate mode of concern, that move away from the family/state dichotomy which neoliberal individualism and big state policies produce. This draws attention to our participation in making worlds beyond our immediate desires and needs, and contributes to our sense of commonality, our feeling of being in common. This is especially true of the collective power of small acts: we are social creatures, and we learn from each other. People who want to resist this dichotomy, and participate in a shared world can do this through small acts of commoning, for example by picking up litter when walking along, or weeding and sweeping the pavement near our houses, using the street in ways other than walking and driving along, or looking after communal areas at work.

These small acts of commoning are important: their ethic of care fosters a mode of being in the world which engages us as active subjects. The commons produced through them is not a lost and mourned world, or one harking back to a foundational fiction, but instead is a lived, practised and felt world. To frame a counter-capitalist politics around active commoning rather than the static ideal of the commons, enables a pragmatic, participatory politics that feels achievable and is not crushed under the seemingly unstoppable forces of enclosure.

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Diversity in a common space

Marta Traquino

"A city within a city", was the advertising slogan of the first large shopping center that opened in Lisbon (and in Portugal) in 1985, the Amoreiras Shopping Center[1]. Almost 30 years after, the same term is used as an argument for the 'rehabilitation' of the square entitled to Martin Moniz. The project, launched by the firm NSC in summer 2012, is one of 'multicultural restaurants' and 'fusion market'. At the inauguration, the project manager said:

> Customers will take their trays and install themselves at a central terrace . . . with capacity of 300 seated persons. It will work as in Colombo or in any other shopping center of its kind. (*Público* , May 5, 2012)

In fact, restaurants of various nationalities have been existing since decades in the streets surrounding the square, integrated in the life and urban fabric of the surrounding Mouraria neighborhood. The new proposal merely confines them in a single place. Arguably, its aim is to enable customers to experience 'diversity' while minimizing the insecurity that the contact with real social difference provokes. This way, the challenge of the unknown (the Other) becomes controllable by the activation of a certain kind of spatial practice similar to what happens on the terraces of shopping centers' inner courts, where the squares of the city are simulated. The view elaborated by NSC project manager through analogy between Martim Moniz square and 'any shopping center' provides a caricatural illusionism that inverts the relationship between indoor and outdoor space as well as between public and private space. The idea is to turn the square into a space oriented to consumption, thanks to the selective filter of 'the public'. The businessman thus speaks in terms of 'customers' of the square. Parcels of ground, which were open to passersby, become delimited areas covered by green plastic patches that imitate grass, with a posted notice reading: 'The lounge area is intended for the exclusive use of the kiosks' consumers.'

Martim Moniz square is a potential public space *par excellence.* As such, it should not depend upon a pre-defined model of use. Situated in downtown Lisbon, it hosts thriving cultural diversity. Residents in the surrounding streets, of the old neighborhood Mouraria, are mostly immigrants from different countries: Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe. They dwell and have commercial establishments there. Inside Mouraria, the streets are narrow and sometimes steep and with stairs. The square, in its flat open sky extension, is vital for the possibility of meetings, especially among children who live in the neighborhood and there find space to run, to play or to ride a bicycle. In the case of the public space in Istanbul, architect Hüya

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1 This text is part of the doctoral thesis: Traquino, Marta, "Ser na cidade:urbanidade e prática artística, percepções e acções.", FBAUL, 2012. http://repositorio.ul.pt/handle/10451/7556

Hertas has remarked the importance of non-programmed spaces in the urban fabric:

> Unprogrammed space does not require that people come and create activities within it; it is just there, waiting to be discovered and improvised. It is self-organising, unstable and variable. Unprogrammed space is open to transformation and change, it is flexible, and bottom-up rather than top-down; it is public space that is open to being privatized by the citizens themselves. (Hertas, 2010: 52-57)

The wandering of a child cycling in a square can be more revealing of the true nature of public space than the concentration of 300 clients on an esplanade. Similarly for an outdoor market, when organized by the collective initiative of the involved social groups, and not by the initiative and management of an enterprise that exercises a concession on that space. Indeed, informal markets are a fundamental structuring element of the social life of the Mouraria neighborhood and their representative cultures. Obviously, because of its size and location, Martim Moniz square would be an ideal place for such ephemeral occupations. Unfortunately, it seems that the local administration has recognized 'cultural diversity' mainly because of its tourist attraction potential than its capacity for initiative and achievement.

The wandering of a child cycling in a large square can be more revealing of the true nature of public space than the concentration of 300 clients on an esplanade

Since 2005, a wide range of diverse and ongoing actions in Mouraria, called *People and Places,* has been launched by *C.E.M. – Centro Em Movimento*. This project shares resemblances with Hertas' considerations on Istanbul. The Lisbon-based C.E.M. is a centre for artistic research, directed by Sofia Neuparth, which takes the body as the pivot of creation processes on the basis of a permanent connection between practice and theory. It considers art as an embracing concept, indivisible from its geographical and human context:

> *People and Places* don't speak of who or where, but about the experience of Being-With. Nor tell of 'what'. Being-With, for us, doesn't denounce the need for 'a what' to where the Being flows into. Because of this, People and Places is not a target of 'being with', but enhancer of the relationship that brings out the peculiarity of the action 'being with' as itself, without any purpose to fulfil. It's from this attention, this open space that it invites you to bring up what until now didn't have a shape, that everything else, which was already, there gets rearranged [...] a physical evidence. For me, it's in touching this evidence (the potential of reality) that lies the relevance of the work we do on the street - with people and places. (Agostinho, 2010: 4)

In particular, the 'performative cleaning' actions realized in 2011 (to which I participated in person), which took place between Martim Moniz and Intendente squares can be regarded as a counterpoint to the commercial project described above. On Friday mornings, at announced locations, C.E.M. team members and anyone who wanted to participate armed themselves with buckets, sponges, soap, gloves and aprons. Water was collected from a public fountain or from the taps of the shops around. The proposal was simply to clean a floor surface of the street for the duration of a hour. It is not common to walk in the street pondering the quality of the ground. An exercise in street floor cleaning thus invites especially non-professional cleaners to look more in details at what is most 'common' and 'shared' in the city, namely, the ground we step upon. To clean means to take care, and to take care means to pay attention. Reversing the usual logic according to which street cleaning is left to personnel paid by the public administration entails questioning the quality of connection and responsibility that the city dweller has with the space that he/she uses and inevitably shares with unknown others. C.E.M. actions interrupted the flow of passage inviting to

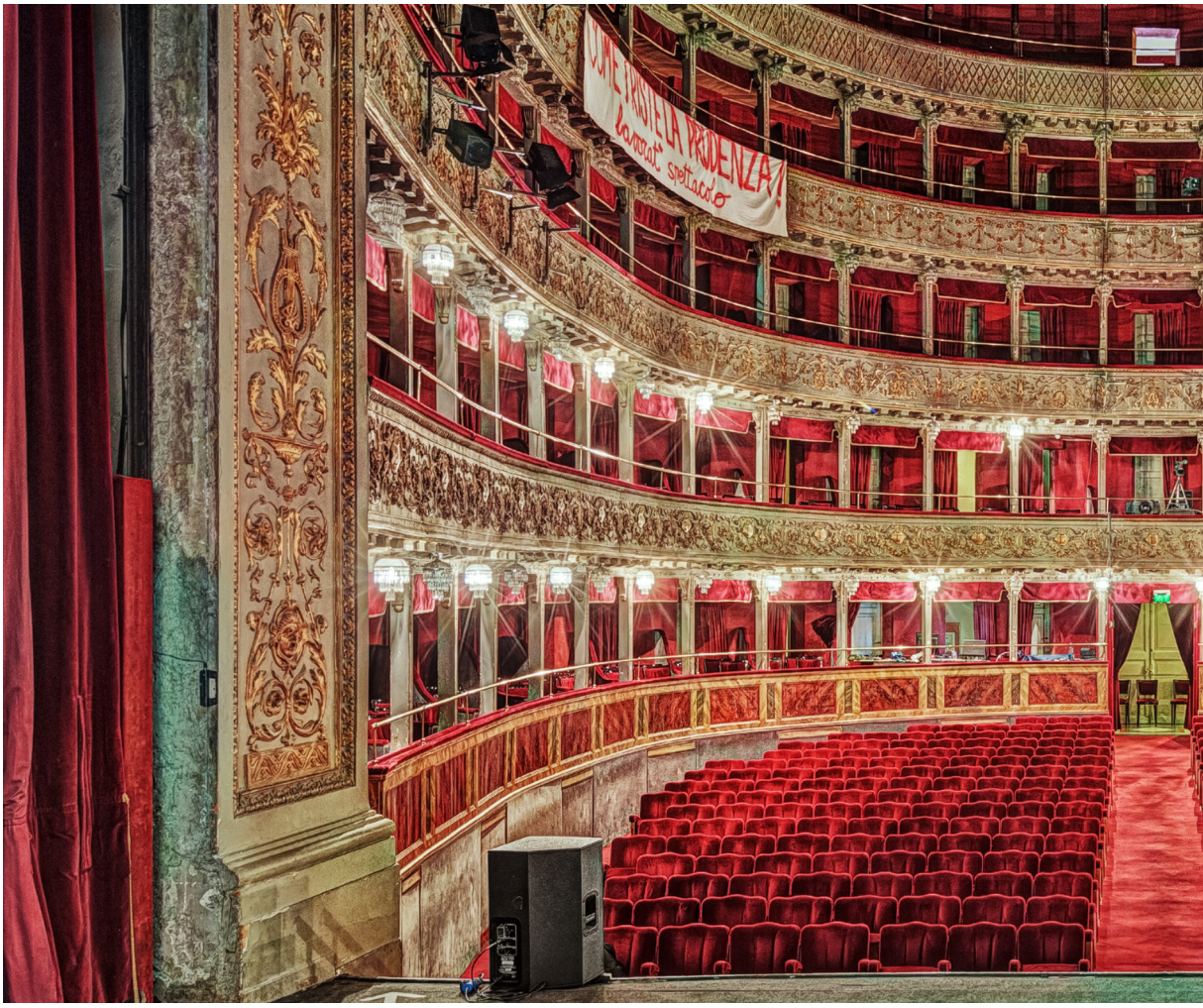
understand what is really going on in public.

The most usual comments that performative cleanings attracted were: Why clean what will be soon dirty again? and: Why clean what is not yours? In the afternoon after performative cleanings, the group returned to the same place, sitting on the ground, for the series of talks 'Conversations for nothing'. This way of being in the street highlighted that public space belongs to those who appropriate it, not by property rights, but by the specificity of a temporary mode of appropriation. To clean and to talk for nothing is to open space, 'to give place to', with time to be, to listen, to reverberate, to integrate. In Neuparth's (2010) words, it is essential to let space, situations, and the Other do their move in our direction. The work that C.E.M. has been doing interrogates the city

> starting from experiential considerations of the city, not stopping in the anticipation of packed similar formats that provide an identity, but believing that it is in the consideration of asymmetries, of dissonances, of disproportionalities that a city pulsates with its own life and not just as a mere administrative formalism. (C.E.M., 2011)

The use of public space promoted by commercial projects such as the one by NSC ultimately turns difference into a factor that increases inequality and inferiority, instead of a factor of diversity and a real value, despite the fact that the idea of 'difference' promoted in association with values of 'tolerance' or 'interculturality' might suggest the contrary. In the most multicultural of Lisbon's neighborhoods, the managerial model established by entities that do not represent minority communities deliberately exploits the 'cultural difference' theme in a way that is beneficial only to Portuguese majority culture and tourists. The model certainly attracts numbers of people to the square. But, does it produce a 'common space'?

I think that the 'common space' in the city becomes real only where dialogue and exchange between differences is supported by conditions of equality of mobility, not when one moves into the space of the other, concurrently limiting the possibility of movement of the latter. Unfortunately, many cultural events – including public art – advertised through the keywords of 'multiculturalism' and the 'celebration of difference' in major European cities today seem to have embraced an NSC-like, rather than a C.E.M.-like, model.



Sospensioni/Reazioni #2

Arte e beni comuni: un approccio duplice e condiviso

Alla Biennale d'Arte di Venezia 2013, percorrendo le ex-Corderie dell'Arsenale e camminando giù in fondo oltre le Tese fino al giardino delle Vergini, s'incontra un'installazione di Marco Paolini e Roberto Abbiati "Fèn-fieno". L'installazione porta alla luce una riflessione sul paesaggio, nello specifico quello rurale, come prodotto del lavoro dell'uomo e insieme bene comune di cui egli stesso beneficia. Il legame tra il lavoro degli agricoltori e il paesaggio si arricchisce di un successivo anello, quello delle rivendicazioni e lotte del nostro tempo a difesa del paesaggio, per cui la semisfera di ferro di cui si compone l'installazione, con saldati gli attrezzi dei braccianti per lavorare la terra, diventa il contenitore di mazzetti di fieno ed erba, che arrivano dalle terre salvate da speculazioni e devastazioni in tutt'Italia. Tra i vari mazzetti, c'è quello dell'erba intorno al Teatro Marinoni del Lido di Venezia, definito dai suoi occupanti "bene comune".

Da qui inizia il percorso narrativo del progetto fotografico di Andrea Sarti. A partire dal ritratto dell'oggetto artistico, che produce una retorica sensibile al tema della condivisione e delle risorse non riproducibili, il racconto per immagini descrive le situazioni in cui il progetto culturale artistico degli ultimi anni coincide con alcuni fenomeni urbani di riappropriazione e riuso di spazi (privati e pubblici) adibiti alla cultura, che sono stati abbandonati o a rischio di chiusura per mancanza di fondi. C'è dunque un cambio di prospettiva, in cui il rapporto iniziale tra arte e bene comune si ribalta.

Nello specifico, il progetto traccia la rotta di una serie di spazi culturali abbandonati, "in dismissione",

in un viaggio di mappatura visuale tra Venezia e Roma. A partire dagli spazi della Biennale delle ex-Corderie dell'Arsenale dov'è situata l'installazione Fèn (pp. 2-8), si muove al Lido di Venezia al Teatro Marinoni (pp. 16-24-28), teatro abbandonato e da qualche anno riattivato da un comitato di cittadini che lo occupano e gestiscono con varie iniziative. Passando per il S.A.L.E. Docks di Venezia (pp. 32-36), si arriva a Roma al Teatro Valle occupato (pp. 42-43), luoghi entrambi molto avanzati nel percorso del proprio riconoscimento nel campo della produzione culturale. Infine, ancora a Roma, al Cinema Palazzo (pp.44-56-60-61), cinema nel cuore del quartiere S. Lorenzo che stava per essere trasformato in casinò e che a seguito dell'occupazione di un gruppo di cittadini, artisti e attivisti è stato ripristinato nella sua vecchia funzione, e non solo.

L'associazione che lo gestisce conta migliaia di aderenti; l'occupazione stessa è stata riconosciuta come atto di difesa delle destinazioni d'uso di servizio alla collettività, in un tessuto urbano appartenente alla città storica. Con questi luoghi, in questo modo, l'accezione e il significato di bene comune si allargano a una sfera più ampia rispetto a quella canonica di risorsa ambientale, spaziale e temporale, per indicare un servizio fortemente connotato, appartenente alla sfera del welfare immateriale.

Questa sovrapposizione di ambiti deriva dal progressivo smantellamento dello Stato Sociale da un lato e dalla gestione poco attenta di alcuni processi di urban renewal dall'altro. Essa è ciò che caratterizza lo slittamento semantico e di azione da parte dei processi di riappropriazione degli spazi culturali osservati e rappresenta l'importanza del racconto.

Claudia Faraone

Commons, constitutions and critique

Paul Blokker

The idea of "the commons" is strongly entangled with the language of rights and constitutions[1]. The relation between fundamental rights and the idea of the commons concerns not least access to and usage of common goods deemed fundamental for human existence, and the actual possibility of enjoying rights. My argument here is that a strategy of the commons is both about criticizing existing legal and constitutional structures, and about using legal-constitutional means in a 'subversive way' to redress structural differences in power in the capitalist system, which, so it is claimed, are grounded in legal categories of private property and liberal constitutionalism.

A significant argument is that a 'constitutional asymmetry' or 'imbalance' in liberal constitutionalism favours the role of private actors and the state over society or the community at large (cf. Mattei 2012). In the current bottom-up social struggle for the commons, many social movements attempt to redress the imbalance by making explicit rights and even constitutional claims in order to further their cause (cf. Chignola 2012; Femia 2012). It is almost as if they have made their own the re-evaluation of rights by such post-Marxist thinkers as Claude Lefort. In Lefort's view, rights intrinsically contain emancipatory dimensions and are not necessarily being exhausted by the logic of the state. According to Lefort, the 'principle of right' enables the emergence of new claims and new rights, because the law is not immanent within the order of the world and cannot be confused with power as such (Lefort, 1988 [1986]: 39). The movement for the Commons can be related to a Polanyian double movement, in that it refers to the law as a means to safeguard the commons (as in a 'right of commons'), but also redefines constitutions as dynamic and emancipatory instruments, open to participation, and amenable to the recuperation of politics from narrow definitions of economic governance.

A key dimension in the philosophy of the commons is 'access', which includes access to fundamental goods such as water, education, culture, or knowledge. But access, I would argue, equally presupposes a kind of 'meta-access' to the laws, that is, to co-deciding the *nomos* of the community (cf. Bailey & Mattei 2013). The idea of the commons is unthinkable without a participatory view of democratic interaction, in which indeed the whole of the *comune* can participate on an equal basis (cf. Lucarelli 2013). This participatory view goes all the way down (or up) in that it includes a dynamic understanding of the constitutional-juridical

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1 At least, if one accepts a subjective and normative view of the commons, rather than a purely economic one: see Grazzini 2012.

framework that emphasizes the (latent) continuity of constituent power in democratic societies.

Let us turn to the significance of the idea of the commons for a (novel) theory and understanding of constitutionalism. The latter is particularly salient – albeit not widely discussed in these terms – from the point of view of a wider debate on the relation between constitutionalism and democracy. One of the questions that is relevant here is the extent to which (liberal) constitutionalism is able to respond to the crisis of liberal, representative and capitalist democracy that has set in during the 1970s (Wagner 2011). Let us briefly look into four dimensions of critique, articulated by the Commons movements, of the current capitalist status quo.

The first critique regards *property* and the *public/private distinction*. This distinction has informed the classical market-state dichotomy with regard to economic governance, in which particular goods can only understood as either privately or publicly owned and administered. The property logic tends, however, towards the exclusion of some (not infrequently many) in terms of access and usage of particular goods (cf. Rodotà 2012: 106-7), particularly so in times of the widespread privatization of public goods. The idea of the commons contains a strong critique of the modern distinction between the public and the private, and points to a different form of rationality that goes beyond the dualistic scheme of public or private property (Rodotà 2012: 95). The commons have a direct relation to an inclusive idea of citizenship, in that citizenship loses its individualist dimensions and its collective nature is emphasized. In other words, for citizenship to have real significance the collective goods that underpin the effective usage of rights and guarantee participation need to be at its basis.

The second, related, critique regards *economic rationality*. There is a strong suspicion in the idea of the commons that the classical narrative of the market as a vehicle of the collective good or general welfare does not hold. The rationality of the market includes the quantitative idea of the 'maximization of the product' and the 'minimization of costs' and thus access to goods becomes a purely economic issue, extending evermore the 'empire of calculability' (cf. Castoriadis 2007: 83-4, 92). Liberal constitutionalism, by strongly instituting the public/private distinction, makes possible the market logic of appropriation and control access to goods. The critique of liberal constitutionalism is its disregard for a different rationality, that of the commons or *res communis omnium*, which largely escapes the public-private property dichotomy, and points to the importance of access to and usability of specific common goods, rather than the title of ownership (Lucarelli 2013: 60-1). The upshot of the notion of the commons is then the importance of the latter for socio-economic and territorial cohesion as well as the satisfaction of fundamental rights (Lucarelli 2013: 61). A constitutional language that includes the commons therefore relates to the commons or common goods in distinct local contexts and the articulation of the specific needs of distinct communities. Indeed, Rodotà invokes the term of a 'constitutionalism of needs' (Rodotà 2012: 94). Here, one sees the thrust of a bottom-up societal constitutionalism against the 'imposition of global economic constitutionalism' (Bailey & Mattei 2013: 3).

The third critique is a suspicion with regard to the notion of *popular sovereignty* and *representation* (cf. Rodotà 2012; Lucarelli 2013). For Rodotà, national sovereignty obfuscates the 'communities' that inhabit states, and ignores them by giving to the state the exclusive right to dispose over its 'own' resources (Rodotà 2012: 124-25). In more specific democratic terms, the notion of popular sovereignty is seen as ignoring the diversity of communities and people that are part of a larger political community. As Lucarelli argues, 'There is a need to

force oneself to imagine, and therefore to contribute to construct, a public debate that fulfills its function in the presence of instances that tend to and intend to *get rid of* the hypocritical application of the principle of popular sovereignty' (Lucarelli 2013: 56; emphasis in original). The critique of popular sovereignty consists in its negligence of substantial inequalities and significant diversity, and therefore its fictional character. Popular sovereignty as the basis of representative democracy is not able to protect the diversity that is at the basis of every society and to counter the dominating logic of powerful and privileged minorities over powerless majorities. The opposite of popular sovereignty would then be a notion of participatory democracy in which 'all citizens are really able to participate on the basis of effective, reciprocal equality, and, therefore, with full and conscious self-determination to the formation of the governing popular will' (Lucarelli 2013: 56).

What seems adamant if the struggle for the commons is to succeed is to contribute to a wider project of constitutional and legal change. This idea is not necessarily shared by all those endorsing the commons, but it appears to follow inescapably from the participatory thrust in this socio-political project

The fourth critique concerns *constituent power*, which is generally understood in modern constitutionalism as exhausting itself in the misty moment of constitutional creation. In other words, when a constitution has been instituted, its logic prescribes a strong distinction between law and politics (what James Tully refers to as the constitution's 'disembeddedness', Tully 2008: 198), and constituent power disappears in the favour of the constituted power of democratic institutions (Femia 2012: 132-33, 141). The movement for the Commons criticizes this constitutional imaginary for effectively reducing if not eliminating civil society influence on economic and political decision-making (not least with regard to such deeply embedded principles such as private property). In this, it argues for the recuperation of the notion of constituent power and the recognition of the continuous salience of constituent power within constitutional democracies. Here, the idea of the commons comes closer to understandings in democratic thinking that underscore the role of social movements and other forms of non-institutionalized political action in 'extraordinary politics' (Kalyvas 2008: 13). In other words, if constitutional democracy is to live up to the idea of what Cornelius Castoriadis has called the 'autonomous society' in which citizens are jointly the authors of the laws that hold their political community together, than the disembedded nature of liberal constitutionalism directly violates the idea of collective autonomy. The project for the commons is therefore also the project for the revival of the idea of collective autonomy, in the face of strong countervailing forces such as the constitutionalization of the economy or the juridification of politics.

What seems adamant if the struggle for the commons is to succeed is to contribute to a wider project of constitutional and legal change. This idea is not necessarily shared by all those endorsing the commons, but it appears to follow inescapably from the participatory thrust in this socio-political project. Recent constitutional events in Iceland (in which the idea of the commons played a role), but also calls for civic participation in constitutional change in Ireland and the UK (in particular, the recently launched project of a crowd-sourced constitution) indicate possible steps into this direction.

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"This place is about the struggle"

Producing the common through homelessness and biopolitical resistance in a public park

Jeff Rose

The commons is a contested notion, but also one with many widespread understandings. Generally, the commons refers to a resource that is shared by a group of people who collectively use and manage it. Traditionally, the commons referenced "natural resources," while today the commons is a nonspecific term for many types of shared resources in which each stakeholder has an equal interest (Hess & Ostrom, 2007, pp. 4-5). Commons not only refers to the material or discursive thing in question, but the socially and politically constructed human governance and management of these entities. The commons can be a place, a set of practices, and the free exchange of products and ideas, requiring democratic participation in its production and its construction (Holder & Flessas, 2008). The notion of the commons "implies a resource is owned, managed, and used by the community [through] interdependence and cooperation [and a] democratic form of governance" (Shiva, 2005, p. 21).

Hardt and Negri (2004; 2009) expand upon these constructions of the commons and its political production. While the notion of the commons is widely invoked, Hardt and Negri intentionally focus on the common as an explicitly political project, since, in their view, the commons "refers to pre-capitalist-shared spaces that were destroyed by the advent of private property" (2004; p. xv). Thus, Hardt and Negri define the common not only by what it is, but by the necessarily democratic processes of the multitude by which the common is produced, managed, and governed. The multitude is a collective democratic resistance and dialectical counter to the networked power of global neoliberal capitalism, "an open and expansive network in which all differences can be expressed freely and equally, a network that provides the means of encounter so that we can work and live in common" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. xiv). This common is not only the setting for the multitude, but it is also the product of the multitude:

> By 'the common' we mean, first of all, the common wealth of the material world – the air, the water, the fruits of the soil . . . We consider the common those results of social production that are necessary for social interaction and further production, such as knowledges, languages, codes, information, affects, and so forth. (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p. viii)

The democratic struggle for constructing a viable common is, ultimately, a biopolitical project. During an extended ethnography of homelessness in a Salt Lake City public park (Rose, 2013), I used Hardt and Negri's lens to interpret the spaces of the park's social, political, and physical landscape as a common. The park sits in the liminal spaces along various material and discursive tensions, between public space and private space, nature and society, urban and wild. Sandwiched between open, unbuilt spaces and the Salt Lake City urban core, the

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park has green, manicured grass, ball fields, playgrounds, walking paths, and, inconspicuously, sagging tents and constructed shelters of the park residents, those who call the park home. This ethnography engaged with a biopolitical struggle that was ongoing for years, but where resistances remain in their relative infancies. Whatever the nascent stage of this resistance, it emanates from the very bodies of the park's residents – their presence in the supposed public space of the park is biopolitical resistance. They live in the public domain, yet they simultaneously are denied access to these spaces, while also privatizing areas within the park to make them their own. This presence, this existence in public space, is both the park residents' greatest vulnerability and also their greatest asset. The individuals living in the park represent one way in which, beyond material goods or services, social relationships and forms of life are simultaneously produced and resisted. The occupation of public space by individuals facing homelessness is in its own way a "direct engagement with social life in its entirety" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. 94). These park residents want something like the common, where the imperative dichotomy of public-private is dissolved, where the capitalist rules of property and accumulation of wealth are not guiding principles of society.

Two men approached me, curious about who I was and what I was doing at the park. They asked my name and immediately welcomed me to the park in what felt like a really genuine way. Rick, the younger of the two, wore tattered jeans, no shirt, and had most of his hair stuffed into his homemade knit hat. A scar on his lower abdomen suggested an appendectomy. Roy, the older of the two, was nicely dressed and incredibly friendly. He's 73 years old, and moved here in 1958. They asked what I was doing here, and when I told them I was from Utah, they laughed at my whiteness and nicknamed me Mitt Romney. Roy asked more questions about me, my interests, and my histories, and in the process, simultaneously disclosed more about his own histories. Roy explained about the free speech movements that occurred in the park in the 1960s, Vietnam War protests, police-inflicted violence, and various policies of closing and opening the park to different populations at different times. As a Black man, he was not always welcome in the park. I told Roy that I was ultimately just interested in understanding what this place was all about. Roy looked me directly in the eye and replied solemnly, "Jeff, this place is about the struggle. It's about struggle. This place is what you see because we struggled then, and we struggle now. And we'll keep struggling for it. That's what we'll do." Roy spoke with the conviction of a person who had lived through difficult experiences of homelessness, and still worked to produce a social, political, and physical landscape that was to his and his community's satisfaction.

Roy and I continued chatting for over an hour, and our conversation ranged over a number of topics. Meanwhile, my initial social discomforts dissolved. As we sat and talked, others gathered around us, contributing to the conversation, asking questions, making arguments, and genuinely engaging in the discourse. A teenager from Ohio with a skateboard asked why police enforced unjust laws, followed by a woman and her newborn who expressed frustration about the local bus system.

What was occurring in the park, though, was biopolitical action advancing for the welfare of the people and the place. The park itself, with all of its democratic ideals that were expressed that day, was the result of decades of "struggle," as Roy so elegantly told me. It is the product of social and political dissent, and it remains contested today between multiple stakeholder groups, as well as from efforts at enclosure through exclusion, privatization, and development. "The struggles of the multitude are based in common organizational structures, where the common is seen as not a natural resource but a social product, and this common is an

inexhaustible source of innovation and creativity" (Hardt & Negri, 2009, pp. 111-112). In the park, this struggle continues today, but the physical and social spaces created there are also the result of decades of constant struggle from below, within, and outside.

For these individuals constantly contesting displacement through enclosures, the common is an extremely useful construct (Blomley, 2008). Enclosures of the park – through privatization, legal displacement, competing park uses, and through concern for "public health" – compromise these park's residents' survival, as it does for anyone facing homelessness, and biopolitical resistance to these enclosures remains essential. This resistance took place in the form of spatial occupation – hanging out, eating, sleeping, and living in tents – in defiance of standard discursive constructions of public and private. The park residents, like others facing homelessness, "force us to go beyond an exclusive focus on the workings of private property and to acknowledge the existence of counterposed property claims that are collective in scope" (Blomley, 2008, p. 316). If the park were common, the collective rights of people's access to this space might be more fully recognized and respected through both legal and discursive means.

What was occurring in the park was biopolitical action advancing for the welfare of the people and the place. The park itself, with all of its democratic ideals that were expressed that day, was the result of decades of struggle

At the park, the common remains an illusory construction, as it has to be formed democratically, and cannot be appropriately managed under neoliberal ideologies and practices of our current world system. No institutions (governmental or otherwise) generate better outcomes for all resources and all people under all conditions, as there are no panaceas (Ostrom, 2002), and governments themselves are well implicated in the (re)production of capitalism. Capitalism, embedded with notions of compound growth and unlimited by socio-ecological conditions (Harvey, 2010), is the antithesis of the common. However, the production and maintenance of the common is vital, as no systemic problems can be solved – injustice, poverty, environmental degradation, health, climate change, or others – without addressing the unjust systems that created them.

In the management of this public park – a "common" community resource – power is leveraged and contested by the park residents and those who seek a less inclusive landscape. For the individuals living in the park, they biopolitically resist the dualisms of public and private space, countering contemporary capitalism's ideological hegemony. They resist institutionalized structures of neoliberal capitalism, even as it strengthens and entrenches itself further into the fabric of our lives. The park residents expose many of the inherent contradictions in the existing capitalist political economic system. Their biopolitical lives serve as points of ironic dissonance, where park residents underscore public-private conceptual and material fractures without contradicting them.

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Sguardi critici sulla "natura" dei beni comuni

Niccolò Cuppini

> Se non c'è lotta contro la nocività e contro la tacita accettazione dei suoi costi, il danno ecologico non è molto più di un fenomeno estetico, come lo smog in un dipinto di Monet.[1]

Talvolta alcune categorie, entrando diffusamente nel lessico politico, vengono sovraccaricate di significati. Si gonfiano e finiscono con l'avere molteplici crepe, fuoriuscite, scomposizioni ed evanescenze. Aporie, controcircuiti interni, contraddizioni ed ambiguità contraddistinguono l'attuale dibattito sui beni comuni, nonostante come significante essi abbiano una storia radicata nella concettualità occidentale. Negli ultimi anni l'estesa proliferazione dei contesti li ha resi un'idea ombrello, un materiale plastico sempre adattabile. Questo non solo perché li si vede declinati in molteplici ambiti disciplinari (dalla filosofia alla scienza politica, dal diritto all'economia), ma soprattutto perché il tema dei beni comuni è al centro, come direbbe Koselleck, di una contesa politica per l'appropriazione del concetto stesso. Intendiamo qui impostare una traccia genealogica e di ricerca che possa rendere conto del come i beni comuni si generino e seguendo quali necessità. Cercheremo, dunque, di verificare problematicamente l'ipotesi secondo la quale uno dei maggiori limiti o elementi di confusione nel dibattito attuale è l'oscillazione che tende alla sovrapposizione fra bene comune e beni comuni. Spezzare questa simbiosi significa profilare i secondi come un oggetto di contesa che si genera costantemente all'interno di un conflitto. In questa chiave i beni comuni rappresentano la posta in palio per una parte in lotta invece che la generica esigenza o la neutra esistenza di una "totalità". Dunque disunione *versus* unità.

Nel moderno pensiero politico occidentale è possibile stabilire due filoni che lungo questa contrapposizione si articolano. Se con Hobbes si afferma l'unità come cardine del politico, è con Machiavelli che invece il conflitto fra le parti si insinua nella trama costitutiva della modernità. Tuttavia è nel corso dell'Ottocento che una vera e propria rottura con l'idea di unità si afferma. Il bene comune come unità subisce una decisa pluralizzazione, cioè ancora nel senso di Koselleck una decisa ideologizzazione. In Marx, tracciando una linea ideale che lo lega per l'appunto a Machiavelli, centrale è proprio il pensiero della disunione sociale: l'idea del bene comune come universale della società si incrina definitivamente. I beni comuni emergono laddove l'autore tedesco descrive la separazione – simboleggiata dalle *enclosures* – dei lavoratori dai mezzi di produzione e dalle condizioni di realizzazione del lavoro, che Marx identifica inizialmente con le terre comuni: è la cosiddetta "accumulazione originaria"[2]. Il bene comune è in definitiva per Marx una forma puramente ideologica. A questo punto il

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1 Midnight Notes Collective and Friends (2008), "Promissory Notes. From Crisis to Commons", p. 2.
2 *Il Capitale*, I, pt. VII, § 24.

concetto è preso in un doppio movimento simultaneo che da un lato lo fa divenire *commons* con riferimento ai beni "naturali"; dall'altro lo scompone socialmente nella lotta fra le classi.

Negli ultimi anni numerosi filoni teorici si sono confrontati in maniera critica con l'idea di "accumulazione originaria" proposta da Marx. Kalyan Sanyal ad esempio mostra come il ripetersi di forme di "accumulazione originaria" sia consustanziale allo sviluppo del capitalismo post-coloniale[3]. Anna Tsing mostra invece l'"attualità della preistoria" all'interno delle coordinate spazio-temporali del capitalismo globale, che combina continuamente differenti regimi di produzione e del lavoro[4]. Assumendo queste riflessioni possiamo allora definire una prospettiva nella quale la continua riproposizione di forme di "accumulazione originaria" diviene una dinamica costitutiva del presente.

Distinguere teoreticamente ed in forma dialettica "bene comune" e "beni comuni" conduce alla necessità di una costante ridefinizione di questi ultimi. Una ridefinizione che non costruisce i beni comuni come predeterminati dalla natura o dalla tradizione ma come esito di conflitti

Vediamo in opera una rinnovata "dialettica" tra nuove enclosures e beni comuni. Sorge dunque una domanda: nel momento in cui i *commons* e le "nuove recinzioni" divengono centrali, cosa sono i beni comuni oggetto di recinzione da parte delle politiche neo-liberali? La maggior parte della letteratura propone una distinzione di partenza: da un lato i beni comuni afferiscono al pianeta e alle sue risorse (terra, acqua, minerali, foreste ecc...), con un significato strettamente connesso all'uso inglese tipico del XVII secolo; dall'altro lato i beni comuni vengono visti come il risultato del lavoro e della creatività umana (idee, linguaggio, ma con un uso estensivo anche le forme della riproduzione sociale). Viene dunque a configurarsi una endiadi che divide fra beni comuni "naturali" ed "artificiali". Una contrapposizione tutto sommato problematica, che più o meno consapevolmente continua ad associare beni comune a bene comune, neutralizzando e mistificando il significato dei primi. Da un lato infatti il "naturale" non è mai un'oggettività assoluta, ma qualcosa di costantemente prodotto e riprodotto dall'attività umana[5]. Cerchiamo allora di evitare un'idealizzazione romantica dell'origine o nostalgie per la tradizione, che Marx, nei *Grundrisse*, definiva come "idolatria della natura". Quando infatti i beni comuni vengono identificati con qualcosa di esistente in maniera autonoma in "natura", difficilmente si esce dai rompicapi e vicoli ciechi dai quali stiamo invece cercando di districarci.

Ancora: se radichiamo la concezione dei *commons* in una lettura che non storicizza il pensiero di Marx, essi dovrebbero riferirsi solo allo stadio pre-capitalistico. Ma ha davvero senso porre politicamente la questione dei beni comuni come la difesa o il ritorno a una forma di vita "tradizionale"? Questo approccio è denso di nostalgie organicistiche e antimoderne. Guardiamo ora alla seconda accezione sopra definita: essa è indubbiamente più dinamica, in quanto coinvolge direttamente i rapporti sociali. Tuttavia anche in questo caso, pur per strade differenti rispetto a prima, esistono molti rischi. I beni comuni "artificiali" diventano patrimonio di una indistinta e generica umanità disincarnata. La formula beni comuni ripropone in altri termini e ancora una volta l'"interesse generale", eludendo la parzialità degli interessi in gioco.

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3 Sanyal K., *Ripensare lo sviluppo capitalistico. Accumulazione originaria, governamentalità e capitalismo postcoloniale: il caso indiano*, La Casa Usher, 2011.

4 Tsing A. L., *Friction: An Etnography of Global Connection*, Princeton University Press, Princeton-Oxford, 2005.

5 Proposte per superare la contrapposizione tra naturale e artificiale si possono trovare ad esempio in Kaushik Sunder Rajan, *Biocapital* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2006), Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York, Routledge, 2004) e Anne Fausto-Sterling, *Sex/Gender* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

Se invece proviamo a indossare altre lenti, possiamo tentare di dinamizzare la concezione dei beni comuni, guardandoli come campi di contesa e di battaglia, non come qualcosa di esistente in sé ma come elementi continuamente "prodotti" dalle trasformazioni del lavoro, inteso come attività umana cooperante. Ponendo l'accento sulla cooperazione e sulla processualità, i beni comuni cessano di essere entità astratte con una vita esterna e indipendente. Divengono terreni di disputa, organizzazione ed appropriazione. Seguendo Silvia Federici, la cooperazione non è mai un a priori, ma un'attivazione sociale che si dà in opposizione al quadro di potere esistente[6]. L'autrice propone di partire dal verbo invece che dall'oggetto, parlando di *commoning*, e sostenendo che è "la cooperazione che precede un bene o la riappropriazione di un bene. E ogni processo di riappropriazione avviene solo se c'è un grosso livello di lotta e cooperazione a monte".

Possiamo ulteriormente specificare la questione sottolineando il fatto che i beni comuni sono in quest'ultima ottica forme estremamente mutevoli ed ambivalenti. Sono infatti contemporaneamente fondamento ed esito di un processo: statuto paradossale che però è in grado di tenere assieme analiticamente molteplici dimensioni, dalle forze soggettive alle strutture economiche. In sostanza, distinguere teoreticamente ed in forma dialettica "bene comune" e "beni comuni" conduce alla necessità di una costante ridefinizione di questi ultimi. Una ridefinizione che non costruisce i beni comuni come predeterminati dalla natura o dalla tradizione ma come esito di conflitti.

Riprendere lo sguardo della disunione e delle parti, come quello di Machiavelli e Marx, potrebbe quindi essere un fondamentale esercizio per re-immaginare i beni comuni oltre le molteplici tendenze ipostatizzanti che attualmente li connotano. Aprire cioè un cantiere di ricerca entro il quale i beni comuni possono darsi esclusivamente come sottrazione dal bene comune e come sua materiale destrutturazione.

6 "Il comune della riproduzione. Intervista a Silvia Federici", a cura di Anna Curcio e Cristina Morini per Uninomade.org.

Dove la nostalgia diventa un bene comune

Eleonora Guadagno

Sarno, Campania, maggio 1998: una frana, amplificata dal sovra-sfruttamento del territorio, distrugge parte del centro abitato, provocando morti, feriti e numerosi evacuati. Molti sono ancora oggi in attesa di riottenere i propri alloggi.

Cavallerizzo di Cerzeto, Calabria, marzo 2005: una frana provoca un dissesto di parte di una delle frazioni che compongono il paese di Cavallerizzo e le autorità nazionali decidono arbitrariamente di ricostruirla realizzando la "Nuova Cavallerizzo".

Catastrofi generate da una vulnerabilità ambientale e sociale che si tramutano, ancora una volta, in disastri collettivi, minando i beni comuni materiali (l'ambiente) ed emozionali (la memoria e la nostalgia) di una comunità. Beni comuni che, nel momento della catastrofe, perdono la loro connotazione di "neutralità"e diventano ostacoli allo sviluppo della collettività stessa. Abbandono territoriale e utilizzo sconsiderato delle risorse generano gravi conseguenze ecosistemiche, non solo sconvolgendo le risorse e gli elementi naturalistici di un territorio, ma anche modificandone profondamente la percezione da parte delle comunità che lo abitava.

Le migrazioni e i trasferimenti delle comunità sono da sempre legati all'ambiente, alle risorse e alle caratteristiche climatiche. Che cosa succede, però, quando una comunità umana è *costretta* ad allontanarsi da un luogo? Quali sono i sentimenti nei confronti della vita in quel territorio che ha visto gli alberi crescere, i figli giocare e diventare grandi, ma che in ultimo ha traumatizzato la memoria collettiva? Cosa significa perdere un bene comune? Quali conseguenze a livello immateriale determina questa perdita? Il territorio di una comunità non è solo un luogo, un insieme di elementi che si giustappongono, ma è fatto di beni dotati di significati profondi. Una strada, una scuola, una chiesa, una quercia, una panchina non sono solo parte dell'urbanistica o dell'arredo urbano ma rappresentano un punto di riferimento nella memoria singolare e plurale, tanto nella mappa mentale individuale quanto in quella tramandata in maniera collettiva.

La lontananza determinata dall'esilio forzato, segnata da una frattura temporale e spaziale, rafforza la nostalgia rispetto a quella scuola, quella chiesa, quella quercia, quella panchina e a tutto un ambiente in quanto bene comune. Questa nostalgia genera emozioni che modificano la percezione e i sentimenti individuali nei confronti dei nuovi luoghi abitati. Nel caso di Sarno la popolazione sfollata ha dovuto abbandonare il luogo della frana, si è trasferita in altre frazioni, altri paesi, altre città o è ritornata nel quartiere di origine, completamente trasformato fisicamente e vuotato di tutte le sovrastrutture emozionali di una comunità che

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si diceva coesa. Nel caso di Cerzeto invece la comunità *arbëreshëche* abitava la vecchia Cavallerizzo è stata costretta a lasciare le proprie case per trasferirsi in un nuovo centro appena costruito. In questo caso i nuovi spazi, più o meno distanti e più o meno estranei, sembrano solo una brutta copia dei vecchi. La destabilizzazione sociale di uno sradicamento forzato crea dunque quella nostalgia che per i greci era il "dolore del ritorno". Si tratta di un sentimento che pregiudica la vita reale proprio a causa di quella tristezza che gli abitanti di Sarno e di Cavallerizzo provano nel rivisitare i luoghi del disastro e della memoria.

A seguito di una catastrofe che depriva una comunità dei propri beni materiali, si assiste anche ad una deprivazione immateriale

Le persone che dopo la frana sono tornate ad abitare nelle loro vecchie abitazioni a Sarno si sentono inadeguate, provano rabbia e delusione rispetto alla gestione post-emergenziale e cercano costantemente di ritrovare o di ridare senso a quei beni che erano della loro comunità; le persone che hanno deciso di andare via, sentendosi escluse di luoghi familiari, d'altro canto, tornano raramente in luoghi divenuti marginali e percepiti come ostili, imbarazzati da nuovi spazi nuovi e privi di senso, che non comunicano più nulla. A Cerzeto invece è il vecchio a dominare sul nuovo: dalla *new town* alzando lo sguardo si vede il vecchio insediamento, la vecchia chiesa greco-ortodossa, le case abbandonate. Non se ne può fare a meno; non si può voltare lo sguardo: Cavallerizzo è lì in parte ancora intatto e sembra un *memento* di ciò che è stato, dei beni perduti, un confronto costante rispetto a quello che è e a quello che manca, oltre che un monito a quello che potrà essere di nuovo se mancheranno partecipazione alle decisioni pubbliche e rispetto verso il territorio.

In effetti, a seguito di una catastrofe che priva una comunità dei propri beni materiali, dell'ambiente e della sua gestione, si assiste anche a una deprivazione immateriale, tanto più accentuata in contesti tradizionali, estremamente marcati dalle identità territoriali, dove la ricerca della "comunità perduta" acquisisce un ruolo centrale. A Sarno, nel momento successivo alla pura "emergenza", la comunità del quartiere Episcopio, la più toccata dalla catastrofe, si è ritrovata sprovvista di quel collante sociale che la contraddistingueva, fatto di solidarietà e di partecipazione attiva alla vita comunitaria. Le molte donne rimaste vedove, per esempio, hanno dovuto ridefinire il loro ruolo sociale in altri spazi, senza il supporto di quella comunità in cui si sentivano protette. A Cerzeto, la struttura tradizionale dell'antico centro abitato (*gjitonia*) e la distribuzione aleatoria del nuovo, la mancanza in quest'ultimo di luoghi conviviali e di ritrovo (ma anche di una scuola, di una chiesa e di una posta) fa sì che non siano in alcun modo rappresentati gli effettivi bisogni di questa comunità, anche a causa del mancato coinvolgimento della popolazione locale nella realizzazione e gestione del nuovo distretto.

L'assenza di un sentimento di comunità, la sensazione di aver subito un'ingiustizia, inoltre, crea dipendenze non volute e particolarismi, peggiorando l'interazione uomo-ambiente e scardinando i legami interlocali. La problematica dell'ambiente come bene comune da salvaguardare e la mancanza di concertazione nelle politiche post-traumatiche tra enti locali e associazioni territoriali mettono in luce quanto poco l'ambiente sia percepito dalle autorità come un bene comune, ecosistema che da' forma alla coesione sociale e alla memoria individuale e collettiva. Tale negazione provoca conseguenze negative sui sentimenti della comunità, generando sperequazioni di potere. Le frane a Sarno e a Cerzeto hanno generato uno shock che ha creato a sua volta nuove relazioni simboliche e nuove relazioni sociali, pro-

vocate dall'interdizione dall'accesso alla risorsa ambientale e da una mancanza di gestione condivisa dell'evento e delle sue conseguenze. Ci si sente appartenenti in maniera collettiva a qualcosa che non c'è più, ci si domanda persino se quel qualcosa sia mai esistito. Ci si sente, allo stesso tempo, attanagliati in dinamiche di egoismo e di invidia generate dalla solitudine, dal dolore, dalla morte, dalla perdita materiale delle risorse, dalla compensazione economica ottenuta o meno, che provocano sentimenti d'incertezza, di precarietà, di vulnerabilità sociale, di nostalgia e di disintegrazione sociale. Ci si guarda intorno spaesati, tra beni pubblici che non si riconoscono e risorse ambientali deturpate sulle quali non si ha più giurisdizione, domandandosi se il bene più prezioso che si aveva prima della catastrofe non fosse proprio in fondo quel bene comune immateriale costituito da legami culturali e sociali all'interno del gruppo di riferimento, il sentimento e la certezza di appartenere alla *Gemeinschaft*, cioè, di essere parte della comunità.

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lo Squaderno 30
Commons – Practices, boundaries and thresholds

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Precariousness and spaces in digital society

sQuade