

- Davis, M. (2006) Planet of Slums, Verso, New York.
- Harvey, D. (1973) Social Justice and the City, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kaika, M. (2005) City of Flows. Nature, Modernity, and the City. New York: Routledge, (2005).
- Kasperson X. J. & E. R. (2005) The Social Contours of Risk Vol.1 Publics, Risk Communication and the Social Amplifications of Risk. USA, Earthscan, 1-99.
- Keleş, R. (1990) Kentleşme Politikası (The Policy of Urbanization), İmge, İstanbul.
- Nijman, J. (2008) Against the Odds: Slum Rehabilitation in Neoliberal Mumbai, Cities, 25.
- Swyngedouw, E. Moulaert, F. & Rodriguez, A. (2002) Neoliberal Urbanization in Europe: Large-Scale Urban Development Projects and the New Urban Policy, Antipode
- Swyngedouw, E. (2000) Authoritarian governance, power and the politics of rescaling”, Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 18:63–76.
- Swyngedouw, E. (1999) “Modernity and hibridity: nature, Regeneracionismo, and the production of the Spanish waterscape, 890–1930”, Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 89(3) 443–465.
- Tekeli, İ. (2003) Kentleri Dönüşüm Mekânı Olarak Düşünmek (Thinking Cities As the Spaces of Transformation), Kentsel Dönüşüm Sempozyumu Bildiriler, YTÜ Basım-Yayın Merkezi İstanbul.
- Ünsal Ö. B. & Türkün A. (2014) Neoliberal Kentsel Dönüşüm: Kentsel Alanlarda Sınıfsal Tahliye, Yoksullaşma ve Mülksüzleştirme (Neoliberal Urban Transformation), Türkün, A. (Eds.), Mülk Mahal İnsal İstanbul'da Kentsel Dönüşüm (Urban Transformation in Istanbul), İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 17-36.
- IBB (2004) Earthquake Masterplan for Istanbul , Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality prepared by Bogazici University, Istanbul Technical University, Middle East Technical University. Yıldız Technical University,
- JICA-IMM (2003) The Study on a Disaster Prevention / Mitigation Basic Plan in Istanbul including Seismic Microzonation in the Republic of Turkey – Japan International Cooperation Agency and Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (JICA – IMM)
- UNDP/ISDR (2010) Local Governments and Disaster Risk Reduction Good Practices and Lessons Learned, Geneva Switzerland, ITC.
- UN Millennium Task Force on Improving Lives of Slum Dwellers (2005) A Home in the City. London, Earthscan.
- UN, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2015) World Urbanization Prospects: The 2014 Revision, (ST/ESA/SER.A/366).
- UNDP/Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery (2004) A Global Report Reducing Disaster Risk a Challenge for Development. NY, USA.
- UNISDR, How to Make Cities More Resilient/A handbook for Local Government Leaders (2012) Geneva, Switzerland.

ID (1017) | TOWARDS A THEORY OF CHANGE: MARGINAL AREAS AND DEVELOPMENT POLICIES IN A CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Claudia Meschiari¹; Viviana Fini²

¹Faculty of Architecture RomaTre University; ² ISBEM
cmeschiari@uniroma3.it ; vivianafini@gmail.com

1 INTRODUCTION

The paper aims at exploring the relation between processes of policy-making and cultural dimensions, assuming that cultural and symbolic dimensions are relevant in the ways in which both policy-makers and beneficiaries understand and respond to changes.

The frame is represented by the Horizon2020 project Re.Cri.Re.: between the representation of the crisis and the crisis of representations, started in May 2015 and involving several disciplinary fields: psychology, urban and territorial studies, economy, sociology, philosophy.

The research opportunity is given by the on-going Italian experience in national and local policies for inner areas called "SNAI" (Strategia Nazionale per le Aree Interne, National Strategy for Inner Areas). This policy, built in 2013, is operating in 20 pilot areas across the country and it will cover, in next years, all the areas defined as "peripheral" or "ultra-peripheral" of Italian peninsula, corresponding approximately to the 60% of Italian territory. In particular, our contribution will focus on the implementation of SNAI in one specific pilot area, Alta Irpinia, a Southern area located in the mountain part of Campania Region.

In the following pages we will briefly present the cultural approach to policy-making in general terms, as we are elaborating it in Re.Cri.Re. project. Then we will introduce local development and cohesion policies, framing SNAI and the implementation in Alta Irpinia, with some conclusions concerning how to incorporate a cultural perspective in the processes of policy-making.

2 CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE IN POLICY-MAKING

Re.Cri.Re. project¹ is built on the idea that in policy-making the analysis of cultural dimensions is highly valuable because they moderate the impact of policies, especially in time of crisis. With "cultural dimensions" in Re.Cri.Re. it is intended the deep structure of systems of meanings which allow human beings to produce their own interpretation of events (Salvatore et al., 2017). In time of crisis, the systems of meanings are challenged and interrupted, producing different potential scenarios: ruptures, closures, new adaptations, innovation. We know, by literature and experience, that the impacts of policies are not just the sum of their intrinsic characteristics, such as attended outputs, targets groups, tools; neither they depend just on the relevance of the contents (cohesion, development, gender equality...). Policies for local development are a quite clear example of this. In local development policies, "culture" is usually used as part of the immaterial assets contributing in creating the specific milieu, able or unable to support and to embody the changes required by the policies. Even if the existence of these local immaterial specificities is widely accepted, we experience a lack of professional approaches able to integrate the recognition of cultural dimensions in processes of policy-making. The experience in the analysis of the complex process of policy-making empirically showed that policy-makers often have a sort of sense of what are the prevalent directions of cultural dimensions at stake in the communities in which they operate, and they can use this knowledge in different ways and for different purposes. For example, they can use it to norm, considering cultural dimensions as a problem to be solved; or they may use their knowledge in functional terms, for example to adapt communication or interventions; or, eventually, they can consider cultural dimensions as a crucial part of human variability and as something to be addressed, something that can be generative in terms of change.

One of the goal of Re.Cri.Re. project, as result of cooperation between territorial and psychological studies, is to propose approaches enabling policy-makers to consider the role of cultural dimensions in their own practices in a dynamic and strategic way.

In the present paper, we will adopt the idea that the process of policy-making is a special kind of human interaction among policy-makers and beneficiaries, in which the issues of "future" and "change" are central. As every human interaction, it is based on the "idea of the other", grounding the actions, the tools for communication and the goals. With "idea of the other" we basically refer to the ways in which each participant represent the other, as a ground of the relation. The research, in this phase, is focusing on how policy-makers see, and consequently act towards, the target population in terms of their human variability: that is, the specific and context-based ways through which beneficiaries understand and interpreted the world, the resources and also the policies themselves. This approach allows to see policies, their failure and success, in a different perspective. In particular, three main questions grounded the analysis:

Question 1. Theory. Which aspects of the human variability are taken into account? Which type of knowledge concerning beneficiaries is produced during design, implementation and evaluation phases?

¹ see the website of the project: www.recrire.eu

contributed in enhancing the role of institutional, cultural and cognitive assets to explain why some regions show more proclivity to produce development than others.

Governa (2007), briefly sum up some of the main, well-known, criticalities raised by practices of promotion of "local development": the tendency in repeating the same processes and solutions for very different contexts, despite the common and rhetorical recognition of the uniqueness of "local" contexts; the apparently un-escapable problem of vicious circle, in which some local immaterial assets (such as good local governance, trust in institutions, capabilities to build visions for the future) are both a premise and an output of the process of development; the weakness of partnerships, often born for the sake of specific financial goals and then unable to produce durable changes. In other situations, most positive experiences seem to be produced by specific, "enlightened" actors such as a mayor, a group of deputy mayors or a public manager, in an idiosyncratic, unique way (Donolo, in De Leo, Fini 2012).

At the ground of the idea of "local" development there is the recognition that localities and their actors are necessarily the ones embodying the production of change. Consequently, the relation between the national or European policy-makers and the local stakeholders reveals to be crucial, as well as the relation between local stakeholders and inhabitants.

In the attempt to address both the limits and the potentialities of cohesion policy, Barca's report (2009) re-framed this relation through a "place-based approach". In his view, the role of European and national policy-makers is to provide the general aims of efficiency and equity, strategic fields of interventions, innovation and the tools to evaluate processes and results; while local stakeholders are the ones who hold the specific knowledge concerning available potentialities and criticalities. In Barca's view, inspiring Italian National Strategy for Inner Areas, the role of the national level is also to "destabilize" the local balance of power, which sometime are the main responsible of the lack of development at local level. This top-down "destabilizing" activity will correspond to a bottom-up activity which is in charge of local groups (both local decision-makers and civil society), in order to provide site-specific knowledge and to cooperate with the national level to find place-based solutions. The local is, in this view, in charge with the production of "knowledge chains", that is the possibility to identify the local assets and to connect them with a strategic view of the local context; and it is also the place in which local innovators are to be found, supported and possibly included in the process of definition of the local strategy, through a scouting process (Barca, 2016; Tantillo 2015).

4 THE DESIGN OF NATIONAL STRATEGY FOR INNER AREAS IN (VERY) BRIEF

The National Strategy for Inner Areas (SNAI) is a policy enacted by the National Italian Government starting in 2012 and promoted by Fabrizio Barca, at that time Ministry for Territorial Cohesion. SNAI is organised as an inter-sectorial programme, involving several Ministries: Territorial Cohesion and Southern Italy; Work and Social Policies; Education, University and Research; Health; Infrastructures; Economic Development. Presently, the programme is in charge with the Department of Cohesion Policies of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. SNAI is a multilevel programme, promoted at national level and implemented through Regions at local level. It adopts a mix of sources, both European, national and regional: SNAI aims at combining 2014-2020 EU funds (ERDF, ESF, EAFRD, EMFF) with interventions to improve the provision of essential services through additional resources included in Italian Stability Law, in cooperation with National Ministries, Regions and Provinces. SNAI focuses on areas of the country which are significantly far from hubs of services and infrastructures: nearly 13 millions of people live in these areas (approx. 25% of Italian population), covering the 60% of Italian territory (UVAL, 2014).

The demographic trends, considered as crucial in defining inner areas, are described considering the last 40 years (1971-2011), as characterised by: reduction in the number of inhabitants; ageing of the population; increase of immigration, considered as a partial "mitigation" of the ageing and abandonment of inner areas; change in land use and productive activities (in particular agricultural activities are declining, favouring the growth of forests but also the increase of hydrogeological risks). SNAI team produced a very detailed and open access database concerning more than 100 indicators, useful to describe the socio-economic and territorial conditions of Inner Areas in Italy. They are also working to include more and more these territories in the political agenda of Italian governments.

Generally speaking, the strategy aims at inverting the demographic decline of these areas, in terms of emigration, ageing and low level of birth-rate. This goal will be pursued promoting two type of actions:

- ensuring adequate public provision of essential services in these areas (especially in education, health and mobility), also fostering cooperation among Municipalities;
- supporting local development strategies, through a place-based approach.

The strategy implies experimentations in each Italian region, choosing one or more pilot areas. In pilot areas, SNAI national team is cooperating with local stakeholders and mayors to define a specific, context-based strategy. Strategies will have some priorities in terms of fields of action, in particular: territorial safeguarding; valorisation of natural and cultural assets and sustainable tourism; agricultural business and production; renewable energy supply chains and energy saving; handicraft and local knowledge.

5 THE CONTEXT OF ALTA IRPINIA, CAMPANIA REGION, ITALY

25 Municipalities in Alta Irpinia were chosen to be one of the areas implementing the National Strategy in Campania Region. Irpinia is a historical and geographical sub-region located approximately 100-150 km East from Naples. It represents the hill and mountain area of Avellino Province, with several peaks overpassing 1500 mt on the sea level. The landscape can be described as a succession of valleys and mountains, very rich in waters and forests. Historical villages are often located on the top of hills, born during as fortified settlements. The area is classified as "high seismic risk", and this has been dramatically evident in November 23rd 1980, when a violent earthquake hit the area.

Nowadays, the pilot area includes a population of approx. 60.000 inhabitants, with very low density: only 2 Municipalities out of 25 reach 5.000 inhabitants (Lioni and Montella) and 4 of them are under 1000 inhabitants (Cairano, Cassano Irpino, Monteverde and Rocca San Felice). In the phase 1971-2011 these Municipalities lost the 25% of their population. Presently, the percentage of population over 65 years-old is approx. 24% of the total population, overpassing also the average of all Italian inner areas.

We will focus on the history of Irpinia after the violent earthquake that hit the area in November 23rd 1980, killing approximately three thousand people and causing the displacement of 280.000 inhabitants. Before the earthquake, Irpinia was mainly an agricultural area, already experiencing demographic decline and emigration. This occurred in line with the two main trajectories of internal migration in Italy: from the South to the North; from rural areas to the major cities. After the emergency phase, the process of re-construction started, following some peculiar strategies. It was intended as an opportunity to push for the economic development of the inner areas of Southern Italy, which were the most deprived of the country. Several sites were selected and provided with the infrastructures to host industries; entrepreneurs were supported through non-repayable loans, in order to start their activities in the area, promoting industrial development through strong financial support in deprived areas (Sarno, 2009). In Irpinia, several industrial areas were built in few years, especially in the valleys; a very scattered diffusion, increasing also costs for infrastructures, that was then described as "one bell tower, one chimney stack", often damaging environmental conditions (Ventura, 2015). As M.S. and S.C. referred during the interviews (they are actors of local development starting their activities in those years), the process of re-construction was dominated by a blind trust in the entrepreneurs, most of them coming from the Northern Italy, and a deep distrust for local farmers and artisans. Moreover, the equation between industrial activities and development led to partially ignore the peculiarities of the area. Only some of them survived and are still active, such as Ferrero and Zuegg, in agro-industrial sector, respecting the local peculiarities in terms of agricultural production. Other industrial activities which are still relevant are in mechanical (FIAT in Melfi, in Basilicata Region), high-tech and in wood industry. Despite these relevant exceptions, most of the industrial activities, supported during the re-construction, quickly failed. In parallel to the national model based on industrialisation, an alternative model of local development was prompted by a group of professionals, following the experience of bottom-up local development promoted in Sicily by Danilo Dolci and Lorenzo Barbera. This experience was based on cooperation and cultural empowerment (see for example Ventura 2013, documenting the experience of women cooperative activities for re-construction and employment). However, it was pretty marginal compared to the enormous afflux of money provided by national initiatives oriented towards re-construction and industrialization.

The evaluation of the re-construction phase, the use and abuse of money, the effects on territorial assets, on local economy and social structure are very complex and still matter for debates: according to several local actors, those decisions and events are still at the ground of the present economic, social and environmental situation in Irpinia.

Surely, a the different political and administrative attitude occurred in Italy during Nineties, after the "Tangentopoli" phase. The use of public money for private enterprises was partially interrupted; the development was organised more and more through "negotiated planning", a form of planning based on agreements between public actors (at various level) and private actors, aiming at pursuing a more regular, planned and accountable process of development. In parallel, the last 20 years were also characterised by a new relevant political actor for local development, that is EU. In Irpinia, LEADER Programme and funds for rural areas were the most used tools to activate initiatives for local governance and local development. Nevertheless, during Nineties and early 2000s, the demographic decline went on, despite the efforts of the re-construction, the attempts to develop industrial production in the area, European funds and the new tools for local governance. In last years, the situation was described as a progressive "desertification" , in demographic and economic terms.

6 IMPLEMENTATION OF SNAI IN ALTA IRPINIA

According to interviews to SNAI staff, Alta Irpinia was one of the most controversial experiences among pilot areas. Alta Irpinia was chosen, thanks to the cooperation between the national, inter-ministerial team and the Region Campania, in late 2014. In January 2015, Ciriaco De Mita was chosen to represent the assembly of the Mayors. Ciriaco De Mita is the Mayor of Nusco and he was one of the most relevant Italian politicians during Seventies and Eighties; his activity was decisive in the prevalence of the industrial development strategy after the earthquake and he is still recognised as very influencing, also at national level.

In July 2015 the first draft of the Strategy was defined, as required by the national directives for the pilot areas. The Draft of the Strategy for the pilot area "Città dell'Alta Irpinia" has the form of a list of criticalities followed by a "to do's list" reflecting the double nature of SNAI, operating both in public services and welfare and in development strategies. Accordingly, the Draft of the Strategy is organised in "Comunità di Servizi" (it could be translated in "Public services Community") and in "Comunità operosa" (Industrious Community), referring to the need to improve the welfare and infrastructural system and to support local development. Municipalities were also required to introduce some innovations concerning institutional cooperation: the group of mayors of Alta Irpinia decided to work on producing a common digital real estate registry and on the digital infrastructure for the area.

During the implementation of the strategy in Alta Irpinia, some unpredicted and unexpected effects occurred. In particular, the assembly experienced problems in cooperation among members and with other local actors and in transparency and openness of the process of the strategy definition, despite the goals of institutional cooperation and development through local "innovators" promoted by SNAI.

Local conflicts among Municipalities where also increased by changes implemented by Campania Region in the distribution of resources for Rural Programme. The Rural Programme (financed through EU funds) supports cooperation among private and public actors to develop initiatives for rural development through LAGs (local action groups). LAGs, together with "Comunità Montane" , represented the main forms of organisation among public and/or private actors in Italian rural areas and particularly in Irpinia. The number of LAG financed in Irpinia passed from 4 to 2, several Municipalities of Alta Irpinia are excluded and the new LAGs cover areas which are significantly not homogenous in their historical, geographical and social characteristics. The attempt, failed, to create a new LAG among the 25 Municipalities of the pilot area produced an unclear and conflictual situation in terms of groups involved in local development in Alta Irpinia, which will beneficiaries of funds and regional and national support. There is also the real risk to break up the experience of LAG CILSI, which was pointed out by national and regional experts as the most active and effective in the area. In other terms, the decisional process in Alta Irpinia does not seem to exploit and develop the results which were already considered as relevant in terms of rural development.

The process of decision-making is described by the experts of SNAI, by some local actors and in several articles appeared in local press, as poorly open and too much oriented by the influential presence of the

Mayor of Nusco, having negative effects on the involvement of the civil society but also on the internal debate. Some of the Mayors of the assembly actively claimed for a higher level of openness of the decision-making process but they were partially marginalised. In December 2016, these "dissidents" (as they were defined by some local press) organised a public meeting in Calitri together with associations of farmers, artisans and other associations of the civil society. They met in order to propose an alternative view of the process, claiming in particular for an increased openness, for more efforts towards young people and for a special attention towards agriculture and environment issues and they produced a written proposal which was then presented in the pilot area assembly. This action was interpreted as a threat to the unity of the official pilot area assembly: the president of the pilot area and other members of the assembly considered the meeting in Calitri as an attempt to divide the assembly and as a problem to be solved with the marginalisation of their proposal.

The first draft was then re-formulated in the Preliminary Version of the Strategy, realised with the support of the national Agency of consultancy "Invitalia". Nevertheless, the passage towards the Framework Agreement (APQ), which is the final step towards the implementation of the strategy (and the full availability of financial resources) is requiring more time than expected (in March 2017 the APQ is not ready; however, only 5 out of 19 areas in Italy already signed the APQ at this time). Moreover, in spring 2017, the Assembly of Mayors established an agreement with the Governor of the Region, for the total amount of 200 million Euros. The average financial support provided by SNAI for the implementation of the local strategy is 6-8 millions of Euros. The regional agreement reinforced the local Assembly, together with the explicit support provided by the national SNAI team

6.1 TYPE OF KNOWLEDGE

In this sub-chapter we will answer at the question 1: which aspects of the human variability are taken into account? Which type of knowledge concerning beneficiaries is produced during design, implementation and evaluation phases?

It is interesting to point out that this aspect was considered as central for the policy-makers and experts implementing the National Strategy. According to Natali (2016), one of the most interesting aspect of SNAI is indeed the approach for the collection and the use of information, and finally for the production of knowledge, concerning the local contexts. In her words, as soon as we look at inner areas from distance, they appear to be all similar: demographic decline, ageing, school drop-outs, lack of care of landscapes and cultural heritage. But these similarities are an illusion, because each specific place is facing these situations in its own way. She underlines the importance of "behaviours", which are rooted in systems of relations, powers, which tend to be an obstacle for changes. Each of them is inherently ambivalent, and it could be preserved or it could be changed, having reasons for both these attitudes. Again, Natali described the fieldwork activity as a passage from a schematic view to a more and more detailed one, including those people holders of "precious knowledge", with a point of view worth of attention and consideration. This process is both useful to incorporate the local knowledge and to involve this people in participative planning activities. According to Natali, it implies more efforts in and more time if compared to traditional planning activities, producing an inquiry (referring to the work of John Dewey) oriented to mix knowledge and action, social interactions and decision-making.

In terms of collection of information and production of knowledge, SNAI team work through both desk analysis and fieldwork analysis. The desk analysis was firstly based on demographic and socio-economic data. The definition of Inner Areas itself was based on specific quantitative parameters, based on the distance from primary services (mainly: hospitals, secondary schools, train station). During the design phase, the national team produced an open access database including more than 100 indicators for all the areas related to: demographic situation and historical trends; land use; employment and productive activities; health system; school system.

Together with these data, homogenous for all Italian inner areas, the national team cooperated with the regional team in order to produce a more qualitative analysis of the selected areas called "open diagnosis". In this phase, the collection of information was based on territorial analysis (focused on demographic trends; characteristics of agricultural activities and other economic specialisations; digital divide; cultural heritage and tourism; health performances; accessibility; education and school system; presence of NGOs); on the mapping of local actors and networks; on qualitative interviews (in Alta Irpinia they realised

96 interviews). In particular, the semi-structured interviews focused on the main changes occurred in the last 20 years and the vision for the future, referring to 2030. Moreover, they asked for the potential and existing resources of the area; the main obstacles and problems faced at local level; the possible solutions; the ways in which those potential solutions could improve the condition of limited development and the demographic situation; which other local actors could be involved. The synthesis of these interviews were organised through a SWOT model, with some elements related to symbolic dimensions, such as: a pessimistic view of the future; a general lack of trust in policy-makers and a diffuse sense of unproductive disputes; the idea of Irpinia as an area of hidden potentialities, having already missed its opportunity of development during Eighties and Nineties; the perception of the interviews themselves as something good, as an opportunity of inclusion and voice.

However, this knowledge, collected by national and regional experts, was considered as useless and negative by local policy-makers and by the mayor De Mita, for being too critical towards local administrators and inconclusive. In this sense, two different and partially conflictual representations of the local human variability were at stake: the one promoted by the national experts and the one produced by local policy-makers.

During implementation, at regional and national level, there was a recognition of the lack of openness of the decisional process and the charismatic role of the leader. Consequently, some adaptations were organised (see below).

6.2 APPROACHES

Question 2. Approach. How (strategies, methods, instruments) the human variability has been taken into account and eventually addressed?

One of the main tool of SNAI is the direct involvement of Mayors. Mayors of the selected inner areas are asked to be part in the place-based approach promoted by the SNAI, implying the definition of a local strategy with the support of national and regional experts.

Secondly, SNAI staff worked providing a robust set of data to the local policy-makers, highlighting some specific problems, especially concerning public services. In Alta Irpinia, for example, they registered low performances in schools; negative trend in people employed in agriculture, especially in the young generation (under 40); increase in the percentage of forest areas.

During implementation phase, the knowledge produced by the national level and the one in which local actors are embedded partially clashed, producing a negotiation among them. The national and regional team decided to support the local assembly reinforcing their competencies with the assistance of a group of external experts, mainly due to the difficulties observed in the process of implementation.

This negotiation was feasible because both of them had the same goal, that is reaching the stage of definition of a local plan; and it was solved through an increase of technical and also political support.

6.3 PURPOSES

Question 3. Purpose. What are the purposes of the recognition and action related to the human variability in policy-making?

In a first phase (that is, design and first part of implementation) the focus was on the production of knowledge for the selection of target areas and for the definition of local plans. That is, data concerning human variability were collected mainly with the purpose to delimitate the field of action and to provide local policy-makers with a set of qualitative and quantitative data, useful to define and to implement the local strategy. During the implementation, the collection of qualitative data and the observation of the process itself, in its effects on the local context, led to a partial change of focus, moving towards an increased attention to the role of local policy-makers (change in tools) and in communication (increase of national intervention at local level).

7 CONCLUSIONS

Despite the recognition of the role of immaterial dimensions in processes of local development, we are still far from theories able to include the immaterial dimension in operative terms. In the present paper and in Re.Cri.Re. project, we proposed to focus on the ways in which the relation between policy-makers and beneficiaries is built, in order to understand some of the implicit premises leading design and implementation of the policy.

Alta Irpinia is a very interesting context: in last four decades, it has been, and still it is, a sort of laboratory for policies for local development. The area experienced at least three phases. During the first one (1980-beginning of Nineties), industrial development was pushed. In that phase, it seems to prevail a view of the beneficiaries as unable to produce their own path for re-construction and change. The support to industrial production was realised through a highly other-directed model of development: entrepreneurs often coming from outside the area (mainly from Northern Italy), supported by national government, offering industrial jobs to people in an area which was clearly oriented to agricultural production and with high environmental quality. The alternative model, based on cooperation, was marginalised. In a second phase, in Nineties and 2000s, the attempt to promote an endogenous development mainly through EU funds was not able to slow down the demographic decline, to compensate the national policies and to produce cooperation among local stakeholders and policy-makers, with few exceptions. Broadly speaking, the cuts in public services in national peripheries and the image of eternal deprived area ended in supporting the abandon of the area by inhabitants and the economic decline, despite EU efforts.

In this last phase, Alta Irpinia is involved in a national strategy in which inner areas are seen as the site of important social and economic potentialities for the country. Local contexts are seen in multi-layered ways: they are seen as both the site where potential innovators live, as well as the sites for extractors of local resources and promoters of "close local communities", defined as "enemies of the inner areas" itself (UVAL, 2014). During implementation, the collection of qualitative information and the openness to adaptations offered the possibilities to let emerge more nuanced visions of local contexts.

However, in Alta Irpinia the goal to destabilize the local continuity with the past partially failed, and the national strategy appeared to be captured by local traditional systems of power and in some respects it ended in reinforcing them. As we observed, policy-promoters (the national level) and policy-implementers (the local level) produced two different and conflictual vision of the beneficiaries: at national level, they produced an explicit knowledge, potentially dynamic and dialogic, which was not included in the process of policy implementation by the holders of local, more implicit knowledge and power. The tools used to implement the policy reinforced the latter, even with some improvements in management and openness, with the main purpose to reach the formalisation of the strategy.

Two possible conclusions can be traced, taking into account the cultural approach. The first one is related to the culture of local policy-implementers: in a policy promoted by national government to be implemented at local level, the human variability of local policy-makers could be considered as a crucial variable, as well as the one of target population. Secondly, the representation of innovation as something promoted by "special" people, to be scouted as local talents, may prevent to know and to work within and on the local systems of meanings.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES

- Amin A. (1999). An institutionalist perspective on regional economic development. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 23, pp. 265-278
- Barca F. (2009). An agenda for a Reformed Cohesion Policy. Available at: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2009_2014/documents/regi/dv/barca_report_/barca_report_en.pdf
- Barca F., McCann P., Rodríguez-Pose A. (2012). The case for regional development intervention: place-based versus place-neutral approaches. *Journal of Regional Science* 52 (1): 134–52.
- Barca F. (2016). Diseguaglianze territoriali e bisogno sociale – La sfida delle “Aree Interne”, available on: <http://www.fondazionegorrieri.it/>
- De Leo D., Fini V. (2012). *Attualità dello sviluppo*. Franco Angeli, Milano

- Faludi, Andreas. 2004. Territorial Cohesion: Old (French) Wine in New bottles Urban Studies 41 (7): 1349–65.
- Farole, T., Rodríguez-Pose A., and M. Storper M., (2011) Cohesion Policy in the European Union: Growth, Geography, Institutions. Journal of Common Market Studies 49 (5): 1089–1111
- Governa, F. (2007). Territorialità E Azione Collettiva. Una Riflessione Critica Sulle Teorie E Le Pratiche Dello Sviluppo Locale. Rivista Geografica Italiana anno CXIV (3).
- Natali A. (2016). I luoghi di intervento. Un'analisi che assomigli a un'inchiesta. Agriregionieuropa, anno 12 n.45
- Pasqui G. (2005). Progettare lo sviluppo. Teorie, strumenti, esperienze. Carocci Editore, Roma
- Salvatore S., et al. (2017, submitted, under evaluation). Symbolic universes between present and future of Europe. First results of the map of European societies' cultural milieu, submitted to PLOS ONE
- Sarno D., (2009). Una Verifica Quasi Sperimentale Della Teoria Del Big Push: Il Caso Delle Zone Terremotate dell'Irpinia. Rivista Economica Del Mezzogiorno, no. 3/2009 (2009)
- Tantillo F. (2015). La co-progettazione locale e la strategia d'area: il metodo di lavoro e le missioni di campo. TERRITORIO, no. 74 (September 2015), pp. 97–101
- UVAL (2014). A strategy for Inner Areas in Italy: definition, objectives, tools and governance, Materials UVAL Series, available at: http://www.agenziacoesione.gov.it/it/pubblicazioni_dps/materiali_uval/index.html
- Ventura S. (2010). I ragazzi dell'Ufficio di Piano. La ricostruzione urbanistica dopo il terremoto in Irpinia, in I frutti di Demetra. Bollettino di storia ambientale (n.22-2010)
- Ventura S. (2013). Vogliamo viaggiare, non emigrare. Le cooperative femminili dopo il terremoto del 1980. Edizioni Officina Solidale ONLUS