

Public-private dialogue in the cultural reuse of historical and architectural heritage: the example of the Carmine Monastery in Italy

Emanuele Garda

Affiliation: University of Bergamo
Email: emanuele.garda@unibg.it

Marta Rodeschini

Affiliation: University of Bergamo
Email: marta.rodeshchini@unibg.it

Abstract

The paper analyses the restoration process of the former Monastero del Carmine, a complex structure of historical value located in the city of Bergamo (Italy). Built after the 14th century, the Monastery experienced a long period of abandonment from the 18th century until the second half of the 20th century when the property was transferred to the Municipality. In the gradual recovery, the theatre company Teatro Tascabile di Bergamo (TTB) played a significant role. Important for the reuse process was the Special Public Private Partnership activated between the TTB and the Municipality, thanks to which a complex process of material and immaterial regeneration began. The paper presents a public heritage regeneration process highlighting the role of the actors involved and the technical-administrative tool adopted.

keywords

Public-private Partnership; Abandoned place; Cultural Heritage; Restoration; Common good

Introduction

The unused building heritage, whether privately or publicly owned, represents a significant presence in the Italian territory (Garda, 2018). To define appropriate strategies and actions for reuse, it is necessary to consider both its quantitative conditions and the different approaches. In Italy, private buildings are divided into: 50% second homes/vacation homes, 10% dwellings occupied by non-residents or rented on the "informal market," and approximately 40% of homes are completely unused (Gentili and Hoekstra, 2018). Abandoned private buildings, which make up 30% of the total heritage, amount to 10 million properties (Istat, 2019). Various approaches can be recognized concerning reuse methods: (i) coercive by the public authority; (ii) enabling to promote the reuse of properties; (iii) incentivizing, particularly at the economic level (Moroni, 2020).

Conversely, public buildings in Italy amount to more than one million two hundred thousand units (MEF, 2021). About 70% (over 800 thousand buildings) are owned by local administrations (municipalities), corresponding to 82% of the total surface area. The rest is owned by central state administrations or other central public entities. A significant percentage, around 7%, of these public buildings is currently unused. The value of unused public buildings is estimated to be 13 billion euros (MEF, 2021)¹.

¹ The value of unused public assets directly managed by administrations is estimated at approximately 66 billion euros, divided as follows: 14 billion euros for "institutional" properties

There are three ways through which a public building can be recovered: (i) through sale by the owning institution; (ii) by transformation and direct use for new public needs; (iii) by transferring only the management to other entities for public or collective interest purposes (Moroni, 2020). For these reasons, the enhancement of public real estate assets has been a significant issue in the policies of central and local administrations for years (Mangialardo, 2017).

To the public-private dichotomy, Nobel Prize-winning economist Elinor Ostrom adds the "third way": common goods made by communities. That is, a place that continues to exist and function because there is a community that takes care of it and, in this sense, regenerates if supported by the self-organized community, allowing collective benefits and fostering cooperation (Ostrom, 1990).

In the early 1990s, within the context of feminist studies, American philosopher Joan Tronto and activist Berenice Fisher developed the "care theory", defining it as:

"a species activity that includes everything we do to maintain, continue, and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, ourselves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web" (Tronto, Fisher, 1990, p. 40)².

This essay aims to delve into a specific process of reusing an architectural complex of public ownership located in an Italian city (Bergamo), where the municipal authority has entrusted the management of this "common good" to a local association dedicated to promoting cultural functions. The contribution, in particular, not only presents the complex history of the site (Monastero del Carmine) and the community of managers/users (Teatro Tascabile di Bergamo) but also outlines the initial results of an ongoing research project on the technical and managerial tools used in the progressive regeneration process of this significant entity.

The urban context

The paper addresses the case of the Monastero del Carmine located in the Municipality of Bergamo, a medium-sized city in the Lombardy Region³ with more than 120,000 inhabitants and the capital of the province of the same name, which has more than 1.1 million residents.

Bergamo is situated and developed on a small isolated hill system (up to 590 meters above sea level) at the foothills of the valleys and overlooking the plain. From its origins, the city of Bergamo has been connected to the flatlands through natural corridors that mediate the transit

leased to private individuals for a fee; 7.6 billion euros for "residential and commercial" properties – excluding "social residential" – leased to private individuals for a fee; 13 billion euros for "unused" properties; 5.4 billion euros for "institutional" properties given to private individuals free of charge and 1.2 billion euros for "residential and commercial" properties; 22.5 billion euros for "residential and commercial" properties leased to private individuals for social purposes.

² From this perspective, the theory of care assumes a political and moral significance related to the public sphere. In Tronto's interpretation, care is articulated into four analytically distinct but interconnected phases: (i) caring about; (ii) taking care of; (iii) caregiving; (iv) care receiving (Tronto, 1993).

³ Region Lombardy is the most populous Italian region, with nearly 10 million inhabitants. The region is divided into 1504 municipalities grouped into 12 provinces with Milan as the capital. It is located in the center of northern Italy, at the foot of the Alps and in the middle of the Po Valley, and is situated on the main routes connecting the Mediterranean area and central Europe. Its surface area covers 23,860 square kilometers and is divided almost equally between the plains (accounting for about 47 percent of the territory) and the mountainous areas (accounting for 41 percent). The remaining 12 percent of the region is hilly.

Fig. 1. "Map of the City and Outer Hamlets of Bergamo" by Giuseppe Manzini, 1816, consulted at the Angelo Mai Civic Library in Bergamo. The map is particularly significant as it shows the central role of Città Alta in territorial development.

In fact, the original residential nucleus of Città Alta gradually expanded, reaching the plain below as early as the Roman period. This expansion did not occur in a radial manner but along well-defined paths, outlining a city with a palm-shaped layout, where the palm is formed by the dense core of the city on the hill, and the finger-like extensions of the hamlets descend to the plain, marking the directions towards nearby centers. Over time, there was a progressive consolidation of the Città Bassa, where the “character of the place as a space of different sociality, based on the ephemeral, but also on impromptu presences of services as peripheral as they are complementary to the domestic life of the ancient city” becomes evident (Pizzigoni, 2021).

The twentieth century marks the era of modern urban planning, focusing primarily on urban expansion, the construction of the “new city” on the plain, and the “modernization” of the pre-existing urban layout (Bonfantini, 2008). Specifically, in Città Alta, three plans were implemented: (i) the Rehabilitation Plan (1926-1935) to meet hygiene, building, and road requirements necessary for the modern life of the early twentieth century; (ii) the Conservation Rehabilitation Plan (1975-1980) aimed at the conscious preservation and transmission of the historical heritage; (iii) the Recovery Plan (2005-2015), interpreting the historic center as a realm of multiple interactions and a place meant to play an active and driving role within a complex territorial system.

Today, Città Alta faces issues common to many Italian historic centers:

- It is subjected to massive daily tourism that often does not fully appreciate its cultural richness.
- Most available financial resources seem directed towards mere tourist enhancement rather than cultural-tourist development.
- It risks losing the diverse social strata that constituted its vitality until the 1970s due to tensions between residents and external populations (tourists).
- It exhibits low cultural activism among its citizens.

However, within this territorial context, a diverse network of social, educational, and cultural activities emerges, provided by significant public institutions that coexist and operate by promoting quality and valuable initiatives. In Città Alta, there are: 7 museums, 4 libraries, a botanical garden, numerous schools (including kindergartens, primary, secondary, and a Classical High School), and two campuses of the University of Bergamo.

Also noteworthy is the presence of the Association for Città Alta and the Hills of Bergamo, formed by neighborhood residents, who are committed to promoting an idea of sustainable and active citizenship, responsible tourism that integrates rather than impoverishes the social composition of Città Alta, and ensures the protection of local shops and the availability of permanent cultural services.

Case Study Presentation

The *Monastero del Carmine* (Monastery of Carmine) is located in the heart of the historic center of Bergamo, in the northern part of Città Alta. This architectural complex is deeply involved in the urban development of the city and incorporates a series of architectural elements that have existed for centuries into a unified building.

The earliest records of the Monastero del Carmine date back to the 12th century when the “Humiliated Monks” established a textile workshop there. The Carmelites later took over, giving the complex its name. The monastery saw its peak activity between the late 1400s and early 1500s with the construction of most of the cloister, the refectory, the monks' quarters, and

concluded in the second half of the 1600s with the creation of the stables, the Chapter Hall, and the new library.

It was suppressed in 1797 during the Napoleonic era, followed by a period of decline and degradation. The premises were used as residences and craft workshops.

In 1956, the "parish benefice" of Sant'Agata donated the complex to the Municipality of Bergamo, and a twenty-year period of structural consolidation work began. Although these efforts remedied serious structural issues, often through emergency interventions involving the demolition of vaults and the reconstruction of floors and roofs, they led to the loss of some original architectural features.

During those years, numerous reflections and proposals were made for a new use of the Carmine complex, such as a Museum of Arts and Popular Traditions, a boarding school, or socio-cultural activities. In 1982, part of the complex was occupied by the Mycological Group and the Speleological Group of the "Nottole" (AA.VV., 1982).

Despite numerous proposals, the building remained largely unused for several decades until 1996, when it began to host the Teatro Tascabile of Bergamo. This gave it the identity it has today, enhancing its significant relationships with the life of Città Alta and its social and cultural role.



Fig. 2. The image identifies the former Carmine Monastery complex (white rectangle) within the historic city (source: Google Earth)

History of the TTB

The *Teatro Tascabile of Bergamo* (TTB), founded in 1973 by Renzo Vescovi, has historically been one of the main actors in Bergamo's cultural life and is an internationally recognized theater company. It has operated from the former Monastero del Carmine since 1996, through successive precarious municipal concessions, the latest of which was signed in February 2016. The presence of the TTB in the former Monastero del Carmine and the prestigious cultural activities it carries out there have not only provided continuous regular maintenance of the property but also ensured its accessibility and public use. This has initiated a process of valorization, creating a vibrant place where significant cultural activities of general interest are carried out. It can be defined as a "cultural asset" not only for its architectural value but also for

the richness of the activities it hosts, implementing actions and strategies to prevent abandonment and loss of its value (SPPP, 2018, p. 3).

In 2012, the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities (Regional Directorate for Cultural and Landscape Heritage of Lombardy), the State Property Agency (Lombardy Branch), and the Municipality of Bergamo signed an Enhancement Agreement (pursuant to art. 112, paragraph 4 of Legislative Decree 22 January 2004, no. 42 and subsequent amendments) for Bergamo - "Compendium of the Former Monastero del Carmine and Former Sant'Agata Prison,"⁴ aimed at defining common strategies and objectives for the protection and enhancement of the Carmine/Sant'Agata compendium.

In 2015, the Municipality published a call for the selection of suitable candidates for the enhancement and management of the aforementioned real estate complex. The public procedure did not yield any suitable proposals, despite the TTB already being present at the Monastero del Carmine.

Therefore, the Municipality decided to pursue a different path, shared with all parties involved, by separating the destinies of the two complexes: the former Sant'Agata prison and the former Monastero del Carmine. This was done to create a mix of functions capable of promoting a high-quality project, primarily focused on public/cultural uses and ensuring greater economic sustainability for the entire operation in 2017.

Special Public-Private Partnership

To support this regeneration process, the Municipality of Bergamo promoted the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding aimed at defining the forms of collaboration for the enhancement of the Carmine complex. In it, the importance of the Monastero del Carmine as a place for artistic sharing, for research, training, theatrical production and for the development of various projects and initiatives (seminars, meetings, residency, performances and open rehearsals with national and international groups) is reaffirmed.

In 2016, a national law was passed (Legislative Decree No. 50/2016), which in Article 151, paragraph 3 provided the possibility for the Mibact (Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism) and local authorities to activate "special forms of partnership with public bodies and entities and with private entities, aimed at enabling the recovery, restoration, programmed maintenance, management, opening to public enjoyment and enhancement of immovable cultural assets, through simplified procedures for identifying the private partner." This article, which is relevant to this regeneration experience, establishes new forms of public-private partnership-named Special Public Private Partnership (SPPP) - that, with greater operational flexibility, aim to enhance the cultural heritage spread across the country.

In 2018, after the discovery of this administrative innovation, the Teatro Tascabile and the Municipality of Bergamo, with the advice of Fondazione Fitzcarraldo, decided to adopt the PSPP for the first time in Italy, putting in place a new model of relationship between public entities, cultural bodies and private entities for the recovery and management of historic properties through specific activities. With the approval of the Special Public-Private Partnership the TTB was given the opportunity to use the Carmine complex for 20 years, renewable for an equal period (SPPP, 2018, p. 33).

⁴ Monastery and Carmine are part of the same historic block. St. Agatha's Prison originated from walls dating back to 908. It was then used as a prison in 1802. The church was divided internally to house the women's wing and offices. The prison function was maintained until 1978. Located in the northwestern part of Bergamo's Upper City, the Former Prison of Sant'Agata consists of three bodies of different widths arranged in a C-shape around the courtyard. It turns out to be articulated in several levels, on which large common spaces or very small, intimate and private rooms are distributed.

The governing, co-designing, and safeguarding body of the Partnership is the Technical Table in which a contact person from the Teatro Tascabile, a contact person from the city administration (manager of Heritage), and a contact person from MIBACT (delegate of the Superintendent of Fine Arts) participate. These are joined by experts and collaborators in relation to the topics of discussion. More generally, the technical table is the forum where choices and direct and indirect results arising from collaboration and opportunities generated in cultural heritage enhancement processes are evaluated.

Although TTB can operate administratively as a private entity, it was decided to adopt an approach comparable to that of a public administration (for example, in the selection of companies involved in construction work).

In June 2019, the firm Artedil spa was selected, and in September 2019 on the occasion of the European Heritage Days promoted in collaboration with the City Administration of Bergamo, the TTB inaugurated the works on the first and second lots (theater hall and chapter hall) and presented the plan for the realization of the third lot, which includes the creation of an "artist guesthouse" also open for hosting tourists.

The overall program (SPPP, 2018, p. 44) envisions the rehabilitation of the Monastero del Carmine in 4 phases linked to as many cultural actions: (i) Renzo Vescovi Theater; (ii) Chapter Hall; (iii) Atelier (artist guesthouse); (iv) Cloister.

The Renzo Vescovi Theater, dedicated to the founder who died in 2005, is the former refectory of the Carmelites: a large room with a rectangular floor plan, on the walls of which, painted in fresco, are twelve roundels depicting the Blessed Virgin of Carmel with Child and the most significant figures of the Carmelite Order. Since 1996 the refectory has been used by TTB for rehearsals, performances and hospitality.

The Foyer-Library, originally the kitchen serving the Monastery refectory, has been used as a space for actors' dressing rooms since 1996. In today's overall reorganization of the space, it has been transformed into the foyer-library: on the one hand the place where spectators wait before entering the auditorium for the performance, and on the other hand, on a special mezzanine, the place for consulting texts belonging to the Eurasian Theatre Library. In fact, all theater-laboratories, like the Teatro Tascabile, build a library fund within their premises, which for TTB is represented by the Eurasian Theatre Library. The Library is now owned by the University and is included in the National Library Service⁵.

Materials and Methods

From a methodological point of view, the work is based (i) on an extensive literature review, (ii) on official reports, documents, and national and international press review of project and history of Monastero del Carmine, (iii) on the analysis of the legislative instrument of Special Public-Private Partnership, (iv) on interviews with significant stakeholders.

The first part of the research included the study and analysis of the case from a historical, social and cultural point of view through bibliographic research, consultation of the press review and administrative documents prepared over the years and the numerous experiences involving the monastery. The process of tangible and intangible regeneration was also examined through the projects presented when the SPPP was approved.

⁵ The BTE was born from an initial nucleus of volumes that belonged to the leader and founder of the Pocket Theater Renzo Vescovi, to which was added in 2019 the Nicola Savarese fund, a great scholar of performing arts, and in particular of the relationship between Eastern and Western theater. It is currently possible to consult its approximately 4,000 volumes in a mezzanine area of the foyer on which 6 reading stations are set up, suitable for Italian and foreign students and scholars. It is a growing project: in fact, two more important funds are planned to be acquired: the personal library of Eugenio Barba, director of Odin Teatret (DK), and that of Ferdinando Taviani, perhaps the most important theater scholar of his generation.

After taking a detailed picture of the situation, we focused on mapping the stakeholders involved in the regeneration process to conduct semi-structured interviews with them.

Series of semi-structured interviews were conducted with the stakeholders. They were representatives of the institutions and the main actors involved in the practices. The interviews lasted between 30 and 90 min, and focused on the main open themes: the origin of the project and the reason of their involvement, the project timeline, the role the interviewee play in the process of regeneration, the stakeholders with whom the interviewee cooperated, the management of the event, and the results on the territory and on community everyday life.

In order to focus the analysis on the governing instrument of the process - the SPPP - the interview was structured by asking the interviewees what their role was within the life of the Monastero del Carmine before the drafting of the SPPP, during and in the period immediately following and after the first five years of the instrument's implementation.

Also of key importance was the phase of site visits to learn about the Monastery, its spaces and uses.

The stakeholders interviewed were identified by recognizing the responsibilities and expertise they brought to the SPPP project and therefore can be divided based on the role they played in the process. Seven people were interviewed who were crucial to the success of the project and represented the different thematic and technical components.

First of all, TTB members were identified who have been using the Monastery since 1996 and expressed the need to transform it into a welcoming place capable of meeting the needs of a cultural association and supporting the processes of expanding their offerings. In this regard, Alessandro Rigoletti, a TTB member, was interviewed.

As anticipated earlier, from the need to find an agreement between the ownership of the building, the Municipality of Bergamo, and the beneficiaries of it, the TTB, a fruitful relationship of discussion and advice was born with the Municipality Manager Erminia Renata Carbone; with the lawyer Franco Milella, an expert in common goods and consultant to the Fitzcarraldo Foundation, and the TTB.

The foresight and vision of these stakeholders made it possible to find in the special public-private partnership a valuable tool to enable an equal relationship between the owners and usufructuaries of the building that would give the possibility of finding useful funding for a regeneration project. architect Gloria Gusmaroli, who has been working at TTB since 2020 and is in charge of promoting the project and its technical implementation, was then interviewed.

A key role in the development of the project is given by the involvement of the community, not only from an intangible point of view, but also through the possibility of offering economic funding. This is because the design of TTB confronts the issue of the relationship between entrepreneurship and cultural associations. The Special Public-Private Partnership is the means by which to promote the sharing of choices and the simplification of procedures according to a different vision in the management of public assets and resource raising. To sustain the project vision, the municipal administration had to involve its relational capital by activating private entities toward the economic support of planned activities.

The resources on which the project rests come from different forms and sources of funding (fundraising mix). Among the most important are the Art Bonus (in 2014 a tax credit was introduced for liberal cash disbursements in support of culture and entertainment as a support of patronage in favor of cultural heritage) with which TTB activated two funding lines, one related to building interventions and one to cultural activities⁶.

⁶ The narrative of the first fundraising campaign with Art Bonus, along with the digital and on-site giving back, received the "Special 1st Place Award for Social Campaign" in the "Art Bonus 2021 Competition"

Since 2020 there is an increasingly strong link between the promotional communication strategy and the expected results about the involvement of funders and the economic return of the action taken, generating a sense of place that becomes the glue for a lasting relationship between TTB, economic operators and local associations. Representatives of the latter were considered in the interviews.

Discussion

The analysis conducted on the various sources presented in the previous section, allowed some key themes to emerge regarding: (i) The nature of the instrument adopted (SPPP); (ii) The role given to the temporal dimension; (iii) The characteristics of the place and its architecture; and (iv) The learning/empowerment process by the actors involved.

The first core of reflections includes the type of innovative instrument adopted by the various actors (TTB, Bergamo City Council and Superintendence) to promote the process of recovery and re-functionalization of the spaces of the Monastero del Carmine.

The SPPP turns out to be a flexible tool, which in the concept of "Special" introduced by the national legislation, hides a strong vagueness that should not necessarily be considered as a negative condition. This "ambiguous" nature of it, as claimed by some interviewees, allows its application to different types of objective contexts/conditions that differ in:

- 1) the architecture of the places of possible application, as the absence of explicit identification by national standards, allows for the possibility of regenerating both spaces with historical value and buildings of more recent construction; the only condition to be met the condition of public property;
- 2) the "community" of subjects called upon to manage the public good and ensure the maintenance physical structures and at the same time the provision of functions of public and collective interest;
- 3) The type of activities and functions delivered by the subjects entrusted in the management that may cover different aspects of collective interest are going to decline in a timely manner the broad concept of "culture".

The SPPP tool in the experience of Bergamo and the Monastery del Carmine has been configured as a "stage" capable of stimulating dialogue between subjects very different from each other in terms of objectives, technical-organizational skills and responsibilities towards the regeneration process activated. This open, equal, symmetrical dialogue between a public subject (Municipality of Bergamo) and an associative reality with a strong identity and history (The TTB), took on a role of exchange and mutual learning. The diversity of the actors involved in the path was gradually accepted, until it became an opportunity for strengthening in the program of objectives and interventions.

The one presented was the first case in Italy of application of the Special Public Private-Partnership, which, for the first time, was able to create a space for reflection and sharing of ideas and planning of a shared project. The drafting of the project document allowed for the sharing of objectives and proposals, as well as the confrontation and discussion of critical and controversial issues (e.g., the management of financial aspects or the need to submit to very binding protection regulations). The SPPP has empowered a private actor to care for a public good of general interest for the entire community, legitimizing an alliance and, most importantly, increasing the credibility of a private entity of a cultural nature vis-à-vis public and funding institutions. This also succeeded in giving value to the entire regeneration process in order to receive funding and expand collaborations with other public and private actors. The instrument therefore, in its flexibility, granted more opportunities, compared to other more traditional instruments, to adapt commitments and projects.

The second aspect repeatedly considered by the interviewees and official documents, which assumed, and was debated at length when the SPPP was drafted, is the temporal aspect. Before

the SPPP, the municipality granted the Monastery space to the TTB with short-term concessions. This condition reduced the ability to plan a program of tangible (e.g., rehabilitation of some spaces) and intangible interventions. The provision of a longer management time makes it possible to think about long-term planning and imagine other related activities.

Adopting a time frame of 20 years, as a result of mediation between TTB, the consultants and the municipality, has made it possible to be able to plan complex actions and at the same time to activate other relevant initiatives: the raising of funding, to participation in calls for funding bodies, to investment on people and so on.

Time is associated, particularly when dealing with cultural associations and public funding, with the theme of uncertainty.

This story of regeneration cannot be separated from the place where it took place. The historical, cultural, and architectural richness of the Monastery allowed for this process, which took advantage of the beauty of this place and changed with the story of the Teatro Tascabile. The typical architectural structure of a Monastery has been adapted to the needs of TTB's theatrical and cultural activities. The constraints of a historic building, in addition to the difficulties, have also offered the possibility, for example by activating specific projects, to experiment with new forms of inhabiting the historic space, generating a vital osmosis between the community that manages it and the functions provided, between the monastery complex and TTB.

Conclusions

The subject of abandoned public heritage is of considerable relevance and great impact in the urban dynamics of Italian cities. On the one hand there are the problems arising from its abandonment and the costs involved in its regeneration; on the other hand having public buildings of inestimable historical and architectural value represents an opportunity for local communities.

The regeneration of public heritage can take place through its disposal, its renovation for other public activities or through a partnership with a private entity that commits itself to its management.

The experience of the Monastero del Carmine in Bergamo was the first Italian case in which the Special Public Private Partnership was adopted, i.e. the municipality and a private association become partners in the management of the property by developing an agreement.

Prior to the introduction of the SPPP in Italy, legislation favoured the use of public assets by incentivising economic and capital profitability and not by increasing cultural and social valorisation. This approach characterised the Italian legislation of the 30 years prior to 2016 and was sometimes unsuccessful. The SPPP changes the idea that a public asset must necessarily be made profitable and invests in co-responsibility between the public and private sectors, fostering a process of contamination and mutual improvement that implies the desire and the need to go beyond one's own competences and to constantly learn new disciplinary and other skills.

For the Teatro tascabile di Bergamo, a private organisation involved in the management of the Monastero del Carmine, doing theatrical work means not only staging performances and activities related to theatrical culture, but also implies engaging in cultural and building development through the care of a place and, together with it, of the community to which it belongs. Thanks to the SPPP, the Monastero del Carmine has taken on a central role in Bergamo's urban context, becoming a point of reference not only for the municipal administration, but for the entire community in terms of cultural and social initiatives.

References

- AA.VV. (1982). *I complessi monumentali di Bergamo. Schede informative*. Bergamo : Comune di Bergamo.
- Anderson, B. (2020). Cultural geography III: The concept of "culture". *Progress in Human Geography*, 44(3), 608-617. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132519856264>
- Bonfantini, B. (2008). *Bergamo. Piani 1880-2000*. Milano : Maggioli Editore.
- Buitelaar, E., Moroni, S. and De Franco, A. (2021). Building obsolescence in the evolving city. Reframing property vacancy and abandonment in the light of urban dynamics and complexity. *Cities*, 108, 1-7. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2020.102964>
- Camozzi, E., (1981). *Le istituzioni monastiche e religiose a Bergamo nel Seicento. Contributo alla storia della soppressione innocenziana nella Repubblica*. Bergomum (Bergamo), 1-4, Bergamo.
- Dente, B., Bobbio, L. and Spada, A. (2005). Government or governance of urban innovation? *The Planning Review*, 41(162), 41-52. doi: 10.1080/02513625.2005.10556931
- Garda, E. (2018) 'Nei luoghi (in)attivi della Lombardia', in Adobati, F. and Garda, E., (ed.) *Biografie sospese*. Sesto San Giovanni: Mimesis Edizioni.
- Gentili, M., & Hoekstra, J. (2018). Houses without people and people without houses: A cultural and institutional exploration of an Italian paradox. *Housing Studies*, 34(3), 425-447. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2018.1447093>.
- Hassan, f. G., Rashed, R. and EL Nagar, S. M. (2022). Regenerative urban heritage model: Scoping review of paradigms' progression. *Ain Shams Engineering Journal*, 13(4), 1-8. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.asej.2021.101652>
- ISTAT. (2019). Edifici e abitazioni [Buildings and homes].
- Macdonald, S. and Cheong, C. (2014). *The Role of Public-Private Partnerships and the Third Sector in Conserving Heritage Buildings, Sites, and Historic Urban Areas*. Los Angeles : The Getty Conservation Institute.
- Mangialardo, A. (2017). Il social entrepreneur per la valorizzazione del patrimonio immobiliare pubblico. *Scienze Regionali*, 16(3), 473-480. <https://doi.org/10.14650/87466>
- MEF (Ministero dell'Economia e delle Finanze) (2021). Rapporto sui beni immobili delle Amministrazioni Pubbliche. Dati 2018 [Report on real estate of public administrations. 2018 data]. <http://www.dt.tesoro.it> - https://upel.va.it/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/RapportoImmobili_DatiAnno2018.pdf
- Moroni, S., De Franco, A. & Bellè, B. M. (2020). Unused private and public buildings: Re-discussing merely empty and truly abandoned situations, with particular reference to the case of Italy and the city of Milan. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 1-22. DOI: 10.1080/07352166.2020.1792310.
- Pagani, L. (2000). *Bergamo. Lineamenti e dinamiche della città*. Bergamo : Bergamo University Press-Sestante Edizioni
- Pizzigoni, A. (2021). Il proscenio della città. Palcoscenico reale, simbolico, immaginario. In Gritti A., Casti E. (Ed.i) *Il Teatro Donizetti metamorfosi della scena urbana a Bergamo*. Bergamo: Bolis Edizioni, 49-63.

Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

SPPP (2018). *Partnership agreement between the Municipality of Bergamo and the Teatri Tascabile of Bergamo*.

Tronto, J. C. (1993). *Moral Boundaries: A Political Argument for an Ethic of Care*. New York : Routledge.

Tronto J. C., Fisher B. (1990), "Toward a Feminist Theory of Caring", in: Abel E., Nelson M. (a cura di), *Circles of Care*, SUNY Press, Albany-New York, pp. 36-54.