

Lecture Notes in Networks and Systems 1187

Francesco Calabrò

Livia Madureira

Francesco Carlo Morabito

María José Piñeira Mantiñán *Editors*

# Networks, Markets & People

Communities, Institutions and  
Enterprises Towards Post-humanism  
Epistemologies and AI Challenges,  
Volume 5



Springer

Francesco Calabrò · Livia Madureira ·  
Francesco Carlo Morabito ·  
María José Piñeira Mantiñán  
Editors

# Networks, Markets & People

Communities, Institutions and Enterprises  
Towards Post-humanism Epistemologies and AI  
Challenges, Volume 5

*Editors*

Francesco Calabrò  
University of Reggio Calabria  
Reggio Calabria, Italy

Francesco Carlo Morabito  
University of Reggio Calabria  
Reggio Calabria, Italy

Livia Madureira  
Scientific coordinator of CETRAD  
University of Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro  
Vila Real, Portugal

María José Piñeira Mantiñán  
Chair of IGU Urban Geography Commission  
University of Santiago de Compostela  
Santiago de Compostela, Spain

ISSN 2367-3370

ISSN 2367-3389 (electronic)

Lecture Notes in Networks and Systems

ISBN 978-3-031-74703-8

ISBN 978-3-031-74704-5 (eBook)

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-74704-5>

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s), under exclusive license to Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2024

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, expressed or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

This Springer imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG  
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

If disposing of this product, please recycle the paper.

# Contents

## **Policies and Practices of Cohesion and Social Innovation for Inclusive Cities**

Sensing Urban Green Spaces Through Portable Photonics-Based Devices: Initial Findings in the Metropolitan Area of Cagliari . . . . .	3
<i>Francesca Sanfilippo, Lorenza Tuccio, Lucia Cavigli, Francesca Rossi, Giorgio Querzoli, Ivan Blečić, and Paolo Matteini</i>	
Rethinking Landscapes in a Changing Climate: An Experiment from Spain . . . . .	10
<i>Irene Bianchi, Maria Vitaller del Olmo, Amalia de Götzen, Nicola Morelli, and Grazia Concilio</i>	
Energy Transition and Knowledge Flows in the Border Region of Silesia . . . . .	20
<i>Francesco Cappellano, Joanna Kurowska-Pysz, and Kamila Ciszewska</i>	
Regional Capabilities to Tackle Climate Change: Setting a Research Agenda for Big Data Driven Tools . . . . .	30
<i>Levani Bzhalava and Teemu Makkonen</i>	
Effects of Climate Change on the Quality-of-Life Assessment Model in Alexandria, Egypt . . . . .	38
<i>Hoda El Safty and Aida Nayer</i>	
Collaborative Governance and Planning for Urban Biodiversity Nexus: An Explorative Study . . . . .	49
<i>Israa H. Mahmoud</i>	
Biodiversity as a Key Relational Value for Cities . . . . .	62
<i>Luca Lazzarini</i>	
Defining a Peri-Urban Agrarian Space as a Socio-Spatial and Environmental Unit. Lessons from Barcelona's Local Food System . . . . .	72
<i>Antonio José Salvador</i>	
The Valorisation of Cultural Ecosystem Services in Marginal Territories. The Case Study of Villacidro in Sardinia . . . . .	84
<i>Anna Maria Colavitti, Alessio Floris, and Sergio Serra</i>	

Urban Living Labs for Socially Inclusive and Cohesive Cities: The Stakeholder Engagement Practices in Ljubljana and Thessaloniki .....	93
<i>Spela Zalokar, Joanna Karas, Alberto Gotti, Eleni Feleki, David Kocman, Davor Kontić, Janja Snoj Tratnik, Rok Novak, Maria Alejandra Rubio Rojas, and Dimosthenis Sarigiannis</i>	
“Social Impact” Assessment in the New Farm Welfare Model .....	105
<i>Alessandro Scuderi, Luisa Sturiale, Giovanni La Via, Gaetano Chinnici, and Carla Zarba</i>	
The Role of Land Use Diversity and Vitality in the Urban Systems Organization. The Case Study of Baghdad Al - Karkh .....	117
<i>Sara Abdul Aalie Rasheed and Wahda Shuker Mahmoud</i>	
Change Management in Urban Landscape .....	128
<i>Neda Khalil Ibrahim Al-Arab and Rawaa Fawzi Naom Abbawi</i>	
City Reputation: A Comparative Analysis of Baghdad and Tokyo .....	137
<i>Shireen K. Zedan and Asmaa M. H. Al-Moqaram</i>	
The Impact of Safe Pedestrian Environment on the Competitiveness of Contemporary Residential Districts: Case Study - Al-Amal Residential Neighborhood in Basra City .....	147
<i>Sabaa Mujtaba Abdulwahid, Safaaaldeen Hussein Ali, and Mohammed Salih Alquraishi</i>	
Architecture as a Mirror of Social Relations: An Analytical Study of Community-Architect Relationships and Sustainable Development .....	159
<i>Noorah Nasif Jasim and Basim Hasan Al-Majidi</i>	
Meliorating Interactivity in Urban Landscape by Using Public Art .....	169
<i>A. M. Al Khafaji Ibtisam, Zahraa S. Al-Shamaa, and Ghasan J. Al Basry</i>	
Using Digital Fabrication for Enhancing Spatial Experiences of Small Inner Spaces .....	180
<i>Ann Samari Ibrahim</i>	
The Visual Journey Through Urban Streets .....	191
<i>Maha Haki Ismael, Zainab Hayder Mohammed Ali, and Dania Luay Abdulridha</i>	
Reintegration of Slums by Employing the Concept of Rhizome .....	202
<i>Sudaff Mohammed, Wahda Shuker Al-Hinkawi, and Nada Abdulmueen Hasan</i>	

Designing Interactive Space by Using Smart Technology in Tahrir Square . . . . .	212
<i>Fatima Abdullah Shuhaib and Hajer Bakr Alomary</i>	
The Role of Communication Strategy in Branding the Historic City of Baghdad . . . . .	226
<i>Shireen K. Zedan and Asmaa M. H. Al-Moqaram</i>	
Urban Competiveness and the Transformation of Cities Identity . . . . .	236
<i>Seemon Matte Aboo Bolise, Marwah Jabbar Hamzah Hasan, and Ibtisam Abdulelah Mohammed Al Khafaj</i>	
Temporary Architecture: A Strategy to Enhance the Light Competitive Image . . . . .	245
<i>Mahmood Hussein Al-Musawi and Safaaaldeen Hussein Ali</i>	
A Performativist Take on Resilience in Infrastructure Maintenance . . . . .	258
<i>Rasmus Gahrn-Andersen</i>	
Seismic Performance of Reinforced Concrete Moment Resisting Frames Through Reliability Analysis . . . . .	267
<i>Elena Miceli and Gaetano Alfano</i>	
Organizational Analysis to Improve Safety Planning of Road Networks . . . . .	278
<i>Roberta Troisi, Marianela Ripani, Elena Miceli, and Paolo Castaldo</i>	
Safety Evaluation of an Existing PRC Bridge Beam: Preliminary Outcomes of In-Situ Test . . . . .	286
<i>Diego Gino, Luca Giordano, and Paolo Castaldo</i>	
Cost Estimation in the Implementation of New Technologies: The Case of Green Hydrogen . . . . .	294
<i>Roberta Troisi and Massimiliano De Iuliis</i>	
Environmental Strategies: Insights into Local and Non-Local Business Practices and Innovation . . . . .	304
<i>Gaetano Alfano, María Pache Durán, and Rocío Blanco Gregory</i>	
The Italian Regionalism Grappling with Climate Change: A Further Turn Towards Unequal Asymmetry . . . . .	314
<i>Antonietta D'Elia and Marcello Giuseppe Feola</i>	
Remote Sensing Data and GIS Technology to Analyze the Land Use and Land Cover Changes: A Case Study in Sicily . . . . .	324
<i>Michele Mangiameli, Marcantonio Bentivegna, and Giuseppe Mussumeci</i>	

A Modeling Approach for Estimating the Attractive Capacity of Walking .....	335
<i>Gattuso Domenico, Gattuso Caterina, Pellicanò Domenica Savia, and Rubino Gaetana</i>	
How Hull Shape Reduction Can Produce Energy Savings .....	346
<i>Davide Caccavaro, Bonaventura Tagliaferro, Corrado Altomare, Alessio Caravella, Gianluca Bilotta, Roberto Gaudio, and Agostino Lauria</i>	
Fair-Sustainable Mobility and Indicators of Equity in Transport .....	355
<i>Domenico Gattuso, Domenica Savia Pellicanò, and Gaetana Rubino</i>	
A Possible Model of Resilient and Environment-Friendly Transport: Assessment of Users' Propensity Towards Demand Responsive Transit (DRT) Service .....	365
<i>Luisa Sturiale, Vincenza Torrisi, Elena Cocuzza, and Matteo Ignaccolo</i>	
Sky's No Limit for Women: Achieving Gender Equity in Aviation .....	376
<i>Maria Vittoria Corazza</i>	
The Integrated Design Approach for Cultural Heritage and Landscape in the Territories of Southern Italy: Significant Experiences for Possible Applications in Calabria .....	386
<i>Chiara Corazzieri and Vincenzo Gioffrè</i>	
Tourism Policies in the Regional Operational Programmes in Calabria from 2000 to 2020 .....	395
<i>Chiara Corazzieri</i>	
Assessments and Reflections on Integrated Territorial Planning in Calabria in the 2000–2020 Programming Period. From the Experimental Phase to the Consolidated Method of Cooperation Between Territories .....	405
<i>Maria Grazia Buffon</i>	
Socio-Territorial Inequalities and Integrated Programming: 20 Years of Cohesion Policy in Basilicata .....	416
<i>Emanuela Chiodo</i>	
Institutions, Social Capital and Distributive Dynamics in Development Policies in Calabria .....	426
<i>Antonio Russo</i>	
Gioia Tauro: From Transshipment to Intermodal Logistics Hub. The Role of Local Action .....	436
<i>Giuseppe Fera</i>	

The European Cohesion Policy as an «Agent of Change». The Institutional Impact of the Regional Operational Programmes in Calabria (2000–2020) . . . . . 446  
*Flavia Martinelli*

**Author Index** . . . . . 457



**Policies and Practices of Cohesion  
and Social Innovation for Inclusive  
Cities**



# Institutions, Social Capital and Distributive Dynamics in Development Policies in Calabria

Antonio Russo<sup>(✉)</sup> 

Department of Political Science, Università Di Napoli Federico II, Napoli, Italy  
antonio.russo10@unina.it

**Abstract.** The paper analyses the impact of the Integrated Territorial Projects on local development in two areas of Calabria. The Integrated Territorial Projects consist of a set of integrated interventions that are aimed to promote local development. To achieve this objective, integrated planning seeks to promote an adequate mobilisation of the economic and relational resources operating on a local scale. Development thus becomes a social construction connected to the endogenous capacity of public and private actors to promote synergistic actions on a local scale, thereby enhancing local resources and skills, social capital and institutions. The paper examines in the two experiences studied the concrete implementation given to development policy based on governance. The analysis is oriented to understanding if local political and economic stakeholders have developed relational networks that are able to promote effective intervention strategies and connect them with the real potential present on a local scale to support self-sustaining development processes. In the case study discussed, limited regulation capability in local political institutions has caused two effects on decision-making processes: an equal distribution of resources among the participants and the temporal concentration of public expenditures.

**Keywords:** Governance · Development policies · European Cohesion Policy

## 1 Introduction

The paper analyses the dynamics activated in Calabria by development policies based on governance. Governance is «a new style of government, distinct from the hierarchical control model and characterized by a remarkable level of cooperation and interaction between state and non-state actors within mixed public/private decision-making networks» [1]. Two Integrated Territorial Projects (ITP) implemented in Calabria during the 2000–2006 programming cycle were used as objects of analysis to examine the outputs and outcomes induced by this new policy regulation method.

---

This paper was developed in the context of the Italian National Research Project – PRIN 2017 ‘Regional Policies, Institutions and Cohesion in the South of Italy’ (Project code 2017-4BE543; website [www.prin2017-mezzogiorno.unirc.it](http://www.prin2017-mezzogiorno.unirc.it)), financed by the Italian Ministry of Education, University and Scientific Research from 2020 to 2023.

Co-financed with funds provided by the European Union, the ITPs are defined in the Community Support Framework (CSF) as «a complex of intersectoral actions, strictly coherent, which converge towards a common objective of territorial development and an unitary implementation approach» [2]. The CSF also underlines the need 1) to achieve a high level of project integration among the financed investments and 2) to concentrate them in territorial contexts in which promising development processes are already underway [3].

The selection of the case studies was in response to temporal criteria: They were chosen from the first-launched ITPs in Calabria in contexts with previous experience in governance-based policies in order to evaluate the concrete development impacts determined by these investments and detect the institutional learning phenomena that were eventually generated. Based on these criteria, the Serre Cosentine and Locride ITPs were identified as the objects of study. The research followed three stages. First, ISTAT data were used to accomplish an analytical reconstruction of the local contexts in which these interventions were carried out to evaluate the level of connection among potential local developments and the investments selected by the decision makers. Second, the policy's regulatory framework was reconstructed. Finally, 48 interviews were conducted with political and socioeconomic stakeholders involved in the ITPs studied. The paper is structured as follows: the first section presents a summary of the analytical tools used in the research; the second section discusses the reconstruction of the dynamics locally activated by the ITPs; and the final section is an analysis of the locally generated effects.

## 2 Theoretical Framework

Governance implies the direct participation of local actors in policy-making activity and increases the relevance of the institutional dimension. As suggested by Douglass North, *institutions* are «the rules of the game of a society or, more formally, the constraints that the society have defined to regulate relationships. Consequently they shape the incentives that underlie exchange, whether it is political, social or economic exchange» [4]. Both *formal* and *informal* institutional constraints are functional to the construction of rational expectations regarding the behaviour of other social actors and allow the reduction of *transaction costs* [5].

In addition, *social relations* can circumscribe opportunism and defection with informal agreements [6]. *Repeated interactions* generate *trust* and *cooperation*, limiting the incidence of the condition known as the prisoner's dilemma that often influences inter-subjective interactions and the negotiation of agreements [7]. The literature on *social capital* emphasises this property of social relations well, both in the individualistic perspective proposed by James Coleman [8] and in the holistic meaning postulated by Robert Putnam [9]. *Trust* constitutes a further relevant attribute of social relationships. Francis Fukuyama defines trust as «the expectation, which arises within a community, of predictable, correct and cooperative behavior, based on commonly shared norms by its members» [10].

The Southern Regions of Italy constitute socio-economic environments historically characterised by poor fiduciary expectations, an inadequate propensity to cooperate characterised by *familism* [11] and *particularistic–clientelistic* pressures [12]. According to

Putnam, the citizens of the South «are trapped into a social structure and a political culture that makes cooperation and solidarity difficult or even irrational. Even an individual who is endowed with a lot of civic sense, if placed in a society devoid of civic sense, is destined to behave in a non-cooperative way» [13].

As Carlo Trigilia observed, «effective local governance is not created by law, it is related to local conditions [...] The quality of leadership is crucial, the ability of the ruling classes to cooperate beyond specific interests and to mobilize citizens on development and social quality objectives» [14]. The most recent literature has underlined the deficiencies in political leadership, cooperation and the results produced in terms of local development by governance-based policies in the South of Italy [15]. These problems have had a considerable impact on the integrated design activity in the case studies that were analysed.

### 3 The ITP ‘Serre Cosentino’

The ITP n. 8 of the Serre Cosentino was established by sixteen municipalities, with a total population of 156,586 inhabitants. From both a demographic and economic point of view, the central nucleus is formed around the urban agglomeration developed by Cosenza, Rende and Castrolibero. This conurbation includes over 100,000 residents and constitutes a powerful pole of attraction for the location of commercial and advanced service activities. In addition, it presents notable agglomeration economies, and the urban context holds a considerable stock of human capital, with a concentration of high school and university graduates that is almost five times higher than the regional average [16].

The municipalities in the urban ring also show rapidly growing trends in the educational level of the resident population. These characteristics are positively reflected in the local labour market, which has an employment rate higher than the regional and provincial average, a lower dependency ratio and a higher activity rate [16]. The commercial, services and construction sectors constitute the most relevant sectors in the economy of the ITP area. These are activities that are mainly oriented towards local markets, are characterised by stable demand and are subject to slow growth.

Another important resource for local development is the University of Calabria. This presents good performances in terms of technology transfer [17]. In addition to this substantial factorial endowment, most of the municipalities already participate in institutional partnerships within the Territorial Pact, the Thematic Pact for Agriculture and the Urban Project.

In defining the project framework, the first president of the ITP, Sandro Principe, sustained investments oriented to increase the technological transfer between the University of Calabria and local companies. Of the total €36,477,295 assigned to the Serre Cosentino ITP, almost €15 million was allocated to sustain technological innovation and university research. The residual part was used to finance infrastructural interventions in municipalities, thereby complying with the requests of the mayors who took part in the decision-making process.

The interventions in the innovation sector were essentially imposed by the former president of the ITP. Through his leadership, he pushed to obtain a concentration of resources in this important asset. The top-down approach used for the definition of

the first category of interventions has limited the sharing and democratic nature of the decision-making process, although the minor and intentional act of force has made it possible to obtain a more integrated development project. The investments that were introduced to support technological transfer and innovation were not fully shared by all the mayors of the ITP area, as reported by several of the local actors who were interviewed. When Sandro Principe was forced to resign following an attack, the governance structure became more conflictual: «when his strong leadership was missing, the conflicts increased, without any form of equal collaboration emerging among the participants» [18]. On the one hand, the president's top-down approach favoured project integration; on the other hand, it reduced the spaces for participation, limiting the consolidation of concertation practices and the implementation of concrete forms of governance. When Principe's leadership ended, the lack of interest by the other mayors in the implementation of interventions related to the technological innovation became evident, revealing a weak partnership that was instrumentally oriented towards the interception of funding or political-institutional prominence.

This disinterest is concretely demonstrated by the indifference of the ITP mayors towards the slowness in the implementation of investments in the technological innovation sector. The verified delays in the implementation of the infrastructural interventions have sparked numerous protests among local administrators. In both cases, the delay in implementation must be attributed to the inefficiency of the regional bureaucracy, which is not always able to support the municipalities in carrying out the complex procedures required by European legislation for the use of structural funds. The abnormal delay in the execution has dramatically increased the time gap between when the decision was made and the implementation of the investments. As one interviewee observed: «if the implementation takes too long, the effects that the ITP potentially could have is inevitably not brought about» [19]. Taken together, the internal and external delays in the implementation of the policy have inevitably reduced the potential impacts that the investments could have had in terms of local development.

An ambivalent representation of the governance experience emerges from the interviews with the protagonists of the ITP. Even among the actors involved in the Serre Cosentine ITP, experiences in the governance sector have in some cases brought out «a new perception of their territorial reality and the awareness that concertation is essential to promote local development» [19]. In other cases, the inability of local institutions to undertake organisational innovation paths is evident, implementing models of public policy regulation different from those normally practiced. The implementation of governance has (often) given rise to only a formal adaptation to exogenously imposed conditions and has rarely been reworked at a local level and adapted to the context without generating real or relevant institutional innovations.

Although most of the municipalities of the Serre Cosentine had already taken part in the Territorial Pact and other similar policies, there is no connection among these various development policies in terms of investments and development strategies: «The ITP has no connection with the Territorial Pact, they are two different instruments that travel in parallel» [20]. The lack of contiguity between policies implemented in the different programming cycles of European funds slows down the institutionalisation of any good practices that may have emerged, implying a constant dispersion of the

know-how generated and inhibiting the consolidation of institutional innovations. This problem was also found in the other Calabrian ITP that was analysed, that of Locride.

#### 4 The ITP ‘Locride’

The ITP n. 21 of Locride is located along the Ionian side of the province of Reggio Calabria. It groups together 39 municipalities, with a total population of 128,200 residents (22.7% of the provincial population). The ITP area is subject to a constant demographic decline, partly attributable to the low birthrate and partly to the negative migratory balance. Emigration increasingly affects young people with high school diplomas and graduates. Demographic decline together with the brain-drain phenomenon constitute two powerful constraints on the development of the area.

The morphology of the territory has contributed to structuring a predominantly agricultural and artisanal economy, with limited development of the tourism sector. This sector has a significant supply of resources that corresponds to a poor ability to activate them. The low infrastructural endowment also reduces development potential, affecting the accessibility of the area and the cost structure of enterprises, with a negative impact on location advantages. The local production system is marked by multiple diseconomies and by the pervasive presence of the ‘Ndrangheta, which contribute to rising transaction costs. This complex of problems and structural constraints has had a considerable impact on the management of the integrated design activity.

The ITP tried to take advantage of many experiences in the governance sector that were achieved with the Territorial Pact, the Leader II Program, the Urban Regeneration and Sustainable Territorial Development Program and the Urban Regeneration Program. The key idea of the Locride Integrated Project is based on the valorisation of local tourist resources, and there is a total financial budget of €39.6 million. The ITP’s activity began in April 2002 with the assignment of technical assistance to Locride Sviluppo, a local development agency created with the Territorial Pact.

The process of defining the interventions was decidedly long, partly due to the difficulty of coordinating the actions of the numerous decision-making structures and partly due to the delays of the Calabria Region in carrying out the procedures. Despite the protracted decision-making process, several local administrators complained of little effective involvement in the choices made: «The possibility to influence the decision-making process for most part of stakeholders is low, or even zero» [21]; «we must distinguish between the form and substance of participation. The form was respected, the substance was not» [22].

With reference to the decision-making phase, many interviewees also underlined the inadequate role played by the regional authorities in supporting the local ITP structures and, subsequently, the slowness in expending resources. On this point, the observations collected in the Serre Cosentine ITP fully converge with those of the stakeholders of the Locride ITP in judging the Calabria Region’s action as overall lacking, both in terms of support activities for integrated planning and on the programming side. One interviewee stated: «if the region had carried out a preliminary strategic planning action, identifying the priorities and potential of each context, these development policies would have been more effective» [22].

Another critical issue found in the Locride ITP is the limited connection among the selected investments relative to the influence of the collusive dynamics that tend to produce equitable results in the distribution of resources allocated through participatory processes. Instead of being concentrated and creating a critical mass in the implementation of strategic interventions, the funding is dispersed throughout the territory, with a limited impact in terms of local development. This problem is widely recognised and even stigmatised by the same actors who took part in the ITP: «the resources were dispersed across the territory. Project integration proved difficult to achieve, because each administrator tried to give immediate, even if minimal, responses to the needs of his constituents. With the €39 million from the ITP, 39 different answers were given to the problem of development, one for each municipality» [23].

Project integration could be achieved either through political subcultures that orient the actions of local politicians towards efficiency or through an evaluation system that sanctions localism and electoral pressures. Given the distrust in local regulatory capabilities that was frequently expressed by the interviewees who participated in the decision-making processes, the solution to the problem – often evoked in the interviews – consists of «an external intervention, not necessarily coercive, but which has the capacity to coordinate local processes» [24]. Even an ex-post evaluation conducted by the EU itself (with all the limits that this process presents) could provide further barriers to the distributive and collusive drifts that emerge in participatory decision-making processes.

In the Locride ITP, the central role in the process of defining the interventions was carried out by the mayors, while the socio-economic partnership (made up of associations, companies and local organisations) had a substantially marginal function. Even in the ITP Serre Cosenza, the socio-economic partnership showed the same participatory model. For its part, politics has simply limited the active involvement of civil society in the decision-making process to the essentials, inhibiting the development of real territorial governance action. This is attributable not only to the strength of politics but also to the complementary intrinsic weakness of local civil society, which is oriented towards co-optation and collusion rather than effective participation. The limited participation of extra-political actors has also inhibited the potential growth of the stock of social capital as a by-product of territorial governance action. The strong ties between political actors have acted as a barrier to external participation, favouring the emergence of collusive dynamics between them.

If there are no obvious differences in the participatory dynamics between the two Calabrian integrated projects, then a difference can be identified in the different regulation that the causal factor, which is traceable to the divergent outcomes, produced in project terms. The strong leadership that characterised the experience of the Serre Cosentino ITP constitutes the factor that allowed us to achieve a higher level of project integration than was achieved in Locride.

## 5 Conclusions

Moving from the analysis carried out with the two case studies, two sets of problems emerged that have significantly limited the impact of the ITPs on local development: the first group incorporates dynamics endogenous to the governance structure, while

the second set concerns exogenous and structural issues. Concerning the endogenous problems, four internal decision-making problems emerged in the integrated projects, more-or-less transversally.

First, without effective evaluation methodologies for decision-making processes, openness to participation tends to strengthen the locally operating rent-seeker's action [25].

Second, without specific incentives, the projects, defined through participatory dynamics, are rarely oriented to innovation [26].

Third, in the absence of well-defined rules and effective controls, all politicians try to obtain interventions that give concrete visibility to their ability to attract resources to the territory they administer. Each mayor follows a fundamental incentive: The chances of being re-elected depend exclusively on the consensus of his or her voters, not on the judgement of the citizens of the ITP area regarding the efficiency of the governance action. From this point of view, concentrating resources on a district-wide project oriented towards the overall development of the area determines a return – in electoral terms – that is certainly lower than micro-investments dispersed in each municipality. Given that investments lack the requirement of appropriability for the individual political actor, the outcome of the decision-making process based on governance will tend towards the equal distribution of resources and their widespread dispersion across the territory.

Finally, every mayor tends to opt for interventions that can be implemented in a short time to obtain immediate advantages in terms of consensus.

The prevailing decision-making style in the cases analysed was based on negotiation and on the mutual accommodation of the preferences of stakeholders involved in the decision-making process; this is a style very distant from the ideal of *deliberation*, as it is instead based on the transformation of individual preferences during «a process where initial preferences are transformed to take into account the points of view of others» [27]. The project structure that emerged appears to be a simple summation of micro-interventions dispersed throughout the territories without a real economic impact and, above all, unsubordinated to a unitary and coherent project vision that is functional to promote local development.

The absence of a serious ex-post evaluation reinforces the speculative orientations among stakeholders involved in the decision-making process. Consequently, the potential effects of these policies based on governance are weakened not only in terms of economic effects but also in terms of participation and institutional learning. In reality, most of these limits were predictable (and by-passable) through the provision of adequate incentives and controls.

Alongside this first set of critical issues that are endogenous to the governance structure, there are further problems attributable to exogenous factors and to the design of the policy that reduce the potential impact on the development of these tools.

First, the problem of cyclical financing: The flows of resources provided by EU cohesion policy are not continuous but have a cycle limited to six years. Once the financing period is over, the inflow of resources momentarily stops, restarting with a new policy and the need to learn a new policy approach. A few years will pass before the new investments enter an execution phase and are completed. This determines a cyclical



trend of expansion and ebb in the provision of resources that limits the contiguity of development strategies.

Second, the problem of internal and external delays: Several years frequently pass between the planning of an intervention that is aimed at solving specific problems and its concrete implementation. This further weakens the repercussions of such investments, which were perhaps completed when the external scenario had completely changed and the strategic nature of the implementation had ceased.

Third, the problem of the absence of additionality: The funds distributed by the EU in the framework of cohesion policy often replace ordinary state transfers in favour of the Southern regions rather than being in addition to them. The final problem is the relevance of the efficiency of the bureaucratic structure supporting integrated planning activities. In Calabria, the interviewees considered the regional bureaucracy to be significantly inefficient: It did not support the local ITP structures in resolving the difficulties that emerged in the interpretation of the complex community legislation nor did it contribute to speeding up the process. For the accumulated delays, at the end of 2007, the Calabria Region even risked the return of €750 million of unspent community funds. To avoid repayment, European funds are frequently channelled towards the creation of projects that have no impact in terms of local development. The regional institutional framework, therefore, had a notable influence on performance.

An element that all the analysed cases have in common is identifiable in the strong ties structured among local administrators, ties that have acted as a barrier to inclusiveness in other spheres of civil society. This limitation of participation is partly attributable to the self-referentiality of the local political actors and partly to the endemic weakness of local socio-economic structure. This closure has limited the learning processes that this governance action could have stimulated.

Moreover, policies based on governance require the activation of skills and regulatory capabilities that are not always diffused in the implementation contexts. In fact, the new regionalism tends to facilitate the territories where the operative leaders and élites are more oriented to promote local development [28]. Governance without government [29] rarely innovates in contexts in which collateral social regulation capabilities are lacking. In the absence of support and controls from the highest and external levels of government, especially the central and European ones, the matrices of conveniences and expected returns of local decision makers remain unchanged.

In the analysed contexts, repeated interactions and previous governance experiences do not seem to have increased the capacity of local actors to define and implement effective policies for local development. Obviously, the responsibilities for the limited impact of these policies on development are not exclusively linked to the choices of local elites. In the absence of planning and a clear political strategy, policies tend to present a highly disorganised profile in project choices, increasing the opportunism of local actors. The inevitable outcome is the investments' fragmentation and the dispersion of the allocated financial resources. The effects produced by policies based on governance do not mechanistically flow from the rules that structure the processes or from the incentives that they configure; they are rather linked to the characteristics of the local institutional contexts, to the cognitive maps of the actors who take part in the policy-making process and to the political and administrative subculture. This rooting

of performance in the socio-institutional characteristics of the implementation contexts induces a re-elaboration of potentially innovative tools according to consolidated routines. The outcomes determined by policies based on governance therefore appear to be directly related to the socio-institutional characteristics of the implementation context and only indirectly to the regulatory framework.

## References

1. Mayntz, R.: La teoria della governance: sfide e prospettive. *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica* 29 (1), 3–21(1999), p. 4
2. CSF, 3.10
3. CSF, 3.1
4. North, D.C.: Istituzioni, cambiamento istituzionale, evoluzione dell'economia, p. 23. Il Mulino, Bologna (2002)
5. Coase, R.H.: *The firm, the market and the law*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago (1988)
6. Granovetter, M.: Economic action and social structure: the problem of embeddedness. *Am. J. Sociol.* 91(3), 481–510 (1985)
7. Axelrod, R.: *The evolution of cooperation*. Basic Books, New York (1984)
8. Coleman, J.S.: *Foundations of social theory*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge (1990)
9. Putnam, R.D.: *Making democracy work: civic traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton University Press, Princeton (1993)
10. Fukuyama, F.: *Trust: the social virtues and the creation of prosperity*, p. 40. The Free Press, New York (1995)
11. Banfield, E.: *The moral basis of a backward society*. The Free Press, New York (1967)
12. Fantozzi, P.: *Politica, clientela e regolazione sociale*. Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli (1993)
13. Putnam, R.D.: *Making democracy work: civic traditions in modern Italy*, p. X. Princeton University Press, Princeton (1993)
14. Trigilia, C.: *Sviluppo locale. Un progetto per l'Italia*. Il Mulino, p. 103. Bologna (2005)
15. Martinelli, F.: Lost in translation? Regional policy from national strategy to EU competitive framework. *Rivista economica del Mezzogiorno*, 1–2, 85–123 (2020); Mirabelli, M.: *Istituzionalismo amorale*. Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli (2001); Russo, A.: *Le origini sociali dei fallimenti delle politiche per lo sviluppo del Mezzogiorno*. *Polis* 30(3), 345–376 (2016); Trigilia, C.: *Non c'è Nord senza Sud*. Il Mulino, Bologna (2012)
16. Istat database 2021
17. Russo, A.: *Le città high-tech nel Mezzogiorno emergente*. *Rassegna economica* 77(2), 35–64 (2014)
18. Interview to a technical structure manager, ITP Serre Cosentine
19. Interview to a mayor, ITP Serre Cosentine.
20. Interview to former provincial Confindustria president, ITP Serre Cosentine
21. Interview to Gal president, ITP Locride
22. Interview to trade association representant, ITP Locride
23. Interview to former senator and former mayor, ITP Locride
24. Interview to former president of the Province of Reggio Calabria, ITP Locride
25. Buchanan, J.M., Tollison, R.D., Tullock, G.: *La ricerca di rendite parassitarie e la ricerca di profitti*, in Carrubba, S., Da Empoli, D. (eds.): *Scelte pubbliche*. Le Monnier, pp. 245–260. Firenze (1984)
26. March, J.G., Olsen, J.P.: *Democratic governance*. The Free Press, New York (1995)
27. Miller, D.: *Deliberative democracy and social choice*. In: Held, D. (ed.) *Prospects of democracy*, p. 75. Polity Press, Cambridge (1993)

28. Keating, M.: The new regionalism in Western Europe: territorial restructuring and political change. European University Institute, Working paper no. 39
29. Rhodes, R.: The new governance: governing without government. *Political Studies*, 44 (4), 652–667