

MOUNTAIN DOSSIER

SCIENTIFIC REVIEW OF DISLIVELLI.EU RIVISTA SCIENTIFICA DI DISLIVELLI.EU

n°4 OCTOBER 2015 OTTOBRE 2015

HOUSING POLICIES IN MOUNTAIN AREAS II



supplemento a

Dislivelli.eu

Testata registrata presso il Tribunale
di Torino in data 21 aprile 2010
(Iscrizione numero 23)
ISSN 2039-5442 - Dislivelli (Torino)
[Online]

Editore

Associazione Dislivelli

Direttore responsabile

Maurizio Dematteis

Comitato scientifico

Federica Corrado (coordinamento)
Marcella Morandini
Valentina Porcellana
Thomas Streifeneder
Mauro Varotto

Redazione Mountain Dossier

Enrico Camanni
Federica Corrado
Alberto Di Gioia
Giacomo Pettenati

Impaginazione

Martina Fiorentino
Sole nero design

With the support of

Provincia di Pordenone

Osservatorio Politiche Abitative
Provincia di Pordenone

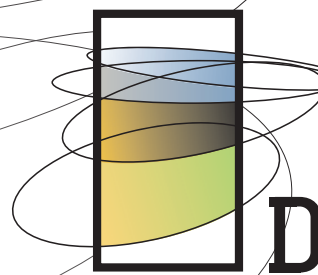


Osservatorio Politiche Abitative
Provincia di Pordenone

Sergio Bergnach
Martina Zanette
Federico Della Puppa
Stefano Perale



INDEX INDICE



HOUSING POLICIES IN MOUNTAIN AREAS II	Introduction Federico Della Puppa	page 4
<i>POLITICHE ABITATIVE NELLE AREE MONTANE II</i>	Introduzione	pag. 5
	More than a constructive issue: two best refurbishment practices of traditional alpine buildings Daria Petucco	page 6
	Più che un problema costruttivo: due buone pratiche di ristrutturazione di edifici tradizionali alpini	pag. 9
	The renewal of abandoned villages in the Ligurian Alps: policies and informal practices Valerio Lastrico	page 12
	Il recupero di villaggi abbandonati nelle Alpi Liguri: politiche e pratiche informali	pag. 15
	Bottom-up and top-down approaches in alpine villages restoration: results from an anthropological research in Piedmont Marianna Bertolino	page 16
	Approcci bottom-up e top-down nel rinnovamento dei villaggi alpini: risultati da una ricerca antropologica in Piemonte	pag. 20
	Stepping stones: from a teaching experience the birth of a cultural association Alessandra Barberis, Nadia Frullo, Dino Genovese, Ivano Menso, Alice Vergano	page 22
	Stepping stones: da un'esperienza didattica la nascita di un'associazione culturale	pag. 26
	Newcomers in the Alps: benefits of having "second homers". A case study in the Eastern Italian Alps". Roland Löffler, Judith Walder, Michael Beismann, Wolfgang Warmuth & Ernst Steinicke	page 28
	Nuovi abitanti nelle Alpi: i vantaggi di avere proprietari di seconde case. Un caso di studio nelle Alpi Orientali	pag. 32
	Foreign immigration and housing issue in small alpine villages Andrea Membretti	page 34
	Immigrazione straniera e questione abitativa nei piccoli comuni alpini	pag. 36
	Housing and spatial planning policies in the Autonomous Province of Bolzano: decades of experience Virna Bussadori	page 38
	Le politiche territoriali ed abitative nella provincia autonoma di Bolzano: un'esperienza di diversi decenni	pag. 41



Federico Della Puppa

INTRODUCTION

The Housing Policies Observatory of the Pordenone District in collaboration with Mountain Dossier has selected seven original contributions regarding topics concerning the development of mountain areas, giving particular attention to the ways of living the mountain and the socio-economical dynamics involving its' territories and influencing its' development.

The mountain territories' development has become a topic of great interest inspiring studies, analysis and special funding provided by the European Programme 2014-2020. We shall find a reason to this attention in the awareness of the role played by agricultural, forestall and pastoral activities in producing highly relevant environmental services, that go from hydro-geologic safety to tourist fruition, from landscape maintenance to biodiversity and to protection and valorization of natural and cultural resources.

From this perspective, the importance of mountain towns is quite central in defining a system able to valorize its' surrounding territory and its' most precious components such as historical, architectural and cultural richness, along with typical products. This ensemble can become a vector for new positive scenarios, new policies meaning to renovate the use made of the territory itself, thanks to new technologies which can support and incentivize local actions aiming to transform the territory following a "smart" path.

The main purpose of these actions, which in a mountain territory can be molded into smart policies producing a so-called "smart land", is, above all, to create conditions that permit a quality living, focusing on raising smart communities and integrated economic and social development systems, working on 5 fields of actions requested by the EU in order to generate smart policies in cities and territories: environment, culture and tourism, knowledge economy, mobility and accessibility, landscape valorization.

In a diffused non-metropolitan territory such as a mountain area, carrying out smart policies means launching sustainable practices and actions able to adopt new technologies in order to increase competitiveness of places, to organize transports, to enlarge ITCs, to valorize the social capital, to raise life quality, to preserve and protect the environment and to strengthen the governance.

These are the topics on which all the analysis of papers hereby presented have been based and hopefully will be able to bring up a discussion and a useful in-depth examination regarding themes such as: the mountain, living the mountain and creating conditions which allow integration between mountains and Italian and European socio-economic development processes.



INTRODUZIONE

IT

L'Osservatorio Politiche Abitative della Provincia di Pordenone in collaborazione con Mountain Dossier ha selezionato sette contributi originali sui temi dello sviluppo delle aree montane, con particolare riferimento alla tematica dell'abitare in montagna e delle dinamiche socio economiche che interessano i territori e che ne connotano lo sviluppo.

Il tema dello sviluppo dei territori montani è oggi di grande attualità ed è oggetto di analisi e studi nonché di finanziamenti specifici previsti dalla futura programmazione europea 2014-2020. Il motivo di una tale attenzione va ricercato nella consapevolezza del ruolo delle attività agro-silvo-pastorali nella produzione di servizi ambientali ad elevata rilevanza, dalla sicurezza idrogeologica alla fruizione turistica, dal mantenimento del paesaggio alla biodiversità fino alla tutela e valorizzazione delle risorse naturali e culturali.

In questo contesto l'importanza dei borghi montani è centrale nella definizione di un sistema in grado di valorizzare il territorio e le sue componenti più preziose dal punto di vista storico, architettonico, culturale e dei prodotti tipici. Quest'insieme è in grado di essere vettore di nuove positività, di nuove politiche adatte a rinnovare l'uso stesso del territorio, grazie alle nuove tecnologie che possono sostenere e incentivare azioni locali volte a trasformare il territorio secondo un modello smart.

Obiettivo di queste azioni, che in un territorio montano si configurano come politiche smart che possono essere identificate con il termine di "smart land", è soprattutto creare condizioni tali da permettere un vivere di qualità, mettendo al centro dell'attenzione la creazione di smart communities e di sistemi integrati di sviluppo non solo economico ma anche sociale, agendo sui cinque campi d'azione oggi richiesti dall'UE per lo sviluppo delle politiche smart nelle città e nei territori: ambiente, cultura e turismo, economia della conoscenza, mobilità ed accessibilità, valorizzazione del territorio.

In un territorio diffuso non metropolitano come quelle delle aree montane, attuare politiche smart significa avviare pratiche ed azioni sostenibili che adottino le nuove tecnologie per aumentare la competitività dei luoghi, organizzare i trasporti, incrementare le ITC, valorizzare il capitale sociale, incrementare la qualità della vita, preservare e tutelare l'ambiente ed incrementare la governance.

Questi sono i temi sui quali si sono concentrate le analisi dei papers che presentiamo in queste pagine e che speriamo possano portare ad un confronto e ad un approfondimento utile relativamente ai temi della montagna, dell'abitare in montagna e del creare le condizioni affinché la montagna sia parte integrante dei processi di sviluppo socio economico italiani ed europei.



EN

Daria Petucco

MORE THAN A CONSTRUCTIVE ISSUE: TWO BEST REFURBISHMENT PRACTICES OF TRADITIONAL ALPINE BUILDINGS

1. INTRODUCTION: REFURBISHMENT OF TRADITIONAL ALPINE BUILDINGS

Traditional alpine buildings are cultural, social and economic testimonies of life in the mountains. Both in their relationship with the context and in their construction techniques, these buildings show a kind of sustainability ante-litteram, through an optimization and a careful use of resources.

Today, alpine territories must face the task of managing the future of these heritages (homes, barns, stables) or at least of those that are still standing¹.

The conservation and refurbishment of such buildings, in order to transmit their constructive know-how, is one of the issues faced by different European Alpine Space Project (e.g. AlpHouse and AlpBC), considered by architectural awards (e.g. the latest Constructive Alps prize 2015) and national initiatives (e.g. "Case di montagna abbandonate", an initiative led in 2014 by Cipra Italia).

The refurbishment of traditional alpine buildings could represent not only an opportunity for tourism, as pointed out in the Tourism Protocol which suggests to give priority to the restoring of existing buildings to satisfy accommodation policies, but it could also be one of the necessary steps to implement the re-inhabiting of mountain areas. However, in many cases these buildings turn into second homes. The building is recovered (avoiding the "ruins-scenario"), the use of new soil is avoided but what is missing in this operation is the connection with the territory and the rebuilding of a community: actions which are often connected to a permanent occupation of the building. Fortunately, in other cases the refurbishment of traditional buildings can be part of a bigger project, which includes the idea of re-inhabiting and working in the mountains, as pointed out by some recent researches on the subject (Dematteis, 2011; Corrado, Dematteis, Di Gioia, 2014).

The two best practices presented in the paper belong to this last group. The refurbishment of the traditional alpine buildings has promoted the regeneration of the general context, the start up of economic activities and the connection with local communities. Moreover, the refurbishment involves the owners, local enterprises and economic and social positivity. Today the refurbishment process generates con-

struction and a context which are different from the original ones under many points of view: new performance and different requirements are needed. Reinterpreting the traditional buildings in order to experiment different ways of living the mountains can be an opportunity to learn the lesson that these buildings give us and integrate this teaching in the future of alpine territories.

2. METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS: INTERVIEW WITH OWNERS OF REFURBISHED TRADITIONAL ALPINE BUILDINGS

The work here presented is a part of an ongoing PhD Thesis on the refurbishment of traditional alpine buildings².

The first aim of the research is to analyze the refurbishment process of traditional alpine buildings with a double approach, in order to identify some guide lines in the process. The double approach includes a "top-down approach", which takes into consideration the Italian legislation and some case studies of a wide number of handbooks on recovery of traditional alpine buildings which have been published since the eighties inside many Italian alpine valleys and areas (Ferrario, 2001). From another point of view the "bottom-up approach" tries to analyze the refurbishment process by interviewing different stakeholders involved in the refurbishment: clients, designers, construction companies, firms and authorities³.

The best practices that follow are the result of the interviews with two owners of refurbished traditional alpine buildings. Additional information on the interviewee have been taken from output materials of two different cultural projects in which they were involved⁴.

The interview, in addition to general information about the building (year of construction/refurbishment, past and present use, location) focused on the reason of the refurbishment, also looks at the positive and negative aspects of using a refurbished traditional building, the expectations and the requests to the architects, the criterion of materials and companies

¹Traditional alpine buildings were constantly maintained by users and owners. After second world war, with the massive population decrease in mountainous areas, the maintenance decreased or stopped too. As a consequence, a lot of those abandoned buildings collapsed.

²The thesis and the research are conducted by the author of the paper, PhD Candidate at Iuav, University of Venice.

³Between May 2014 and September 2015 thirty people (5 clients, 11 architects, 3 construction companies, 8 firm representatives and 3 authorities representatives) located between Veneto, Trentino Alto Adige and Friuli Venezia Giulia have been interviewed by the author with a semi-structured interview.

⁴The two interviewee are involved in two cultural project related to life and work in their valleys. The results of the project are two videos edited by Anna Pasquali and Origami Videography.



selection, the choices in the field of energy saving and the active involvement in the design and construction works. In relation to these themes, the best practices show some innovative aspects, distinctively on a broader meaning of refurbishment, the owner's involvement and the architectural choices.

3. REFURBISHMENT OF A "MASO" IN VALLE DEI MÒCHENI (TN)

The first best practice refers to a family who decided to move from the nearby city (Rovereto - TN) to an hamlet called Località Stefani in Valle dei Mòcheni (TN), at about 900 amsl. They bought and refurbished a traditional alpine building that in the area is named "maso". The building, which dates back to 1704, originally hosted both the residential and the rural function. After the refurbishing, which was realized in 2005, the building became a residential building with some rooms used for a "Bed and Breakfast". The interviewee is Daniela dal Bosco, owner of the building and manager of the B&B Gian, together with her partner Pierpaolo.

The first remarkable aspect regards the owners involvement in the refurbishment. This happened not only because her partner Pierpaolo was the designer, but also because they both participated in an accurate research in terms of choice of materials, building systems and heating systems: "We carried out a thorough research on the most suitable materials to create a state of inner well-being... The fact that the environment is still comfortable, right? [...] We have done investigations before. We attended trade fairs where there were talks of green building materials, of sustainability, of a healthy environment...". Moreover, they have also personally worked on the building site, in a situation that can partially be defined as self-refurbishment: "First of all we tried to recover building materials which were still in good condition before the arrival of the masons: remove the plank floor, take off the door jambs, the doors, that sort of thing... [...] I came to check out the laying of the clay because the mason who followed that aspect didn't know how to treat this material. [...] We treated the wood beams with a gouge, we made them by hand. I did all the gouges of the roof beams. [...] Then, two craftsmen from South Tyrol posed the tadelakt, which is a clay used in the Turkish baths [...] the finish of the tadelakt must be done with Marseille soap to close all the pores of the clay [...] I helped the craftsmen to do this work because it must be done with a very small soap-pebble [...] We made the house with our own hands, not only with our heart. We are happy."

Secondly, the refurbishment of the traditional buildings tries to reconnect the buildings with the valley, through a permanent re-inhabiting of the buildings and the opening of an economic and site-specific activity. Daniela also joined valley community activities, as the "P.I.R.L.O." association ("Piccole imprese rurali lavorano per l'ospite") and a network called Quality B&B which sets some criteria of hospitality, and in particular for the accommodation in families. Another link to the context is the type of intervention which

tried to preserve the traditional architectural features of the valley: "We were exactly looking for a "maso", a house with a story, mainly because it had a value in itself which is different from a new building... at least for us. In addition, we can also help to give new life to these houses and therefore contribute to the general "picture" of a mountain valley; this was something that we liked."

A third aspect, which can also be related to the revitalization of the territory (in this case the scale of intervention cannot be only the valley but the whole region), regards the involvement in the refurbishment work of some local companies and suppliers.

The refurbishment, on one hand, was an economic opportunity for local companies which are specialized in some manufacturing connected with traditional building techniques, as in the case of window manufacturing:

"For example the windows... the windows were made by South Tyrolean firm, which has been also awarded by the Province of Bolzano because they recreated with the mill machine the handmade manufacturing used in windows of mountain farms. This thing cost us a little more. The material is great and among other things they do not use paints. We felt that we contributed to this award they received because it was consistent with all of our intents, right? And also the appearance, the detail of the glazing bar made in a certain way. Overall, it is a small contribution in the general picture of the refurbishment".

On the other hand, the refurbishment caused the creation of a team of specialized workers who, after this first experience, are now working on similar refurbishing: "Pierpaolo recommends this team of craftsmen when he gets works of this kind; he works with this team and he is absolutely happy. Recently he made a nice refurbishment of a "maso" here in the valley, working with the same artisans".

This refurbishment, as regards the owners involvement, the experimentation of constructive techniques, the materials selection and the workers involvement is a laboratory, as Daniela said: "I would say that it was definitely a beautiful laboratory. And the result satisfied us".

4. REFURBISHMENT OF A BARN AND A STABLE IN VALLARSA (TN)

The second best practice refers also to a family who decided to move from the nearby city (Rovereto - TN) to Vanza di Trambileno (TN), in a place called Località Massarem, in the Vallarsa Valley, at about 700 amsl. The family, and in particular the interviewed person, Luigina Marcella Speri, was looking for a better place to live, far from the urban environment. Luigina, and her family, is the owner of the refurbished building and manager of the farm "Massarem", which was established in the refurbished building and in the surrounding land.

The building was originally a house and a stable. After the refurbishment, which is still on-going, the building has become the permanent home of the owner and a farm, with cultivation of organic agriculture and with

educational activities for schools and people. Before starting the refurbishment of the buildings, Luigina and her family started to re-cultivate the land and recover the terrace-cultivation. This aspect, together with those described afterward, can be considered the best practice, in which the refurbishment of a building was connected to a whole intervention in the territory, its economy and social life: "We started looking for a building in the mountains to be able to live more decently, with a pace as natural as possible. But also to retrieve a piece of land. Why? Because it is important at this time, isn't it? Very important. It also has a symbolic meaning, if we can see things as they are [...] At the beginning we started to cultivate just for us. And then I said, why not? Because I have to be a farmer in order to recover the building and the land (a requirement asked from the municipality, ed.), let's cultivate also for selling! It's actually more work than the profit but, however, I see that even my sons, despite some dispute, want to go on with the farm with me, right? They also begin to believe in this project..."

Moreover, it is possible to underline the strong involvement of the owner, as regards both the research phase (materials selection and building technologies), and the participation in the site. In this case the term "self-refurbishment" can properly be used. Luigina, owing also to some misunderstanding with the architect in charge of the design, did independently a research on materials and constructive solutions for the refurbishment. She defines the refurbishment process as a kind of learning process for herself: "The house is made of stone and the stone has been cleaned and glazed. The floors have been removed. New beams have been made. The architect made me put pine beams and then I found out that it was better to use larch wood... Now I have learned. It was a learning by doing because I really didn't know where to start from[...]. The refurbishment that I did was a little challenging because it tried to follow the green building principles. I did a thorough research. A friend of mine had already done this kind of work and then I also started to research, to do... [...] She gave me some addresses and slowly I began. Then by word of mouth, right? Talk to one, talk with each other. I procured all materials. Then I found all the people who gave me a hand."

As regards the construction work, done mostly by the whole family and by workers that live in the area: "The whole family worked [...]. The men have done the harder work but I've also done the hard work. Yes, the whole family. Even now the whole family is participating in this venture. A long construction site ..."

Another interesting aspect regards the materials selection done by the owner. The attention to healthy materials and to recovery materials, instead of buying new ones, are some criteria used in the refurbishment: "When people come here they say that it is comfortable and healthy. The house is small but it is cozy ... The materials used are healthy and are not harmful to health. [...] The wood ... I asked: it came from Austria. I've also asked for a wood certification". Finally, Luigina decided to build and experiment a constructed wetland plant to treat wastewater in-

dependently from the sewage system, which can be considered an innovative feature in the refurbishment work.

The decision to refurbish the building and recover the land in such way, however, caused some misunderstanding with the municipality and authorities (e.g. the bureaucratic difficulty to change the building function from warehouse to agricultural and residential use) and some construction firms and craftsman (e.g. Luigina's materials selection and architectural choices in the refurbishment) who in some case had some difficulties to manage "non standard" procedures.

5.CONCLUSIONS

The best practices presented - although they may be considered exceptions in the actual scenario - could be a starting point to focus on some themes regarding the significance of the traditional building refurbishment in the mountainous context and thus they act as markers for the implementation of policies on the refurbishment of traditional alpine buildings.

First of all, the refurbishment of traditional alpine buildings is not just a constructive matter but it should involve the whole mountainous territory, its social life and economy. Differently from a refurbishment for a second-home, the two best practices have brought to the valley a permanent activity (i.e. tourism, farm) and a territorial presence (i.e. inclusion in a territorial network and community). These factors, for example, could be considered in applications for refurbishment loans.

Moreover, as concerns the construction work, the refurbishment process has been an occasion to involve local enterprises and workers, promoting short supply chains and the specialization of firms in the mountains in some building sectors (e.g. wood, windows). These aspects should be kept into consideration in the structuring of economic policies for enterprises in the building sector in mountainous areas. The paradigm of "local material" could be enlarged to the paradigms of "local know-how", implementing thus the environmental, social and economic sustainability.

The second aspect that springs out from the two examples is the involvement of the owner in the refurbishing process. The participation is observed both in the theoretical phase (research on materials and systems, environmental material requirements) and also in the practical phase of the construction works, for "self-refurbishment".

The owner involvement - although at a different level in the refurbishment process - could be a strategy to create a deeper relation between the buildings and the territory. Moreover, it could be a useful support tool for the owner and users in the refurbishment process (e.g. user manual) and to structure a clearer and more useful communication in the building sector also for non-experts.



IT PIÙ CHE UN PROBLEMA COSTRUTTIVO: DUE BUONE PRATICHE DI RISTRUTTURAZIONE DI EDIFICI TRADIZIONALI ALPINI

I territori delle Alpi sono disseminati da un consistente patrimonio di edifici tradizionali, un tempo funzionali al sistema economico e socio-culturale della montagna. Si tratta di manufatti, sia rurali che residenziali, in grado di dimostrare attraverso una loro lettura critica della collocazione, dei sistemi costruttivi, delle scelte materiche e degli accorgimenti tecnici, un attento e ponderato uso delle risorse e un'integrazione con lo specifico contesto nel quale essi si collocano. Si pone oggi la necessità di ripensare alla funzione e al destino di questi stabili, partendo dalla considerazione di operare in un differente contesto economico e sociale rispetto a quello in cui questi edifici vennero costruiti. Diventa sicuramente imprescindibile il confronto con le mutate esigenze degli utenti/fruitori e la richiesta di determinati livelli prestazionali.

In molti casi l'intervento di riqualificazione degli edifici tradizionali alpini avviene con la finalità di trasformazione dell'edificio in una seconda casa. Si tratta di un'operazione che - pur evitando il consumo di suolo vergine e pur salvando l'edificio da una totale distruzione dovuta all'azione del tempo, degli agenti atmosferici e conseguenza di abbandono e mancata manutenzione - può essere definita quale "il male minore" per questi edifici. Diventa infatti più complesso, in questo scenario, fare in modo che la riqualificazione ricollochere l'edificio a presidio territoriale dell'ambito montano, generando positività sociali ed economiche.

Nonostante questa tendenza, è possibile tuttavia rilevare come nell'ampio panorama di interventi di riqualificazione dell'edilizia tradizionale alpina siano presenti delle buone pratiche, nelle quali il recupero del fabbricato esistente è uno degli aspetti di un progetto globale di ritorno alla montagna e valorizzazione del territorio.

Il paper qui presentato, sulla base di un lavoro di ricerca dottorale sviluppato attraverso delle interviste orali semi-strutturate ai vari attori coinvolti nel processo di riqualificazione (committenti, progettisti, imprese di costruzione, aziende ed enti) e realizzate tra Veneto, Friuli Venezia Giulia e Trentino Alto Adige, riporta a questo proposito l'esempio di due buone pratiche, nelle quali due committenti raccontano la loro esperienza di intervento sull'esistente. In entrambi i casi, collocati uno in Valle dei Mòcheni (TN) e uno in Vallarsa (TN), la riqualificazione è avvenuta con la finalità di abitare in modo permanente l'edificio. Parallelamente sono state avviate delle attività economiche (rispettivamente un bed & breakfast e un'azienda agricola) e si è cercato di ricreare un legame con il territorio, attraverso la coltivazione della terra e il recupero dei terrazzamenti, la partecipazione alla vita della comunità, l'impegno in associazioni locali e l'organizzazione di attività con le scuole e la popolazione negli spazi riqualificati.

Gli interventi in analisi sono stati poi l'occasione per cercare di promuovere la filiera corta locale, sia per quanto riguarda i materiali utilizzati nella riqualificazi-

one, sia i saperi e le competenze costruttive presenti nel territorio. Infine - aspetto altrettanto interessante e innovativo - si è rilevato un coinvolgimento diretto dei committenti nei lavori di riqualificazione, sia dal punto di vista delle scelte figurativo-architettoniche e materiche, sia nelle attività pratiche di cantiere, elementi che possono essere in parte ricondotti al concetto di "auto-recupero".

Le buone pratiche riportate, sebbene se ne riconosca la specificità e l'unicità, possono tuttavia fornire degli indicatori per l'implementazione di politiche e azioni relative ad una riqualificazione degli edifici tradizionali alpini che cerchi di riattivare il "sistema montagna", tenendo conto della sua evoluzione culturale, sociale ed economica. Temi quali l'importanza di azioni integrate tra l'intervento sull'esistente e il contesto, la promozione delle risorse materiche e dei saperi locali in un'ottica di eccellenza e specializzazione, la partecipazione attiva di tutti i soggetti coinvolti nel processo di riqualificazione al fine di rinsaldare anche il legame affettivo con l'edificio e il luogo, sono alcuni degli spunti che possono essere tratti dai due esempi descritti.

Daria Petucco is an architect and a PhD Candidate in "New Technologies and Information for the city, the Territory and the Environment- Building Technology" at Luav University of Venice. Her PhD research focuses on the process of refurbishment of traditional alpine buildings. She has collaborated in the Alpine Space Project AlpBC and CABEE for the Urban Planning Section of the Veneto Region.

Daria Petucco è architetto e PhD candidate in Nuove Tecnologie per il Territorio, la Città e l'Ambiente - ambito della Tecnologia dell'Architettura presso l'università Luav di Venezia. La sua ricerca di dottorato si occupa del processo di riqualificazione dell'edilizia tradizionale alpina. Ha collaborato all'interno del progetto Spazio Alpino AlpBC e CABEE per il Dipartimento Urbanistica della Regione del Veneto.

**MORE THAN A CONSTRUCTIVE
ISSUE: TWO BEST PRACTICE OF
REFURBISHMENT OF TRADITIONAL
ALPINE BUILDINGS**



*PICTURE 1. Daniela Dal Bosco in her house, preparing breakfast for guests.
Credit: Gianpiero Mendini, Origami Videography*



*PICTURE 2. The refurbished building.
Credit: Daniela Dal Bosco*



*PICTURE 3. Tradition and innovation: wall heating associated with
wattle and daub. Credit: Daniela Dal Bosco*



*PICTURE 4. Detail of the window with the glazing bar.
Credit: Daniela Dal Bosco*



PICTURE 5. Luigina working in her land.
Credit: Gianpiero Mendini, Origami Videography



PICTURE 6. Luigina working in her land.
Credit: Gianpiero Mendini, Origami Videography



PICTURE 7. The building with the connection to the wetland plant.
Credit: Floriana Romagnoli, Studio Vis



PICTURE 8. The building and plantation.
Credit: Azienda Agricola Al Massarem

REFERENCES

- Ferrario V., (2001), Recupero del paesaggio e dell'architettura alpina: nuovi approcci nella manualistica recente, in Mamoli M. (a cura di), (2001), Progettare nello spazio alpino: manuale per la tutela, la conservazione ed il recupero del paesaggio, degli insediamenti e delle architetture tradizionali, Vicenza.
- Alpine Convention, (2005), Protocol on the implementation of the Alpine Convention of 1991 in the field of tourism - Tourism Protocol.
- Dematteis G. (ed), (2011), Montanari per scelta. Indizi di rinascita nella montagna piemontese, Franco Angeli, Milano.
- Corrado F., Dematteis G., Di Gioia A. (eds), (2014), Nuovi montanari. Abitare le Alpi nel XXI secolo, FrancoAngeli, Milano.
- DANIELA. Gocce di sapere...femminile. Microesperienze in Valle dei Mòcheni - Estate 2012. Un progetto di Anna Pasquali, riprese e montaggio a cura di Origami Videography, musica: Marie Hines "Lovestung" [themusicbed.com].
- LUIGINA. Io Lavoro in Montagna. Storytelling in Vallarsa, 4 video, 8 storie per raccontare il lavoro all'ombra delle Piccole Dolomiti, Festival Tra le Rocce e il Cielo 2013, un progetto di Anna Pasquali, riprese e montaggio a cura di Origami Videography, musica: Marie Hines "Fireflies" [themusicbed.com].



EN

Valerio Lastrico

THE RENEWAL OF ABANDONED VILLAGES IN THE LIGURIAN ALPS: POLICIES AND INFORMAL PRACTICES

This paper analyses strengths and weaknesses of Ligurian mountain villages in the Alpine Convention perimeter. First, it outlines its cultural, geographical and socio-economic context, and specifically the characteristics of mountain villages in the Ligurian Alps compared to those on the coast and in other mountain areas within the same region. This paper analyses the institutional interventions implemented by the regional authorities for the recovery of mountain settlements. The hypothesis is that these interventions, which address only the agricultural dimension, are insufficient to reach this objective. It also describes some of the most well-known recovery interventions of the past years, which have taken place spontaneously without a clear institutional planning, and it demonstrates how these best practices may also hide some pitfalls.

1. LIGURIA AND ABANDONED VILLAGES: MOUNTAIN VS COAST

The abandonment of mountain villages is a phenomenon characterizing much of Western Europe, it assumes a very special connotation in Liguria, because of the morphology of the region itself, mountainous areas with the greatest settlement and economic attractiveness concentrated on the coast. Initially this led to the exodus from the inland valleys to the cities, and then to the coast in general. In fact the villages on the coast, in addition to sharing many of the morphological difficulties of the inland villages and being almost always historically, culturally and anthropologically related to the agro-forestry-pastoral activities, have also had the advantage of possessing a strong economic role in maritime activities, and more recently, in tourism, together with being easily accessible.

Thus, over the centuries, the two types of settlements begun to differ from each other from a social and an architectural point of view (Ghelfi 2011). The mountain villages in Liguria are the outright majority, they do not have relations, if not indirectly, with the coastal economy, often quite independent from what elevation and proximity to the sea might suggest. More recently, this led the two types of villages to different destinies, the coastal ones having often been oriented towards urbanization and speculation around historical centres, witnessed a sudden growth of holiday homes for seaside tourism, and the mountain villages were progressively abandoned. This is due to several reasons, first of all the steepness of the slopes and the difficulties of switching to a type of agriculture and livestock going beyond the mere consumption for subsistence, or in any case the impossibility of reaching an industrial dimension. In addition to this, in the case of the Ligurian Alps, there was also the crisis of the

slate mining industry. At the same time, local economy has not been able to reconvert itself to tourism, as has happened in other mountain areas. The only exception are houses owned by former residents, who moved to the city or the coast, returning during the holidays. Mountains have also developed, but not enough to attract tourists (if not very recently with the explosion of outdoor activities), due to regional policies designed to stimulate only a seaside “quantitative” tourism, rather than a “qualitative” one.

2. LIGURIA AND ABANDONED VILLAGES: EAST AND WEST VS THE CENTRE

Also in the central part of the region, historically gravitating around the city of Genoa, there are different types of settlements between coast and inland, with the first highly aggregated and fortified against invaders coming by sea, and the latter characterized by scattered settlements, relying on the proximity to the city. However, the same difference can be found also among mountain villages, as we move away from the political and geographical centre of the region. Thus the historical difference is reflected in the settlement style of mountain villages in Liguria: the area including the far western part of the Alps and the Côte d’Azur sharing the same features of the far East area and Lunigiana, and those of the central Apennines and the current Piedmontese Oltregiogo which are characterized by scattered villages around the former feudal courts (Ghelfi 2011, 95-96).

¹Except for those implemented by local associations and Antola Regional Park in Pentema - crib depicting mountain activities - and Senarega - enhancement of the castle.

²Cfr. <http://www.paesifantasmavaldivara.com/>; Bassanelli (2009).



Such morphological difference had also consequences on the different trajectories of abandonment. The research “Geografie dell’abbandono” (Postiglione 2009) identifies three types of abandonment: 1) completely abandoned villages; 2) partially abandoned villages; 3) abandoned village with a new centre. Looking at the map on page 18 of that report, one might notice several things: first of all the fact that the Ligurian area stands out for the high number of abandoned villages with respect to the surrounding areas, especially to Northern Italy; secondly, that these are concentrated, indeed, in the far western and eastern areas; finally, that almost all of them are only partially abandoned villages.

This does not mean that abandoned settlements in the centre of the region do not exist, but these are mostly small difficult to reach villages, once linked especially to pastoralism, irreversibly affected by the proximity to the industrial city. In these areas there is no repopulation, neither institutionalized nor spontaneous, taking place³, and it seems that a new form of tourism linked to such characteristic of total abandonment is growing (Roccati, De Lorenzi 2015). The situation is different for what concerns the Eastern² and especially the Western part of the Region. In both cases we are dealing with municipalities in their own right, which for the features mentioned previously, are also fine medieval hamlets, that have been recently rediscovered as appealing for cultural tourism and converted into accommodation facilities and almost never entirely abandoned.

3. THE CASE OF LIGURIAN ALPS ABANDONED VILLAGES

As far as the western part is concerned, all the municipalities are included within the area of the Alpine Convention. The research “Geografie dell’abbandono” includes the following municipalities: Balestrino, Finalborgo, Verezzi, Toirano, Castelvecchio di Rocca Barbena, Stellanello, Colletta Castelbianco, Bussana Vecchia, Cervo, Diano Castello, Apricale, Dolceacqua Dolcedo, Torrazza, Civezza, Seborga, Torrano. With the sole exceptions of Balestrino and Bussana Vecchia, whose historic centres have been abandoned, respectively, due to a landslide and to earthquake damage, leading to the foundation of a new centre nearby (followed by spontaneous revitalization), the other villages are all classified as partially abandoned, although recently some of these abandoned spaces have been converted into tourist facilities. They are, in almost all cases, “very small municipalities” according to UNESCO’s definition³.

Among the aforementioned municipalities, some are defined mountainous by the Liguria Region, and some are defined as only partially mountainous, as their situations regarding housing problems and other issues differ substantially.

According to the report “L’Italia del disagio abitativo” of Legambiente and Confcommercio (2000), at the beginning of the century the Ligurian Alps were still to be considered as an area with great housing disadvantage, and to be included in the group called “old ancient world”, characterized by small villages with low population density, with high average age population and without mi-

gration dynamism. While presenting a better exposure to the general wealth and tourism with respect to weak contexts in the strict sense, these villages were characterized by the presence of many empty houses and a disintegrated commercial structure, consisting only of a few, badly distributed businesses.

4. REGIONAL POLICIES IN FAVOUR OF MOUNTAIN SETTLEMENT

Regarding economic activities, regional policies seem once again to be addressed solely to agricultural disadvantage, with no mention, for a long time, of a possible development in terms of tourism, considering that only by recovering traditional activities, we could stop the abandonment of mountain villages and their territory, and consequently the housing disadvantage and the natural and hydro geological degradation. Therefore the Liguria Region’s measures aimed at encouraging agriculture and the mountain economy have a territorial scope determined almost solely by previous identification of disadvantaged agricultural areas, using the municipality area as a reference unit. The used data relate to Liguria’s agricultural area, evaluated considering their geo-physical and socio-economic features, and classified as areas affected or not by criticalities and disadvantages, compared to other territories. These considerations are based solely on the agricultural potential, to allow adoption of policies aimed at balancing economic and agricultural conditions only through instruments such as administrative benefits of a financial and/or fiscal nature to agricultural settlement. The Region identified four main types of classification:

- municipalities classified as mountainous under Law 25th July 1952, n. 991, 25th July 1952, “Measures in favour of mountain areas”;
- municipalities classified as disadvantaged under Directive 75/268/EEC of 28th April 1975 on agriculture in the mountain and disadvantaged areas;
- municipalities classified as disadvantaged or particularly disadvantaged under d.lgs. 146/97, concerning agricultural welfare;
- municipalities identified as disadvantaged categories under the art. 5 of the l.r. 33/1997, concerning the identification of elevation and of socio-economic disadvantage (then abrogated by the art. 63 of the l.r. 4th July 2008, n. 24).

Based on this set of classifications, as many as 48 municipalities in the Ligurian Alps (among those in the perimeter of the Alpine Convention and obviously only those within Ligurian borders) out of 62 were found to be simultaneously: entirely mountainous under law 991/1952, entirely disadvantaged under Directive 75/268/EEC, and particularly disadvantaged under the d.lgs. 146/97⁴. Furthermore, all those classified as partially mountainous are classified as “disadvantaged”. Given that the outcome of a policy is determined by the used framing, it is clear that this definition of the problem, solely based on agriculture issues, even if aiming to a tout court recovery of mountain centres, is likely to fail in the naming, and then to fail completely, not taking into account other relevant dimensions. This classification, excludes even agricultural activities that, although not resulting as signifi-

³<http://www.unescochair-iuav.it/ricerca/progetti-in-corso/prin-piccoli-comuni/il-concetto-di-piccolo-comune/>

THE RENEWAL OF ABANDONED VILLAGES IN THE LIGURIAN ALPS: POLICIES AND INFORMAL PRACTICES

cant from a quantitative point of view, are important from the point of view of identity and to prevent the emptying of the inhabited centres (mountain DOC wines, lavender, etc), together with other economic activities (Monesi di Triora ski resort, Pigna spa, art tourism in Dolceacqua) and especially activities connected to local identity (recovery of Brigasque/Occitan cultural traditions in Realdo and Verdeggia). By contrast, if considering only agricultural indicators, Balestrino is less disadvantaged than the majority of other municipalities, even though the historic centre is totally abandoned and in ruins.

Looking at the rate of farms abandonment between 2000 and 2007, according to data analysed by Eurac (cfr. Streifeneder 2013, p. 11, fig. 3), it can be seen how there has certainly been a steady decline in the number of farms on the territory, but not as significant as compared to the neighbouring provinces/departments, Cuneo and the Maritime Alps, which have completely different urban functions and residential dynamics. A marked difference, even in the presence of the strong marginality characterising Ligurian municipalities (Di Gioia 2013, p. 29, fig. 2), is in the province of Cuneo (especially those municipalities corresponding to the scenario described here), where disadvantaged municipalities are classified according to a set of indicators. There are as “basic centres” - characterized by the presence of basic activities, making them more attractive to small local reservoirs or infrastructures for external connection - or “touristic centres” (Di Gioia, 2013). Among the municipalities of the Ligurian Alps on this side of the regional border, conversely, there are “multifunctional centres” only along the narrow strip closest to the coast (characterized by a good or excellent diversification of primary and secondary sectors, with additional specialised activities), while strictly mountainous municipalities are defined as “centres with minimum functions”, i.e. with a very basic economic sector represented by the already existing town businesses, and with a high number of “deserted centres”, scoring minimum values in the hierarchy, practically lacking commercial and service activities, thus lacking minimum requirements for permanent residency.

Namely for the second point, the most marked difference, is not with the province of Cuneo (Corrado 2013, p. 19, fig. 1), but with the neighbouring French department of the Maritime Alps, which like most of the French territory within the perimeter of the Alpine Convention reported a significant population increase between 2002-2009, almost everywhere over 7.5%, according to data analyzed by Eurac, whereas on the other side of the border, besides the increase in the municipalities closest to the coast, the strictly mountainous areas showed a demographic shift almost everywhere between -2.5% and 0 (cfr. Streifeneder 2013, p. 10, fig. 2). The municipalities in the Ligurian Alps, therefore, continue to lose population, in favour of the city, the coast, and for work opportunities offered beyond the nearby French border, despite financial and fiscal incentives to agriculture given by the Region.

⁴They are: Airole, Apricale, Aquila d'Arroscia, Armo, Aurigo, Badalucco, Bardo, Bardinetto, Boissano, Borghetto d'Arroscia, Bormida, Calizzano, Caravonica, Carpasio, Castel Vittorio, Castelbianco, Castelvecchio di Rocca Barbena, Ceriana, Cesio, Chiusanico, Cosio d'Arroscia, Erli, Giustenice, Isolabona, Magliolo, Massimo, Mendatica, Molini di Triora, Montalto Ligure, Montegrosso Pian Latte, Murialdo, Nasino, Olivetta San Michele, Pallare, Pieve di Teco, Pigna, Pornassio, Prelà, Ranzo, Rezzo, Rialto, Roccavignale, Rocchetta Nervina, Toirano, Triora, Vendone, Vessalico, Zuccarello.

5. BUILDING AND HOUSING RENEWAL, BETWEEN INSTITUTIONS AND INFORMALITY

As often happens in Liguria (Lastrico 2014; De Micheli, Lastrico and Tebaldi 2010), the most evident results in the context of urban and territorial renewal, for better or for worse, are not the outcome of specific policies, i.e. institutional actions oriented towards a specific and planned purpose; but rather by grassroots action, in an informal and spontaneous way, if not even chaotic. Some of these are examples of best practices recognized and often taken as case studies at both national and European level (Squatrio 2012). Out of seven Italian good practices analysed by the aforementioned research “Geografie dell'abbandono” (Postiglione 2009), as many as three come from these areas.

The first, certainly the most famous, is not actually a mountain settlement. Bussana Vecchia, near Sanremo, was abandoned after the earthquake in 1887, which damaged many of the mountain villages (above all, Bardo), and then repopulated spontaneously in the '50s by artists of various nationalities. They later formed a committee and the town is now partially recovered and rebuilt and is known as the “village of artists”.

Another example of best practice is shown by the mountain village, Torri Superiore, which is perhaps the most interesting case. Situated between the Ligurian Alps and the Maritime Alps, Torri remained in a state of abandonment until, in the '80s, a former resident decided to buy a good portion of it. However, this was not the only reason; over time other people were involved, until the creation of the “Associazione Culturale Torri Superiore” in 1989, for the restoration of the medieval village dwellings and its transformation into an “eco-village”, minimizing its environmental impact, using renewable energy sources and practising communitarian organic farming. The eco-village is now inhabited by a resident community, which self-rules on the basis of participatory decision-making and of a mixed economy, in which each one is responsible for his/her own income, apart from a share paid in a common fund. However, this is not a closed community, since the village offers accommodation facilities for ecotourism run by the residents' cooperative, offering not only hospitality, but also environmental education courses, seminars on participatory decision-making procedures and other cultural and outdoor activities.

The third case study is that of Colletta di Castelbianco, another completely abandoned medieval village, in the alpine Val Pennavaire. An institutional organic recovery in this village presented significant issues due to its administrative situation; it was in fact arbitrary divided between Liguria and Piedmont (Casanova 2012). The whole village was bought by a private construction firm, which restored it without any public contribution, and turned it into the first “electronic village”. The aim was not only to restore historic buildings respecting their identity, but also to create an experimental centre where all units are wired with fiber optic cables, appealing to a community of people attracted both from by the idea of an isolated life in the mountains while at the same time being connected to the whole wide world. The three cases mentioned above



are certainly the most virtuous cases, but any attempt to revitalize abandoned villages assumes the character of spontaneity. Among other positive experiences, a special mention goes to the revitalization projects of the Realdo and Verdeggia villages, based on the rediscovery and promotion of Brigasque traditions, by the cultural association "A Vastera", which also runs a multimedial museum and organizes sharing economy events in which the village inhabitants receive visitors in their own homes to introduce them to their traditional cuisine.

The less positive aspects of such spontaneity is the access to the ANCI club (Borghi più Belli d'Italia). This movement was created precisely to enhance the heritage of small Italian towns and especially those excluded by tourist flows. Only six villages of the Liguarian territory have applied for membership - Apricale, Castelvecchio di Rocca Barbena, Colletta di Castelbianco, Seborga, Triora and Zuccarello - even though it is literally dotted with medieval villages that could draw enormous benefits in terms of tourism and visibility. The thorniest issue that accompanies any spontaneous process of redevelopment, not assisted by planned interventions, however, is always that of gentrification. In this case there is the concrete possibility to transform mountain villages, with their traditions and culture, into destinations for wealthy foreigners attracted by the beauty of the area, thereby achieving a very different objective from that of bringing livelihood back to the mountains. Informal and spontaneous restoration and development activities do not come without problems and downsides, and it is therefore simplistic to support the idea "good practices - bad policies", a slogan which is often implicitly or explicitly expressed when dealing with these topics.

IT IL RECUPERO DI VILLAGGI ABBANDONATI NELLE ALPI LIGURI: POLITICHE E PRATICHE INFORMALI

Il paper si occupa delle strategie di recupero dei borghi montani della Liguria compresi all'interno del perimetro della Convenzione delle Alpi, analizzandone gli aspetti positivi e negativi. Dopo un inquadramento che serve a rendere il contesto geografico e socio-economico, nonché culturale, dell'area presa in considerazione, ed in particolare le caratteristiche peculiari dei borghi montani delle Alpi Liguri rispetto sia a quelli costieri, sia a quelli montani di altre aree della stessa regione, il lavoro analizza gli interventi istituzionali messi in campo dalla Regione Liguria per il recupero degli insediamenti montani. L'ipotesi è che tali interventi, appiattiti sulla dimensione agricola, non bastino a raggiungere l'obiettivo prefissato. Dopo di ciò si considerano invece gli interventi di recupero più noti realizzati spontaneamente negli anni scorsi, al di fuori di una pianificazione chiara, tentando di mostrare come anche gli interventi informali nascondano non solo best practices, ma anche nuove insidie.

Valerio Lastrico (born in Genoa, 17th March 1983) is a Social Sciences graduate from the University of Milan. His final dissertation project was on participatory local redevelopment, and took his PhD in Sociology from the Graduate School in Social and Political Science of Milan, with a comparative dissertation project on the environmental conflict created by the High Speed Railway Service Turin-Lyon in the Susa Valley and in Maurienne. His research focuses on environmental conflicts, public policies and local decision making processes on environmental issues. He is also a qualified hiking guide.

Valerio Lastrico (nato a Genova il 17 marzo 1983) è laureato in Scienze Sociali all'Università degli Studi di Milano, con una tesi sui processi di riqualificazione locale partecipata, e ha conseguito il Dottorato di ricerca in Sociologia presso la Graduate School in Social and Political Science di Milano, con una tesi comparativa sul conflitto ambientale legato al TAV Torino-Lione in Val di Susa e in Maurienne. Si occupa di conflitti ambientali e di politiche pubbliche e processi decisionali ambientali locali. È anche guida ambientale escursionistica abilitata.

REFERENCES

- Bassanelli M. (2009), *Geografie dell'abbandono 1.3, il caso della valle di Zerì*, Milano, Politecnico di Milano.
- Casanova G. (2012), "Val Neva e Val Pennavaire tra natura, arte e storia", in *Rivista di antropologia culturale e linguistica delle Alpi Marittime e dell'Appennino Ligure*, n. 57-58, pp. 20-28.
- Corrado F. (2013), "Territorial dynamics of repopulation in the Alpine area and their impacts on local development paths", in *Mountain Dossier*, n. 1, 18-23.
- De Micheli C., Lastrico V., Tebaldi M. (2010), *Partecipazione, capitale sociale e qualità democratica. Uno studio nell'area genovese*, Genova, Frilli.
- Di Gioia A. (2013), "Development perspectives for the Alpine urban systems. Spatial analysis upon role of services", in *Mountain Dossier*, n. 1, 24-29.
- Ghelfi R. (2011), *L'Alta Via dei Monti Liguri bene culturale tra Alpi e Appennino*, Genova, De Ferrari.
- Lastrico V. (2014), "Scontro fra popolazioni metropolitane e democrazia partecipativa. Una possibile risposta alla crisi dell'accoglienza "mediterranea" nel centro storico genovese", in M. Gausa, M. Ricci (eds.), *MED.NET.REP.0.2, LIST-Laboratorio Internazionale di Strategie Urbane*, Trento-Barcelona, 296-301.
- Legambiente, Confcommercio (2000), *L'Italia del disagio abitativo*, Roma, Cresme.
- Postiglione G. (ed.) (2009), *Geografie dell'abbandono. La dismissione dei borghi in Italia*, Milano, Politecnico di Milano.
- Roccati C., De Lorenzi P. (2015), *Villaggi fantasma. Passeggiate su antichi sentieri tra Piemonte e Liguria*, Genova, Capricorno.
- Squatrito A. (2012), *Nuove realtà per vecchie località. Un percorso di riattivazione per i borghi abbandonati*, Venezia, IUAV.
- Streifeneder T. (2013), "The vision of EURAC on Alpine research", in *Mountain Dossier*, n. 1, 8-13.



EN

Marianna Bertolino

BOTTOM-UP AND TOP-DOWN APPROACHES IN ALPINE VILLAGES RESTORATION: RESULTS FROM AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN PIEDMONT

The cultural heritage of alpine areas includes rural architecture that has been recovered in the last decades. Since the beginning of the twentieth century the history of many mountain villages in Piedmont were marked by a progressive abandonment and a depopulation due to the attraction of the industries of the lower valleys and the plains. Nowadays, the new interest for the mountains is accompanied by a social phenomena, a slight reversal of the negative demographic trends: what answers may be drawn on the vernacular architecture of mountain housing policies? The aim of this paper is to reflect on the results of an anthropological research in the Piedmontese Alps on the best practices of hamlet restoration. The ethnographic approach allows us to emphasize the social changes that locally show different approaches on how to repopulate mountain areas.

1. INTRODUCTION

Since the '30s of the twentieth century, and especially after the Second World War, the Italian mountain areas lost their inhabitants. The economic model based on agro-pastoral activities was rejected in favour of the industries in the cities and it was followed by a feeling of total rejection and denial to the native highlands. This neglect resulted in the decline of paths, terraces, fields, typical crops and in the unruled growth of woods. Consequently, the rural architecture, with its empty original dwellings, appeared as a symbol of underdevelopment in face of the urban buildings of the plain.

The economic well-being of the '60s gave an idea of the mountain related to leisure activities which involved the emergence of a building industry that answered the new demands of modernity and new mass tourism.

The rural architectural heritage was forgotten and with it the know-hows of construction.

Nowadays, the issue of landscape protection is becoming a crucial theme. The new interest towards the elements of anthropization, like architectural artifacts and buildings, is a consequence of the widespread awareness of some past characteristics on which to invest in economic and symbolic terms.

My PhD on Cultural Anthropology pointed out the involvement of local people in the restoration and revitalization of some Piedmontese's mountain villages.

The aim of the work was to understand, using an anthropological approach, the changes in alpine context characterized by revitalization of cultural aspects and their interpretation between new inhabitants, local people and stakeholders.

The architectural heritage was also taken into account due to its complex role in these dynamics.

2. LOCAL AND EUROPEAN CONTEXTS

A short history regarding the cultural transformations and the rethinking of alpine architecture may give a better prospective on the phenomenon. In the '90s the restoration of local architecture was evident with the foundation and implementation of Ecomuseums in Piedmont, the first Italian region with a specific law on the matter (Legge regionale n. 31, 14 marzo). In fact, this new form of musealization gave importance to the landscape and its material and immaterial aspects, being one of the first institutional subjects to restore alpine buildings with a cultural importance, e.g. mills and ovens, and to begin a participatory project with the local population.

Before this, in the '80s there were already some examples of private restoration in the Western Alps, in particular by foreigners, such as Germans, who migrated to Piedmont looking for a place to relax (Pettinati, 2012).

In the last decade, however, the awareness of new development models increased in local people and stakeholders and the existing local heritage was interpreted as a keystone in response to financial crisis and consumerist lifestyles. New inhabitants arrived and old residents came back: some of them attracted by the rediscovery of traditional work activities such as farming; others looking at existing buildings in view of new uses, especially for tourist accommodation¹.

In all these cases, building conservation meant finding new functions as well as appropriate restoration techniques and to recover the knowledge of the local materials employed, e.g. wood and stone. Thanks to this, new economic and cultural interests allowed local workers to maintain the know-how related to the traditional way of building, and research institutions, such as universities, to look for environmentally friendly solutions. Nowadays we see how local strategies are inevitably tied to a larger international context

¹ In the last years new touristic solutions developed as the *Albergo diffuso* (diffused hotels), which implies a new way of hospitality in close contact with places and people. The architectural heritage becomes a destination for cultural tourism interested in deepening the knowledge of local reality.

² One of the most recent cases is the presentation by the Piedmontese territory of Langhe and Roero, that have been defined "wine's territories" for the World Heritage List; another concern a proposal to nominate the specific stone architecture in Ossola Valley.



that involves the Alps completely. On one hand alpine areas are seen more and more as a strategic macroregion for a new kind of social and sustainable development, as highlighted by the Alpine Convention (signed in 1991) that protects the interests of the people living there and embraces the environmental, social, economic and cultural dimensions. One of its paragraphs is entitled “Population and Culture”, where they are considered a priority to respect and preserve, and promote the cultural and social independence of the indigenous population. In concern to future dynamics, the Alpine Convention points out the active role of local populations; the declaration highlights the shared responsibility of the alpine and non-alpine populations for the maintenance of the cultural uniqueness of the Alps.

On the other hand, the European Landscape Convention (signed in 2000) promotes the protection of the different landscapes as the result of the local people’s opinion on their environment. Landscape protection and valorisation are also based on what local people want to share and transmit. Landscape, as a common place for human life and nature, could be defined as a tamed place where people exercise their specific culture and traditions. In an historical perspective, landscapes represent values reflecting the world views of various social groups and their relations and interactions with nature as components of the cultural context. Vernacular architecture is the most evident material characteristic of anthropized landscape. Its transformation in heritage is a recent social phenomenon: currently it is no longer tied to monuments of exceptional character, but it includes small villages with their complex of buildings and accessories as demonstrated by Italian associations like “I borghi più belli d’Italia” or “I borghi autentici d’Italia”. Vernacular architecture acquires importance also in the local claims and negotiations to achieve official recognition as in the UNESCO²’s policies.

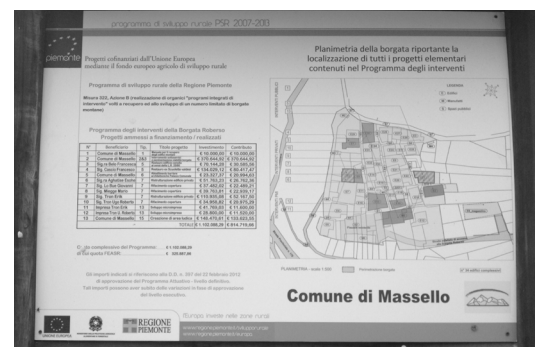
3. METHODOLOGY AND RESULTS

My research started in 2011, regarding the ethnographic fieldwork and the comparative observation of some alpine villages (Ostana in Po Valley; Valliera and Campofei in Grana Valley, Bourcet in Chisone Valley, Montecrestese in Ossola Valley, Massello in Germanasca Valley) where different approaches – from bottom up to top down – emerged and where interesting dynamics occurred both in the rediscovery of the know-how related to the building industry, both in terms of new functions of several buildings for new economic and cultural activities. With bottom-up strategies, local actors are sentimentally involved, perhaps due to previous ties with the territory, sometimes the land of their ancestors, or by an economic will, which sees these places as an alternative to a dominant urban model of development. But the preservation of the traditional aspects of the past can also be expressed by the musealization of tourist interest sites.



PICTURE 1. Po Valley- Balma Boves on Monte Bracco is an open-air museum project

Today, close to bottom-up experiences, local stakeholders are also involved in different thematic Measures for the revitalization of mountain villages. One of these, already finished, was the Measure 322 “Village renewal and development”, in particular action B “realization of organic integrated intervention programs dedicated to the recovery and development of a limited number of mountain hamlets”. Included in the Rural Development Plan (DRP 2007-2013 of European fund) of the Piedmont Region, which funded – from 2011 to 2013 – the recovery of 34 alpine hamlets to improve the quality of life in rural areas, the population growth and the implementation of new jobs and activities. As stated in the notice “the project is seeking to create integrated measure programs aimed at the recovery and development of mountain villages by carrying out actions to support the activities, as well as the architectural and functional structures and infrastructures”³.



PICTURE 2. Germanasca Valley- Public and private funds of Measure 322 for the Roberso’s hamlet in Massello

Measure 322 aimed at improving the quality of life, favoring the staying on site of the local population and encouraging the establishment of families and new entrepreneurs with a joint financing that varied for public buildings or for private properties. These programs involved regional territories classified as mountainous and especially the regional territories included in “rural areas with development problems” (areas D) or in the “intermediate rural areas” (areas C)⁴.

³ <http://www.regione.piemonte.it/montagna/montagna/rurale/misura322.htm>

In the prerequisites required in the notice it states that: “The hamlet must be an historical and anthropological recognizable unit and represent significant testimony of the history of local communities, economies and the evolution of the traditional rural landscape”. My research aimed at observing social dynamics underlining these actions over a long period, through the collection of various life stories of local population and stakeholders. As regards the methodological approach, it seems that an anthropological field research is more suited to study social and cultural dynamics in micro areas where numbers are insufficient to explain the contemporary changes in a statistical way.

In the cases of the Italian Western Alps, as already mentioned, various examples of architectural heritage restoration are tied to demographic phenomena that concern newcomers. The new trend of the Alps shows significant small-scale variations in the population (Di Gioia, 2014, pp. 43-49). But who is committed to this return? It seems that different types of newcomers can be identified, such as the “newrurals” that can be jobseekers or people in search of amenity: both concentrate on a different way of life as rejection of the caotic urban lifestyle (Dematteis, 2011, p.16).

The demographic changes bring with them important consequences in which there is the restoration of the vernacular architecture with a low environmental impact. Furthermore, creating new agricultural activities on the territory restores the lost biodiversity and maintains clean rivers and fields. Another important anthropological aspect concerns the effects of these new inhabitants on cultural transmission and preservation of communities also in symbolic terms.

After 3 years of research, the results of my fieldwork (Bertolino, 2014) highlight that the return to the Alps is a complex phenomenon animated by conflict between the different social actors. The relationship with local cultural heritage, and in particular, vernacular architecture, the perception of landscape as well as the use of common goods derives from negotiations. This aspect has important effects on alpine policies and underlines the need of participative decision-making processes.

My ethnographic survey gave qualitative data on which stakeholders can work for the life improvement on the mountains, to stimulate economic development and attract new residents and emphasize the different view points of those who already live there, also in view of the current European programme (Horizon 2020).

4. SOME REFLEXIONS: WHAT POLICIES AFTER THE MEASURES 322 OF PIEDMONT REGION?

During my PhD I had the opportunity to follow the measure 322 from the beginning to the end. As a part of these projects several manuals for good practices have been edited, related both to the existing interventions and contemporary buildings. These latter are, however, only of “architectonic acupuncture” (De Rossi, 2013). Referring to the manual of best practices for architectural interventions in the municipality of Ostanta (CN), we found that interventions make readable the differences between the old and new parts of settlement.

In fact this manual states that the correct interpretation of type, functions, structures, materials and methods of construction of the building is needed in order to preserve the original elements. The existing buildings are presented as “an enormous encyclopedia that history has given us” (Dezzi Bardeschi, 1990 in De Rossi, Crotti, Dini and Giusiano, 2012), this is why the primary purpose of the intervention must be the conservation, in the most original way possible. The restoration project must not only be a task of embalming but must be able to welcome the transformation, provided that it will be both approvable and respectful: approvable because they can also use new forms related to current needs; respectful because it can implement the transformation in a contemporary reinterpretation of traditional materials such as wood, stone and iron.

The manual also informs that it is not desirable to fall back on the past or to indulge in a nostalgic view, disguising or camouflaging the simultaneous operations but developing reasoned interventions going beyond the kitsch and which are nothing more than the material conditions to agevolute the return to these places focusing on their future. After almost two years from the end of my fieldwork period and after one and a half years from the expiry of the measure 322, returning to the places and observing the transformations, it can be said that those once “too empty spaces” (Cognard, 2006) are now filled with new meanings and new projects thanks to a relocation of marginal areas to the center of new cultural, social and political interests.

The restoration of vernacular architecture, that historically informed us of an agro-pastoral culture, is following some of the most modern styles, such as the use of renewable sources (from the solar power to the geothermal), and therefore it is becoming a pull factor for a new type of residency. In my work I theorized that the recovery of abandoned alpine villages was the premise for the population increase. Currently migratory movements in the Alps are complex but often related to the new neo-ruralism in which people seek new jobs or amenity life projects in natural areas (Merlo, 2006). It isn't a coincidence that the hamlets in which restoration was—and actually is being carried out—show a return. The “returnees”, new residents who create the conditions for living in

⁴ “Intermediate Rural Areas” (areas C) indicates areas of hill with important agricultural activities such as permanent viticulture as Langhe and Monferrato; with the expression “Rural Areas with Development Problems” (areas D) may be defined as those mountain areas with low population density and with a difficult accessibility, suffering from a demographic implosion and a lack of dynamism (summarized in the concept of marginality) but that also preserve a rich local heritage.



PICTURE 3.
Grana Valley- the new cheese factory in an ancient building in the hamlet of Valliera in Castelmagno.

the mountains are attracted by the link with the past in the same manner in which they are open to the technology and the most modern housing solutions. The potential of the “empty”, which became “margin” in the past is well expressed in the work of Cognard on those who moved to the french Alps of Dios: «ils ont particulier compris assez tôt les limites du modèle productiviste et anticipé l’évolution de la perception des espaces ruraux au sein de la société, et donc le nouveau potentiel offert à des territoires tels que le Dios, restés en marge du modèle économique dominant, et pouvant justement valoriser leur aspect préservé dans une perspective du développement durable» (2008, p. 8).

Where the depopulation was not total, the amalgamation between the residents of the most long-running and those that migrate has given and is giving rise to forms of cultural creativity, where the term “creativity” can be explained both as the result of the meeting between cultures (Favole, 2010), both as an inside attitude of the single subject (Remotti, 2011), and it can be combined with the term “generativity” (Magatti, 2014) as a basic anthropological movement, which expresses itself in art, in crafts, in cooperative work and in some entrepreneurships, beyond the technocracy of the capitalist economic system.

The new European Programme, ERDF (European Rural Development Fund) and EARDF (European Agricultural Rural Development Fund), and in particular the DSR intervention will support other recoveries of the existing architectural heritage in the Piedmontese alpine villages of Piedmont and will intervene where recoveries have already been made: renovated hamlets must not be reduced to empty containers but must be considered a potential to attract people, for this reason, policies are needed to enhance them on the housing market.

Therefore, housing policies must point in the direction of supporting returns and curing existing services or implementing others, because returning people must imagine themselves in the mountain in a long term period⁵.



PICTURE 4-5.
Po Valley- The new covered public area totally in wood and some traditional stone buildings in Ostana

5. CONCLUSIONS

The small-scale approach to the restoration description of the alpine landscape and architecture shows some of the best practices that can be analyzed in a comparative manner not only between the different states of the European alpine areas but also beyond. In fact, the mountain regions are the first to be affected by new forms of migration. The new created communities bring new styles of life which reinvent aspects of the local life. Migrations, however, are not just for economy but for a different way of thinking about the future orientated on green economy and sustainable forms of land use.

It means that the alpine world is much more dynamic than the plains. Buildings are restored according to very specific guidelines, trying not to forget the life of the past while creating spaces conform to present needs.

Multifunctionality is the keyword when speaking about the recovery of alpine villages: any restoration must be linked to the creation of new job positions related to the cultural, architectural and environmental protection, but also tourism, artcraft and local production in order to induce virtuous processes of sustainable development.



IT

APPROCCI BOTTOM-UP E TOP-DOWN NEL RINNOVAMENTO DEI VILLAGGI ALPINI: RISULTATI DA UNA RICERCA ANTROPOLOGICA IN PIEMONTE

L'architettura rurale delle borgate di montagna fa parte di un più vasto patrimonio culturale alpino che ha subito, negli ultimi anni, un processo di rivalutazione, al quale sono seguite azioni di recupero e di valorizzazione. Sin dall'inizio dello scorso secolo, la storia di molti villaggi alpini in Piemonte è stata caratterizzata da un progressivo abbandono e spopolamento da parte degli abitanti, a causa dell'attrazione che hanno esercitato i modelli produttivi ed industriali dei fondovalle nonché della pianura, soprattutto a seguito del boom economico.

Tuttavia, al giorno d'oggi – come molte ricerche sottolineano – il nuovo interesse per le Alpi e le Terre Alte è accompagnato da fenomeni sociali di rivitalizzazione e di ripopolamento tali da invertire le tendenze demografiche negative del '900: alla luce di questi processi, quali possono essere le risposte dell'architettura vernacolare alpina nelle nuove politiche abitative per le montagne? Lo scopo di questo contributo è quello di riflettere sui risultati di una ricerca antropologica condotta nelle Alpi piemontesi che ha avuto come oggetto di studio il recupero di spazi alpini marginali, quali le borgate montane, e le nuove pratiche del vivere in montagna.

Queste iniziative sono a volte il frutto di esperienze spontanee e dal basso, altre volte il risultato di una politica accorta come, a titolo di esempio, la misura 322 "Sviluppo e rinnovamento dei villaggi" del Psr 2007-2013 della Regione Piemonte. A breve distanza dalla fine di questa misura, così come a seguito di altri interventi bottom-up ormai completati, l'intervento vuole restituire ed evidenziare i risultati ottenuti e interrogarsi sulle possibili nuove iniziative da intraprendere.

Maria Anna Bertolino, PhD in Anthropological Sciences at the University of Turin.

She worked in Piedmontese mountains on the recovery and restoration of rural architecture and she studied socio-demographical processes that affected this portion of the Alps. She took part of some european projects as E.CH.I. for the catalogation of alpine intangible heritage.

Maria Anna Bertolino, PhD in Scienze Antropologiche all'Università di Torino. Ha lavorato sul tema del recupero dell'architettura rurale nel contesto montano piemontese e si è dedicata allo studio dei processi socio-demografici che riguardano questa porzione di territorio alpino. Ha preso parte al progetto europeo E.CH.I. per la catalogazione del patrimonio alpino immateriale.



REFERENCES

- Bertolino M.A. (2014), *Eppur si vive. Nuove pratiche del vivere e dell'abitare nelle Alpi occidentali*, Roma, Meti Edizioni.
- Cognard F. (2006), *Le rôle des recompositions sociodémographiques dans les nouvelles dynamiques rurales : l'exemple du Diois, "Méditerranée"* [Online], 107 | 2006. URL: <http://mediterranee.revues.org/451>.
- Comune di Ostana (2011), *Manuale delle linee guida e degli indirizzi tecnici per gli interventi di recupero ed ex novo, PSR 2007-2013 Misura 322 "Sviluppo e rinnovamento villaggi alpini" Tipologia di intervento n.1*. URL:http://www.uncem.piemonte.it/upload/148_10/Manuale_Ostana_LOW.pdf.
- Corrado F. (ed) (2010), *Ri-abitare le Alpi. Nuovi abitanti e politiche di sviluppo*, Genova, Eidos.
- Dematteis G. (2011), *Montanari per scelta, indizi di rinascita nella montagna piemontese*, Milano, FrancoAngeli.
- De Rossi (2013), *Il Centro di Ricerca "Istituto di Architettura Montana" del Politecnico di Torino, DAD: ricerche, progetti, indirizzi e prospettive culturali*, ANCSA conference, Studi e ricerche per il sistema territoriale alpino occidentali (December 13, 2013), Turin.
- De Rossi A., Crotti M., Dini R. and Giusiano M. (2012), *Uncem e IAM insieme per recuperare le borgate alpine*, UNCEM workshop, Il recupero e la rivalutazione delle case e delle borgate montane del Piemonte. La rivitalizzazione economica e sociale delle aree marginali (October 8-13, 2012), Turin-Ostana.
- Dezzi Bardeschi M. (1990), *Architetture di memoria - Album 1960-1990*, catalogo della mostra (a cura di G. Guarisco), Firenze, Alinea.
- Di Gioia A. (2014), *Metodologia e analisi della ricerca*, in Corrado F., Dematteis G. and Di Gioia A. (eds), *Nuovi montanari. Abitare le Alpi nel XXI secolo*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, pp. 41-64.
- Favole A. (2009), *Creatività culturale, "Antropologia museale"*, n. 22, pp. 21-23.
- IRES Piemonte (2007), *Valutazione Ex-Ante PSR 2007-2013 della Regione Piemonte – Parte III/1*.
- Magatti M., Giaccardi C. (2014), *Generativi di tutto il mondo, unitevi!*, Milano, Feltrinelli.
- Merlo V. (2006), *Voglia di campagna*, Troina, Città aperta.
- Pettenati G. (2012), *Nuovi abitanti, nuovi territori e nuove reti sulle Alpi piemontesi. I casi di Stroppio (Val Maira) e Rore (Val Varaita)*, in Castiglioni B., Varotto M. (eds), *Di chi sono le Alpi? Appartenenze politiche, economiche e culturali nel mondo alpino contemporaneo*, Padova, Padova University Press, pp. 241-250.
- Remotti F. (2011), *Cultura. Dalla complessità all'impoverimento*, Roma-Bari, Laterza.



EN

STEPPING STONES: FROM A TEACHING EXPERIENCE THE BIRTH OF A CULTURAL ASSOCIATION

Alessandra Barberis,
Nadia Frullo, Dino Genovese,
Ivano Menso, Alice Vergano

For the biennium 2012-2014 the “Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Architettonici e del Paesaggio” (Postgraduate School of Architectural and Landscape Heritage) in Turin’s Politecnico chose the areas of middle “valle Stura di Demonte” in the Western Alps for its analysis and research. A case study was identified in the inhabited village of Saret, which was once closely related to Bergemolo and Demonte and is now a significant example of the abandonment of the mountain settlements in the Cuneo area. The decline of the mountain economic system began in the early twentieth century with the advent of industrialization concentrated in the city of Cuneo and the strong attractive power of the nearby plain. This caused the progressive loss of interest in the middle valley and the abandonment of numerous settlements in the Cuneo valleys. In the last fifty years of the twentieth century the depopulation of mountain areas led to profound changes in the Alpine landscape. The Governance discontinuity affected the stability of the hydro geological and the agro forestry ecosystem and destroyed the bond between the environment and its inhabitants¹.

The abandonment of “terre alte” (highlands) meant a loss of identity for these places, it exacerbated their economic and social exclusion, threatened the territorial assets and altered, often irreversibly, the perception of the landscape. In recent years, there has been a turnaround. Although it is still limited, the re-settlement phenomenon leads to reconsider the strategic role of “terre alte” as a programming field at all scales. The return to the mountain, mainly from urban areas, is generated by the search for a balance between the contemporary living style and a new relationship with nature, with a reinterpretation of the traditional environmental conditions.

The alpine tradition is utterly fascinating and is nourishing a new awareness reflected in the development of soft tourism, the enhancement of local productions and supply chains and in neoruralism. Repopulation triggers “a process of cultural hybridization between the old and the new inhabitants that leads to a reconstruction of alpine local identity and, therefore, becomes a territorial innovation engine”². This new cultural and social milieu allows the development of a realistic, rather than idealistic, “design thinking” of the alpine and subalpine slopes. Saret di Bergemolo, that is the core of a hillside alpine village, shows how

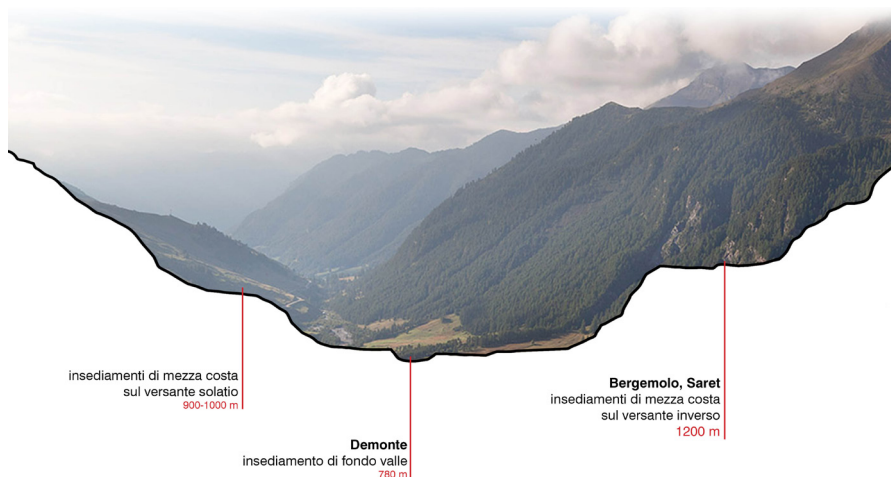
the complexity of these abandonment issues and revitalization of the mountain can become an opportunity for sustainable development.

After the economic boom that hit the region, Saret was afflicted not only by the abandonment trend, but also, more recently, by the declaration of “inadmissibility” that affected Bergemolo as part of the proposal “for organic and integrated programs aimed at the recovery and the development of a limited number of mountain villages” under the Piedmont Rural Development Plan (Piano di Sviluppo Rurale Piemonte 2007-2013; Measure 322, Action B). Among the questions that immediately animated the “study site”, this verdict of “inadmissibility” was certainly an issue deserving more reflection, specifically on the role Saret can play as an indicator of the ambiguity that often surrounds the definition of “mountain village”. The complexity of Bergemolo’s settlement structure is marked by the close relationship among the four rural settlements (Saret, Lauger, Folco, Carter) which revolve around the same agro forestry and pastoral system. Bergemolo’s settlement could not be exclusively explained as a “compact thickening [...] of buildings that doesn’t assume the character of a single productive / residential settlement” (Measure 322, Action B, PSR 2007-2013) but it was rather necessary to reconsider it in the light of the mountain villages’ features identified in the Regional Landscape Plan.

Furthermore, three favourable conditions allowed the launching and development of this learning experience: an heterogeneous group of students, interested in cultural education and geographical origin; a present and alert local authority, sensitive to the problems afflicting their territory; a banking foundation committed in the support of educational activities as an opportunity for the community’s future development. These conditions, far from being obvious, are essential for a post-graduate training, to build knowledge, and acquire the necessary skills and expertise to deal with future professions. The study program has been perfected over time and the progressive knowledge of the site has contributed to the fine-tuning of its purpose, that is to offer proposals and strategies for a sensitive and fundamental issue of our times: the sustainable re-use of mountain areas. At the beginning, the research object was limited to the Saret di Bergemolo settlement, but along with further awareness came

¹For further information Mauro Varotto, *Montagne deserte: l’abbandono delle “Terre Alte” visto attraverso la cartografia in “Bollettino dell’A.I.C.”*, n. 117-118-119 (2003), pp. 165-177.

²Federica Corrado, *Territorial dynamics of repopulation in the Alpine area and their impacts on local development paths. Dinamiche territoriali di ripopolamento nelle Alpi e relativi impatti sui percorsi di sviluppo locale*, in “Mountain Dossier, Rivista scientifica Dislivelli.eu”, n 1 (2013), pp. 18-23.



PICTURE 1.
Schematic section of valle Stura di Demonte



PICTURE 2.
The system of the four settlements setting up Bergemolo

the need to recover the entire surrounding landscape. This became the real challenge, the one which could undermine established certainties, open opportunities to make comparisons with other ways of living and weave together different knowledge through historical and cultural analysis. At first, the abandonment trend in Saret showed specific features, since the absence of its inhabitants determined not only the structural deterioration of its buildings, but also the re-appropriation of the settlement by the woods, its only true "inhabitants" which also put its conservation at risk.

Nature and buildings coexist in a precarious balance, so in the absence of maintenance and recovery interventions, vegetation takes its toll on buildings. This research work began with the investigation carried out on a regional scale over the entire Valle Stura and goes on with the study of historical sources, the recording of an oral testimony from the last inhabitant before the abandonment in the early 1950's and the dialogue with the local government.



PICTURE 3.
Saret's inhabitants in a vintage photography

STEPPING STONES: FROM A TEACHING EXPERIENCE THE BIRTH OF A CULTURAL ASSOCIATION

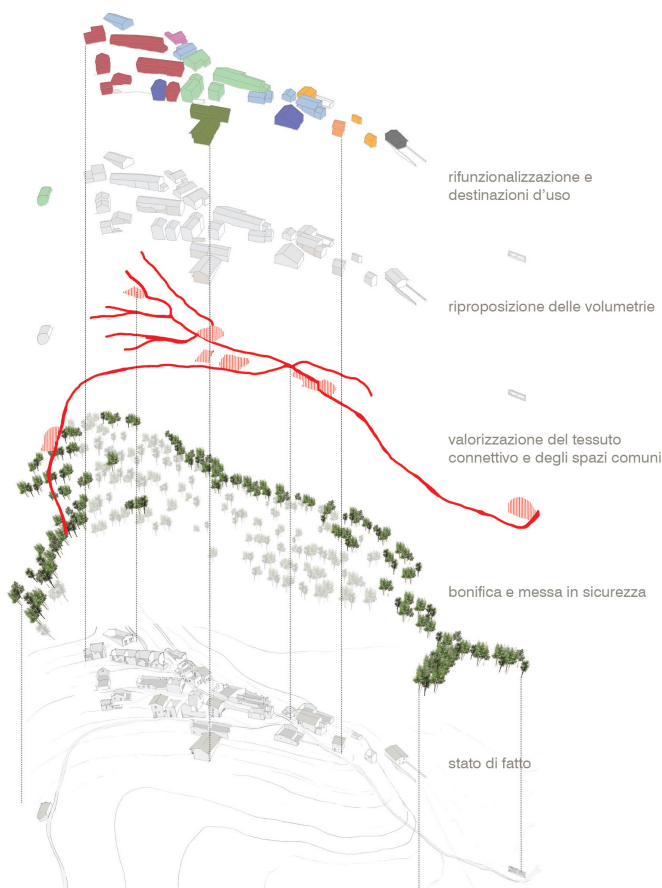
The analysis considered the entire village of Bergemolo, comprising four villages overlooking the two plateaus forming a “hanging” side valley: Lauger, Folco, Carter and Saret. The metric survey of the Saret’s buildings came along with the study of the architectural characters and the analysis of the landscape components of the Bergemolo area. Reflections on the spatial structure and surveys on forestry and the agropastoral activities in the past and present led to a dense network of information and data useful for different projects, each one capable of transforming one part or the whole system. The scenario of an integrated enhancement and renewal of Saret aimed at revitalizing the village resulted in a complex project which was the result of the interaction among multiple parties: the modification of any of these parties inevitably affects the entire system. The use of an interpretation model able to express the relations between the parties has allowed to think about the system in a non-linear way. Due to its complexity, it was therefore necessary to organise issues into themes and remember that the intervention on each aspect could weigh on the whole system. The shared megaproject, based on the identification of values and their implications in a planning perspective, identified the vegetation, the connective tissue and the built environment as the main investigation themes. The use of different layers during the analytical phase facilitates the understanding of the area, but the designed actions were considered closely related, sometimes concurrent or otherwise linked together.

The survey topics that have been identified are the following: - reclamation of the forest encroachment and securing of the moraine and the containment walls: the state of abandonment of Saret and the consequent reappropriation of the area by the woods, determine the need for a first reclamation aimed at making the structure of the village readable again and allowing a proper development of the building site.

The attention put on the perceptual aspects of the landscape is expressed through the management of woods and the enhancement of strategic elements such as the linear formations on the sidelines of the higher plateau and the visual arrangements on the path towards Saret. The definition of the forestry intervention follows the legislation (Legge Regionale Piemonte n. 4 del 2009 s.m.i art. 3 c. 3 bis, Testo unificato dei progetti di legge regionale n. 511, 345, 423 427 – Gestione e promozione economica delle foreste), and particularly aims at enhancing cultivation of cultural value, such as some fruit trees inside the settlement. The securing plan uses naturalistic engineering in order to stabilize terraced areas and drywalls. Actions range from the simple restoration of stone elements with traditional techniques, to the use of cages made out of recyclable materials obtained after demolition, to the increase of the hydro geological safety of slopes through reinforced and greened soils; - enhancement of the connective tissue and the common areas: accessibility to the settlement is renewed and integrated through interventions on the connective tissue involving the arrangement of internal footpaths in Saret and the creation of two parking areas at two different ends of the settlement, one downstream, along the way connecting Lauger to Folco, and the other upstream.

The driveway to the stop points is guaranteed by the consolidation of existing paths connecting the settlements and integrated with the construction of a new path, crucial for the viability of the building site, which intercepts the ring road that borders the upper plateau and insists on one of the terraces upstream of Saret. The pedestrian access to Saret retraces and enhances a path, today abandoned, which starts from the fountain at the foot of the moraine, reaches the ridge grafting on the main route that runs through the entire village, and continues on the historical route connecting Bergemoletto and Sant’Anna di Valdieri. The path intercepts all public spaces, the historical ones and the new ones, created where it was needed;

- reproposal of the original building volumes: the project aims at recreating the original volumes and the settlement tissue by stressing solids and voids that define the skyline of Saret from the upper plateau. Criticalities have been identified in the difficulty of the building operations, in the presence of the forest encroachment inside the built core, in the high degree of structural criticality, in the use of poor materials and poor quality construction techniques and the lack of service networks. On this basis it was possible to define specific action criteria referring to the following issues: the transmission of the documentary value, the conservation of the original relationship between solids and voids, the reproposal of the original volu-



PICTURE 4.
The scenario of integrated enhancement and renewal project of Saret



mes and the typologies of buildings, the conservation and the refurbishment of the pitch slopes, the conservation of different entries at different levels, the preservation of the equipment walls legibility and the physical and chemical compatibility of materials used for consolidation and completion;

- refurbishing of the settlement through the inclusion of new uses: the integrated project begins with the analysis of the identifying characters and the local opportunities. On one side, it develops the cultural landscape, the traces left by men who transformed the territory in order to inhabit it. On the other side, it focuses on tourism, especially for summer and winter sports. The refurbishment project mixes four main function categories including: activities related to farming and related services; receptivity; sports; tourism and educational sites. The decision to locate all the activities along the ridge path, allow visitors to experience all of them, from downstream to upstream, while discovering the new Saret architectures. An innovative element is the idea of considering Saret building site as an educational opportunity for all its duration: a site to test materials and construction techniques, experiment the transgenerational transmission of knowledge, renew and focus the community's attention on the abandonment of alpine settlements and the development of a new community of informed inhabitants.

The actions that structure the scenario of Saret enhancement are part of a perspective focusing on making Bergemolo's system for visitors, residents and businesses more appealing, in order to revive the mountain. Among these actions, those related to the landscape preservation are of primary importance, and the reactivation of the territory's governance and those related to the recovery of the housing properties, in order to encourage residency, according to sustainability criteria.

Further actions are aimed at creating physical spaces and economic opportunities for the establishment of new companies and strengthening tourism services irrespective of their seasonality, this in order to attract visitors all year round and to recreate a community spirit of cooperation rooted in tradition but based on new ways of life. In this sense, it is important to activate Saret transformation process on the entire area of Bergemolo through synergistic actions ranging from governance recovery, to the revival of agro-forestry-pastoral uses (also for local niche production); from the consolidation and the implementation of the existing road network (in order to improve accessibility), to the preservation of landscape, the development of networks and primary urbanization, the enhancement of landscape in terms of scenic-perceptual effects and the evaluation of buildings (taking into particular consideration the historical identity). The strengthening of activities related to sports tourism and hiking moreover possesses a synergistic multifunctional perspective, allowing Bergemolo to diversify its tourist offer. One main theme emerged from this formative experience is that the revitalization of places at risk (such as the villages of the "middle mountain") cannot depend solely on the professionals' sensitivity and the

integration of all the strands of such a complex issue, but should be based on the will, responsibility and attention of the public administration, as well as on the involvement of other stakeholders, first of all the population. On one hand the middle mountain villages offer great opportunities for development and on the other hand, thank to their resilience to abandonment, they keep the traces of the alpine cultural landscape still intact.

To address the need for an adequate tool, capable of interacting with different actors and help them to relate to one another with regard to both the management and use of the territory, the cultural association Campobase1000 was born. The aim of the association is to act as a bridge between the needs of the territory, the institutions and the people, playing an active role, not only in the safeguarding of the economic and social vitality of the local communities but also in strengthening its uniqueness using an approach capable of reinterpreting tradition by proposing "good practices" for a coherent and sustainable intervention. The association's view of the territory is a complex and layered system of relationships and values that one must learn to read, understand, recognize and interpret in order to re-start the integration process between the living spaces and the spaces to "re-live".

Campobase1000 contributes to knowledge, to the recovery and the cultural enhancement of the territory included between the plains of the valley bottom and the high altitudes of the mountain peaks, also known by the mountain inhabitants as "middle mountain". Campobase1000 locates in the "middle mountain", despite its marginal role in the economic development of Alps and its irrelevance with regard to the traditional alpine sports, the tracks that built the cultural landscape, the fertile soil where it is possible to experience "good practices" of living and building, and the space to reconstruct the link between the valley floor and the mountain scenery. Campobase1000 therefore offers an integrated approach that puts different skills to the use of a general program: the agro-forestry-pastoral project together with architectural design allows the study of relationships that made the complexity of the landscape, and to deal with the different aspects of a project.

¹ Per approfondimenti si veda Mauro Varotto, *Montagne deserte: l'abbandono delle "Terre Alte" visto attraverso la cartografia* in "Bollettino dell'A.I.C.", n. 117-118-119 (2003), pp. 165-177.

² Misura 322, Azione B, PSR 2007-2013.



IT

STEPPING STONES: DA UN'ESPERIENZA DIDATTICA LA NASCITA DI UN'ASSOCIAZIONE CULTURALE.

Nell'ambito dell'atelier del biennio 2012-2014 la Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Architettonici e del Paesaggio del Politecnico di Torino ha condotto analisi e sperimentazioni sul campo nelle aree della media valle Stura di Demonte nell'arco alpino occidentale. Ha posto quale caso studio il nucleo Saret che, nelle sue relazioni con la borgata Bergemolo e con Demonte (CN), costituisce un esempio significativo della situazione di abbandono in cui versano numerosi insediamenti montani del Cuneese.

Lo spopolamento degli ultimi cinquant'anni del Novecento ha infatti comportato profonde trasformazioni del paesaggio alpino. La forte discontinuità di governance ha inoltre provocato sia criticità per quanto riguarda la stabilità idrogeologica e degli ecosistemi agroforestali, sia la perdita di significato dei luoghi con conseguente interruzione del legame di appartenenza tra abitanti e ambiente di vita¹.

Saret di Bergemolo, nucleo principale della borgata alpina di mezza costa, intercetta tutta la complessità dei temi dell'abbandono e della rivitalizzazione della montagna come opportunità di sviluppo sostenibile.

Quest'esperienza didattica è stata resa possibile grazie a tre condizioni favorevoli: un gruppo di studenti, eterogeneo per formazione culturale e provenienza geografica; un'amministrazione locale sensibile ai problemi del proprio territorio; una fondazione bancaria, impegnata a sostenere e a promuovere attività di istruzione e di formazione.

Certamente Saret non è che uno dei numerosi insediamenti alpini abbandonati della nostra regione, ma oltre all'abbandono, su di esso si era recentemente esteso il peso della dichiarazione di "inammissibilità" registrata da Bergemolo nell'ambito della proposta di programmi integrati di recupero di borgate montane ai sensi del Piano di Sviluppo Rurale Piemonte 2007-2013 (Misura 322, Azione B). Questo verdetto si è rivelato il tema su cui è stato necessario tornare più volte a riflettere, poiché individuato anche come indicatore di quell'ambiguità interpretativa che spesso circonda la definizione di "borgata montana".

La complessità della struttura insediativa di Bergemolo, contrassegnata dalla stretta relazione tra nuclei rurali (Saret, Lauger, Folco, Carter) gravitanti sullo stesso sistema agro-silvo-pastorale, non poteva essere spiegata esclusivamente come un "addensamento compatto [...] di edifici che non assuma i caratteri di singolo insediamento produttivo/residenziale"²⁹ quanto conciliarsi piuttosto con i caratteri riconosciuti dal Piano Paesaggistico Regionale ai "villaggi di montagna".

Accanto all'obiettivo di proporre strategie per recuperare, valorizzare e ridare vita a Saret di Bergemolo, ha preso forma la consapevolezza della necessità di recuperare l'intero ambito paesaggistico.

Lo scenario integrato di valorizzazione e di rifunzionalizzazione si è configurato quindi quale progetto complesso, risultato dell'interazione tra più parti in cui la trasformazione o modificazione di una di queste comporta necessariamente effetti sull'intero sistema.

I temi d'indagine sono:

- bonifica del bosco di invasione, messa in sicurezza del terreno morenico e dei muri a secco di contenimento;
- valorizzazione del tessuto connettivo e degli spazi comuni;
- riproposizione delle volumetrie dei manufatti;
- rifunzionalizzazione del nucleo attraverso l'inserimento di nuove destinazioni d'uso.

Da quest'esperienza didattica è emerso come il filo conduttore di un progetto di rivitalizzazione di contesti a rischio, come quello delle borgate della "montagna di mezzo", non possa dipendere solamente dalla sensibilità di professionisti e dall'integrazione di tutti i filoni che un tema così complesso intercetta.

Queste borgate da un lato offrono grandi opportunità di sviluppo e dall'altro, resilienti all'abbandono, conservano ancora intatte le tracce del paesaggio culturale tipiche dell'arco alpino. Il progetto deve quindi fondarsi sulla volontà, l'impegno e attenzione da parte della pubblica amministrazione, oltre che sul coinvolgimento e affezione ai luoghi di altri attori sociali e in primo luogo della popolazione.

Per rispondere a questa necessità di uno strumento adeguato a dialogare e a mettere in relazione i diversi attori coinvolti nella gestione e nella fruizione del territorio nasce l'associazione culturale Campobase1000. L'intento dell'associazione quello di porsi come ponte tra il territorio, le istituzioni e la popolazione facendosi parte attiva, non solo nella salvaguardia della vitalità economica e sociale delle comunità locali ma di rafforzare le specificità attraverso un approccio integrato capace di reinterpretare i segni della tradizione attraverso la proposta di "buone pratiche" di intervento coerenti e sostenibili.



Alessandra Barberis (architectural engineer, graduated at the Università di Genova), **Nadia Frullo** (architect, graduated at the Politecnico di Torino), **Dino Genovese** (Doctor of Forest and Environmental Sciences, graduated at the Università di Torino), **Ivano Menso** (architectural engineer, graduated at the Politecnico di Torino), **Alice Vergano** (architect, graduated from the Politecnico di Torino).

From 2014, the authors are specialists in Architectural Heritage and Landscape and dealing with projects in architecture, engineering and territorial sciences, with a focus on the theme of landscape. They are among the founding members of the cultural association Campobase1000.

Alessandra Barberis (ingegnere edile, laureata presso l'Università degli Studi di Genova), **Nadia Frullo** (architetto, laureata presso il Politecnico di Torino), **Dino Genovese** (dottore in Scienze Forestali ed Ambientali, laureato presso l'Università degli studi di Torino), **Ivano Menso** (ingegnere edile, laureato presso il Politecnico di Torino), **Alice Vergano** (architetto, laureata presso il Politecnico di Torino).

Dal 2014 gli autori sono Specialisti in Beni Architettonici e del Paesaggio e si occupano di progetti nell'ambito architettonico, ingegneristico e delle scienze territoriali, con particolare attenzione al tema del paesaggio. Sono tra i soci fondatori dell'associazione culturale Campobase1000.

REFERENCES

- Claudia Cassatella, Cristina Lucca, Flavia Castagneto (a cura di), *Linee guida per l'analisi, la tutela e la valorizzazione degli aspetti scenico-percettivi del paesaggio*, 2014 (on line: <http://www.regione.piemonte.it/territorio/dwd/paesaggio/seminario15mag/paesaggio-scenografico.pdf>).
- Federica Corrado, *Territorial dynamics of repopulation in the Alpine area and their impacts on local development paths. Dinamiche territoriali di ripopolamento nelle Alpi e relativi impatti sui percorsi di sviluppo locale*, in "Mountain Dossier, Rivista scientifica Dislivelli.eu", n. 1 (2013), pp. 18-23.
- Mauro Varotto (a cura di), *La montagna che torna a vivere. Testimonianze e progetti per la rinascita delle Terre Alte*, Nuova dimensione, Portogruaro 2013; Marzia Verona.
- Maria Anna Bertolino, *Recupero borgate. Ma per chi?*, 2012 (on line: <http://www.dislivelli.eu/blog/recupero-borgate-ma-per-chi.html>).
- Giovanni Paludi, Paolo Zeppetella, *Valorizzare le risorse della montagna. L'esperienza del progetto CAPACities*, L'Artistica Editrice, Savigliano 2011.
- Paolo Castelnovi, *Definire modelli per dare luogo al cambiamento*, mostra *Per il paesaggio / For landscape. Tecniche di racconto per il progetto*, Torino 3-12 dicembre 2010 (on line: http://www.landscapefor.eu/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=36:definire-modelli-per-dare-luogo-al-cambiamento&Itemid=416).
- Regione Piemonte (a cura di), *Indirizzi per la qualità del paesaggio. Buone pratiche per la progettazione edilizia. Manuale per l'utilizzo dell'ipertesto digitale allegato*, L'Artistica, Savigliano 2010, pp. 30-37.
- Regione Piemonte (a cura di), *Piano Paesaggistico Regionale (PPR). Relazione illustrativa*, Torino 2009, p. 39.
- Andrea Bocco, Gianfranco Cavaglià, *Flessibile come di pietra. Tattiche di sopravvivenza e pratiche di costruzione nei villaggi montani*, Celid, Torino 2008.
- Ugo Mattana, Evelin Vardanega (a cura di), *Montagne, dimore, segni dell'uomo. Rapporti in trasformazione*, "Quaderni del Dipartimento di Geografia", n. 21, Università di Padova, Padova 2003.
- Eugenio Turri, *Le terre alte: un rapporto ombelicale con le terre basse*, in Ugo Mattana, Evelin Vardanega (a cura di), *Montagne, dimore, segni dell'uomo. Rapporti in trasformazione*, "Quaderni del Dipartimento di Geografia", n. 21, Università di Padova, 2003, pp. 23-30.
- Paolo Castelnovi, *Il valore del paesaggio*, contributo al Seminario Internazionale, Facoltà di Architettura del Politecnico di Torino, 9 giugno 2000.



EN

NEWCOMERS IN THE ALPS: BENEFITS OF HAVING “SECOND HOMERS”.

Roland Löffler, Judith Walder,
Michael Beismann,
Wolfgang Warmuth & Ernst Steinicke

A CASE STUDY IN THE EASTERN ITALIAN ALPS

1. DEMOGRAPHIC TURNAROUND AND (SECOND-HOME) NEWCOMERS¹ IN THE ALPS

The Alps have witnessed a tremendous demographic development over the last decades. More and more communities that have long been affected by emigration and an ageing population are now becoming in-migration areas (Corrado 2010; Messerli et al. 2011; Bender & Kanitscheider 2012; Corrado et al. 2014; Löffler et al. 2014).

This return migration involves re-migrants, retirees, working and seasonal migrants as well as newcomers. Within the newcomer category, “second homers” make up a significant part of the new inhabitants (multi-local residents). This is not always seen as positive, as they sometimes only spend limited time in the village, do not get involved in community life, are responsible for the increase in real estate prices while the village infrastructure has to be optimized for full capacity year-round (to include the second-home owners).

As these problems are well known and have already been discussed intensively (CIPRA Info 87 2008), here we want to mention the positive aspects of second-home newcomers on the basis of various case studies in the remote areas of the Eastern Italian Alps. We found second-home owners all over the Alps in the most diverse communities; therefore we chose among the municipalities with a good proportion of second-home newcomers

1. a peripheral community composed of several hamlets (Canal San Bovo),
2. a community that experienced a complete, forced resettlement (Erto e Casso),
3. a particularly tourism oriented community (Sauris),
4. a small village that has no road access (Stavoli).

During our field trips throughout the Alps we spoke to locals, newcomers, community officials, “second homers”, tourists, traders, tourism experts, and farmers, and very often we noted the interesting opinion that owners of a part-time residence are in some ways important for the community: without them many villages and settlements would not be able to maintain their buildings which is unfavorable for the villages’ appearance. Even though second-home owners only spend few days, weeks or months in the destination area, they care about their homes and keep them in good condition, and this seems always better than vacant and run-down houses.

¹ Although not depicted in the maps, in our remarks we distinguish between tourism-oriented guests and part-time residents (“second home newcomers”).

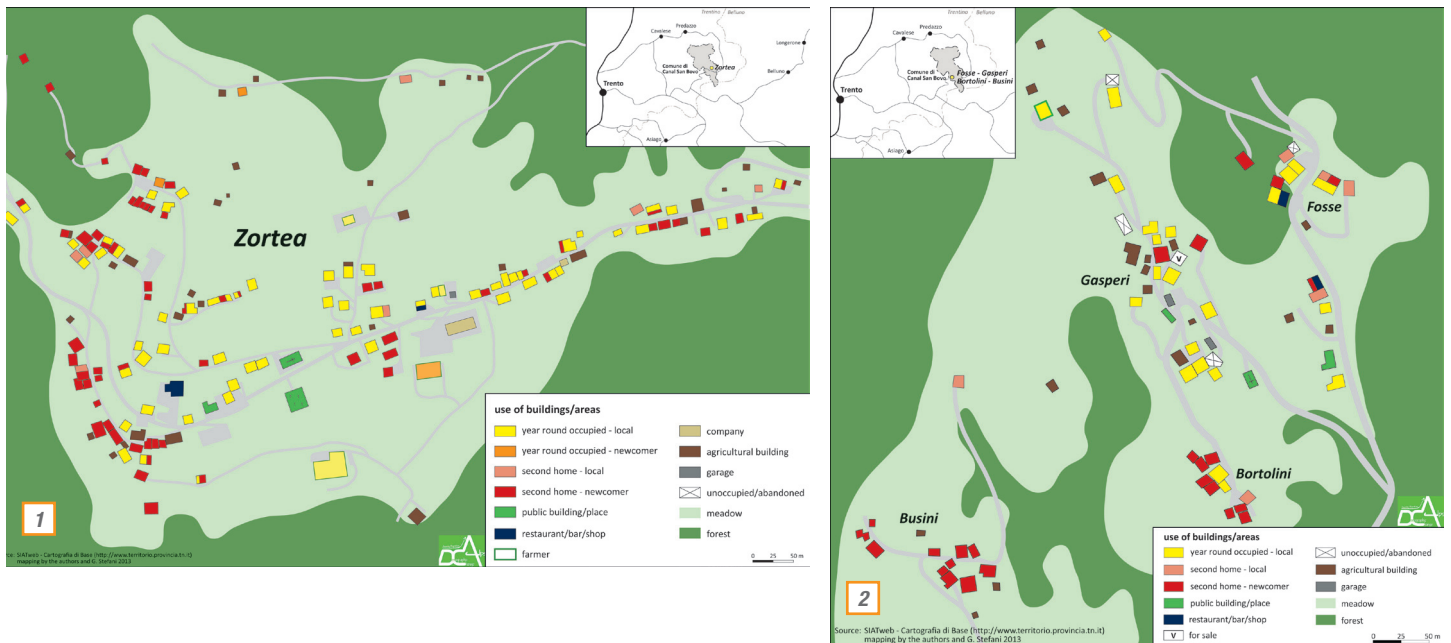
2. NEW FAMILIES, CHILDREN AND “GHOST HAMLETS” - ZORTEA, GASPERI, FOSSE

Zortea, part of the community of Canal San Bovo (Province of Trento), has registered many re-migrants – mainly retirees – within the last couple of years. The main reason for this return migration was affordable real estate in the mountains. Besides retirees, as the map (fig. 1) shows, we also find some newcomers in Zortea: two families with a total of six children, a single woman, two couples – one of them established a goat farm and is producing cheese –, an architect with his family, and a few others. In regards to children, it is important to mention that a number of young couples live in Zortea, and in 2012 they registered 12 newborns. Many of the second-home owners originate from Veneto and Rome and – when present – they are well integrated in the village. As in many other communities in the Italian Alps, numerous “second homers” are registered as primary residents as this brings several benefits for them, such as lower real estate taxes.

In the hamlets Fosse, Gasperi, Bortolini and Busini second-home newcomers own around half of the dwellings. Here it is obvious that without them the situation would be much worse: Busini would even be a “ghost hamlet” because apart from the three agricultural buildings, all the houses are owned by newcomers.

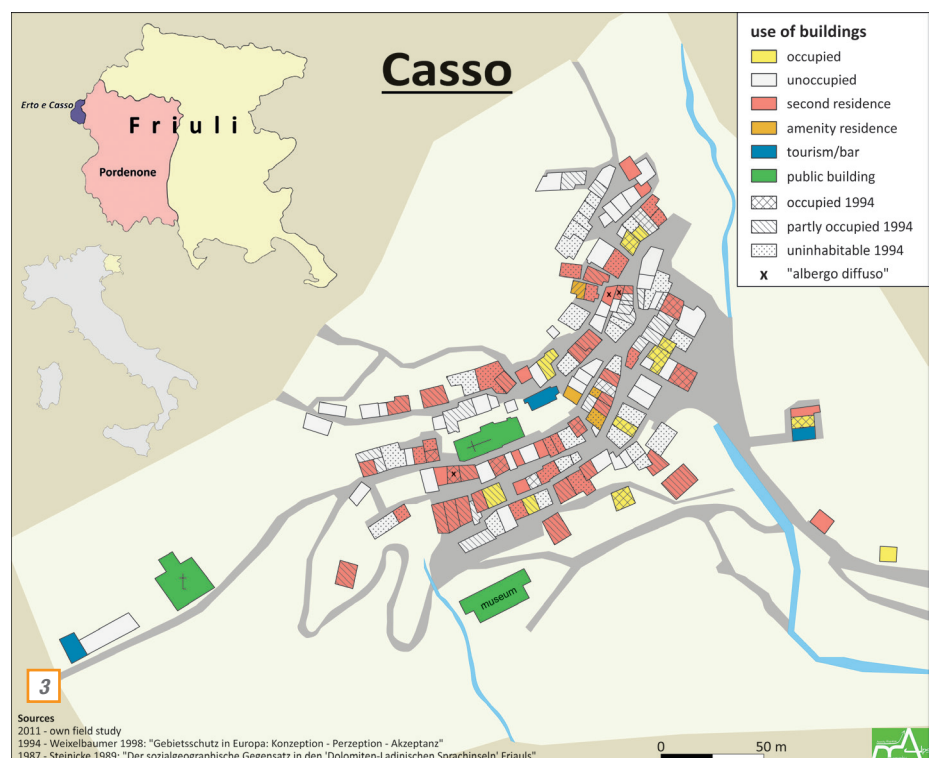
3. LANDSLIDE, FORCED RE-SETTLEMENT, RETURN MIGRATION – ERTO E CASSO

In Friuli, second-home owners – although in a very special manner – were the main driver for the resettlement of the villages Casso and Erto (Comune Erto e Casso/Province of Pordenone, pop. 2014: 387). In 1963, a devastating landslide from “Monte Toc” into the Vajont dam (“Disastro del Vajont”) left the settlements Erto and Casso uninhabitable. The people were first accommodated in private houses, taverns and shacks in the surrounding areas and then had to move to the newly constructed settlement Vajont (community of Maniago) about 50 km southeast outside the Alps in the Friulian “pianura” (plain) (Zuccon 2010). Although they were not allowed to move back to their places of origin for several years, the people, however, soon started to return to their houses to see what was left and started clearing up and renovating.



Due to the inhabitants' determination not to give up their hometowns and to – sooner or later – return to their birthplace, Erto and Casso are now populated again.

Erto Vecchio has been characterized by a huge renovation boom in the last years (also with financial support of the EU), with new electrical power and energy supply, new paving, reconstruction of houses, establishment of stores and restaurants and much more. Many “Ertani” who moved away still own a house in Erto Vecchio and use it as a vacation home.



PICTURE 1.
Residential status in Zortea 2013.

PICTURE 2.
Still-existing hamlets thanks to second-home newcomers (2013).

PICTURE 3.
Building use 2011 compared to 1994 in Casso.

² <http://www.albergodiffuso.com>

**NEWCOMERS IN THE ALPS:
BENEFITS OF HAVING "SECOND
HOMERS".**

**A CASE STUDY IN THE EASTERN
ITALIAN ALPS**

**4. PROSCUITTO, "ALBERGO DIFFUSO",
SECOND-HOME OWNERS - THE
COMMUNITY OF SAURIS/ZAHRE**

The German-language pocket of Sauris (pop. 2014: 413), the highest community in Friuli (Sauris di Sopra 1,390 m a.s.l.), is on one hand characterized by a unique language and culture and on the other hand by a rapid structural transformation from an agricultural settlement to an economic and tourism oriented one (Steinicke 1991).

cultural business, most children decided to work in the much less labor-intensive jobs in the trade and tourism sectors; or they moved away (Steinicke et al. 2014).

To stimulate tourism, Sauris implemented in 1994 the concept of "albergo diffuso"² which was developed already in the 1980s. According to this concept, traditional, partly vacant houses have been renovated and are now used as tourist accommodations.

Besides the complete range of a regular hotel business it intends to provide the guest with a stay as authentic as possible. The core of this accommodation form is located in Sauris di Sopra (fig. 5) and nowadays consists of about 140 beds overall.

Many houses in Sauris are second and holiday homes and mainly used during the Easter, summer, Christmas and New Year holidays, and on weekends. The owners of these houses come mainly from Udine, Trieste, Bologna, Bergamo and some from Germany. Locals look at the growing second-home market with concern because of the resulting real-estate price increases, but at the same time they also know that by themselves they could not keep up the appearance of their village, which is a unique feature and selling point in tourism competition.

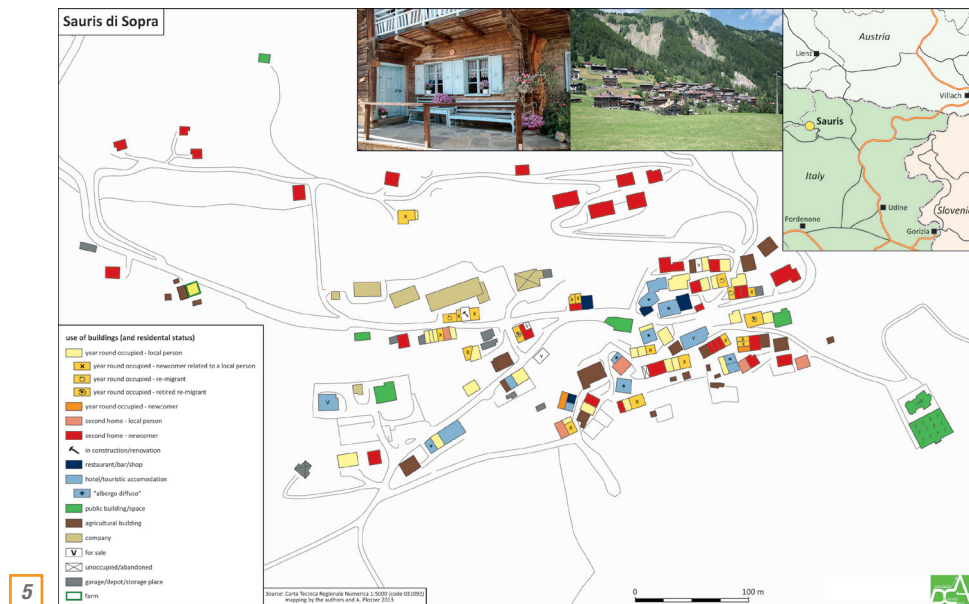


PICTURE 4.
Erto Vecchio 50 years after
the landslide

Currently the job situation is favorable with about 50 commuters, some working migrants and a large, well-known employer in the meat industry. Looking back, this structural change prevented Sauris from an extensive depopulation, but with the newly arisen awareness of their own culture and language in the 1980s and its tourism marketing, the overall situation seems rather inconsistent: although Sauris – with all its rustic farmhouses and flower decorated balconies – creates the impression of an intact rural village, there is not one farmer left, which is why neighboring municipalities cultivate all ten of Sauris' mountain pastures. Instead of taking over their parents' agri-

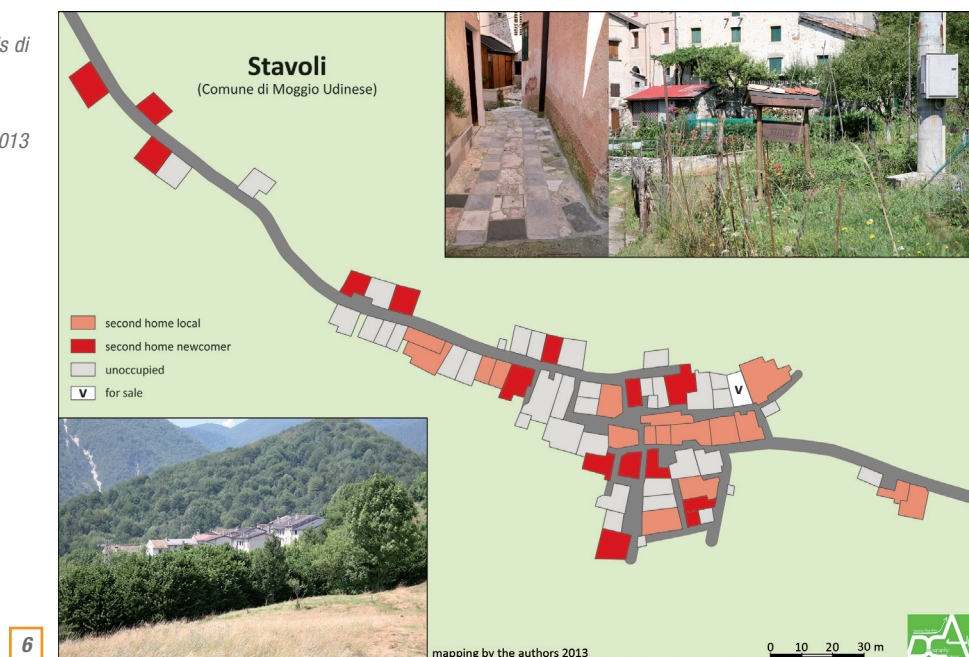
**5. SURVIVING THE EARTHQUAKE -
STAVOLI**

One of the most interesting examples of the importance of second homes is the hamlet of Stavoli in the municipality of Moggio Udinese (Friuli). In 1976, a series of earthquakes lead to enormous destruction in the region Friuli-Venezia Giulia with nearly 1,000 deaths, tens of thousands of people affected, and countless houses ruined. Because Stavoli was close to the epicenter it was lifted rather than shaken and therefore the destruction was far less than in many other villages in the area. Even though today Stavoli is no longer populated year-round, nearly all houses are in a good condition and used as second homes by locals as well as newcomers (fig. 6). Stavoli is surrounded by pastures and agricultural land which is still used, and although there is no road to Stavoli –only a pathway and a material cableway –the pastures are mown and the hay is used.



PICTURE 5. The "albergo diffuso" concept in Sauris di Sopra

PICTURE 6. Second-home owner status in Stavoli 2013



6 CONCLUSION

The negative effects of second homes on a community are well known, among other the property and real-estate price increase, higher expenses for the municipality, and closed shutters in the off-season. In this study we want to point out that "second homers" can also have positive impacts in the remote areas of the Alps. The appearance of a small village is often connected to the presence of second homes as the community itself would not be able to afford the maintenance of all the houses, which would lead to many abandoned buildings. In Friuli, without second-home owners there would be many more "ghost

towns" than there already are. They keep the buildings in good condition, and in some villages people even started to move back and live there all year-round. Where this has not taken place yet, second and vacation home owners in some areas at least set the pre-conditions for a possible re-settlement.



IT

NUOVI ABITANTI NELLE ALPI: I VANTAGGI DI AVERE PROPRIETARI DI SECONDE CASE. UN CASO DI STUDIO NELLE ALPI ORIENTALI

Negli ultimi anni le Alpi sono state teatro di uno straordinario sviluppo demografico: sempre più comuni alpini, per lungo tempo caratterizzati da una forte emigrazione e da un invecchiamento della popolazione, sono nel frattempo diventate aree d'immigrazione. I nuovi immigrati sono emigranti di ritorno, pensionati, lavoratori immigrati, lavoratori stagionali come anche nuovi montanari.

Una percentuale relativamente alta dei nuovi montanari (newcomers) è costituita dal gruppo dei proprietari di seconde case.

La loro presenza non è sempre vista di buon occhio. Da un lato le infrastrutture dei comuni devono funzionare in maniera efficiente anche per loro, dall'altro lato gli stessi comuni, a causa dei molti negozi chiusi, appaiono in bassa stagione paesi fantasma. Inoltre i proprietari di seconde case si fermano in paese solo per brevi periodi, non partecipano alla vita sociale e sono visti come corresponsabile dell'aumento dei prezzi d'immobili. Tali problemi sono ben noti e sono già stati affrontati in maniera esauriente. In questo lavoro vorremmo evidenziare, basandoci su alcuni casi esemplari delle remote Alpi orientali, gli aspetti positivi derivanti dalla presenza di proprietari di seconde case, sparsi nei più svariati comuni dell'arco alpino. In quest'articolo ci concentreremo su:

1. un comune composto da diverse frazioni (Canal S. Bovo),
2. un comune che in passato ha subito un completo e forzato abbandono (Erto e Casso),
3. un comune fortemente orientato al turismo (Sauris),
4. un piccolo paese a tutt'oggi non raggiungibile da alcuna strada (Stavoli).

Molti comuni traggono vantaggio dal fatto che i proprietari di seconde case mantengono le loro case in buono stato, il che contribuisce a dare al paese un'immagine del suo aspetto originario. Troppo spesso il paese non sarebbe in grado in maniera autonoma di mantenere questa immagine, con il conseguente aumento del numero di edifici abbandonati e decadenti.

Nonostante che i proprietari di seconde case non passino tutto l'anno nel comune di seconda residenza, si impegnano a mantenere le loro case in buono stato e rallentano il sorgere di (nuovi) paesi fantasma. Infine, grazie al loro impegno (economico) creano le premesse per un possibile futuro di ripopolamento del paese abbandonato.

Research Group

"Demographic Change in the Alps"

Roland Löffler, Judith Walder, Michael Beismann, Wolfgang Warmuth & Ernst Steinicke

Projects at the Institute of Geography, University of Innsbruck

Current Demographic Changes in the European Alps – Effects on the Autochthonous Linguistic Minorities

The Impact of Current Demographic Transformation on Ethno-Linguistic Minorities in the Italian Alps

Counterurbanization in California: High Mountain Regions as New Areas for Settlement – Impact on Population and Land Use Policy

Research Interests

Amenity Migration, Counterurbanization, Demography, Spatial Planning, Social Geography, Cultural Landscape, Ethno-Linguistic Minorities, Regional Geography of the Alps

Publications (extract)

Löffler, R., M. Beismann, J. Walder & E. Steinicke (2014): New Highlanders in Traditional Outmigration Areas in the Alps. The Example of the Friulian Alps. In: *Revue de Géographie Alpine/Journal of Alpine Research* 102/4.

Steinicke, E., M. Beismann, J. Walder, R. Löffler & I. Jelen (2014): "Rifugi etno-linguistici" e tendenze demografiche attuali nelle Alpi italiane. Il caso di Sauris (Zahre). In: Porcellana, V. & F. Diémoz (eds.): *Minoranze in mutamento. Etnicità, lingue e processi demografici nelle valli alpine italiane*, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, pp. 205-228.

Steinicke, E. & R. Löffler (2014): The Effects of Amenity Migration on Ethnic Minorities in the Alps: Case Study of the Italian Alps. In: Moss, L.A.G. & R.S. Glorioso (eds.): *Global Amenity Migration – Transforming Rural Culture, Economy and Landscape*. The New Ecology Press.

Steinicke, E., P. ede, R. Löffler & I. Jelen (2014): "Newcomers" nelle regioni periferiche delle alpi. Il caso dell'area di confine tra Italia e Slovenia nelle Alpi Giulie. In: *Rivista Geografica Italiana* 121/1, pp. 1-20.

Steinicke, E., P. ede & R. Löffler (2012): In-migration as a new process in demographic problem areas of the Alps. Ghost towns vs. amenity settlements in the alpine border area between Italy and Slovenia. In: *Erdkunde* 66/4, pp. 329-344.

Beismann, M., R. Löffler, J. Walder & E. Steinicke (2012): Neue demographische Prozesse und deren Konsequenzen in den italienischen Alpen. In: Varotto, M. & B. Castiglioni (a cura di), *Di chi sono le Alpi? Appartenenze politiche, economiche e culturali nel mondo alpino contemporaneo*, Padova, University Press, pp. 230-239.

Löffler, R. & E. Steinicke (2007): Amenity Migration in the U.S. Sierra Nevada. In: *Geographical Review* 97/1, pp. 67-88.

For further information: <http://www.uibk.ac.at/geographie/migration>.



Gruppo di Ricerca
“Demographic Change in the Alps”
Roland Löffler, Judith Walder, Michael Beismann,
Wolfgang Warmuth & Ernst Steinicke

Interesse di ricerca

Nuovi montanari, “amenity migration”, controurbanizzazione, demografia, pianificazione territoriale, geografia sociale, paesaggio culturale, minoranze linguistiche storiche, geografia regionale delle Alpi

Publicazioni (estratto)

Löffler, R., M. Beismann, J. Walder & E. Steinicke (2014): New Highlanders in Traditional Outmigration Areas in the Alps. The Example of the Friulian Alps. In: *Revue de Géographie Alpine/Journal of Alpine Research* 102/4.

Steinicke, E., M. Beismann, J. Walder, R. Löffler & I. Jelen (2014): “Rifugi etno-linguistici” e tendenze demografiche attuali nelle Alpi italiane. Il caso di Sauris (Zahre). In: Porcellana, V. & F. Diémoz (eds.): *Minoranze in mutamento. Etnicità, lingue e processi demografici nelle valli alpine italiane*, Alessandria, Edizioni dell’Orso, pp. 205-228.

Steinicke, E. & R. Löffler (2014): The Effects of Amenity Migration on Ethnic Minorities in the Alps: Case Study of the Italian Alps. In: Moss L.A.G. & R.S. Glorioso (eds.): *Global Amenity Migration – Transforming Rural Culture, Economy and Landscape*. The New Ecology Press.

Steinicke, E., P. ede, R. Löffler & I. Jelen (2014): “Newcomers” nelle regioni periferiche delle alpi. Il caso dell’area di confine tra Italia e Slovenia nelle Alpe Giulie. In: *Rivista Geografica Italiana* 121/1, pp. 1-20.

Steinicke, E., P. ede & R. Löffler (2012): In-migration as a new process in demographic problem areas of the Alps. Ghost towns vs. amenity settlements in the alpine border area between Italy and Slovenia. In: *Erdkunde* 66/4, pp. 329-344.

Beismann, M., R. Löffler, J. Walder & E. Steinicke (2012): Neue demographische Prozesse und deren Konsequenzen in den italienischen Alpen. In: Varotto M. & Castiglioni B. (a cura di), *Di chi sono le Alpi? Appartenenze politiche, economiche e culturali nel mondo alpino contemporaneo*, Padova, University Press, pp. 230–239.

Löffler, R. & E. Steinicke (2007): Amenity Migration in the U.S. Sierra Nevada. In: *Geographical Review* 97/1, pp. 67-88.

Per ulteriori informazioni: <http://www.uibk.ac.at/geographie/migration>.

REFERENCES

Bender, O. & S. Kanitscheider (2012): New immigration into the European Alps: emerging research issues. In: *Mountain Research and Development*, 32, 2, pp. 235–241,

CIPRA Info Nr. 87 (2008): Herausforderung Zweitwohnung – Viel Raum für wenig Nutzen. http://www.cipra.org/de/publikationen/3334/590_de/at_download/file

Corrado, F. (2010): *Ri-abitare le Alpi. Nuovi abitanti e politiche di sviluppo*. Genova, Eidon.

Corrado, F., Dematteis, G., Di Gioia, A., (eds) (2014): *Nuovi montanari. Abitare le Alpi nel XXI secolo*. Milano, Franco Angeli.

Löffler, R., M. Beismann, J. Walder & E. Steinicke (2014): New Highlanders in Traditional Outmigration Areas in the Alps. The Example of the Friulian Alps. In: *Revue de Géographie Alpine/Journal of Alpine Research* 102/3.

Messerli, P., T. Scheurer & H. Veit (2011): Between Longing and Flight – Migratory processes in mountain areas, particularly in the European Alps. In: *Revue de Géographie Alpine/Journal of Alpine Research* 99/1.

Steinicke, E. (1991), *Friaul – Friuli. Bevölkerung und Ethnizität*, “Innsbrucker Geographische Studien” 19, Innsbruck.

Steinicke, E., M. Beismann, J. Walder, R. Löffler & I. Jelen (2014): “Rifugi etno-linguistici” e tendenze demografiche attuali nelle Alpi italiane. Il caso di Sauris (Zahre). In: Porcellana V. & Diémoz F. (eds.): *Minoranze in mutamento. Etnicità, lingue e processi demografici nelle valli alpine italiane*, Alessandria, Edizioni dell’Orso, pp. 205-228.

Zuccon, A. (2010): *Erto e Casso. Il Vajont da riscoprire*. Vianello Libri, Ponzano Veneto, Treviso.



EN

FOREIGN IMMIGRATION AND HOUSING ISSUE IN SMALL ALPINE VILLAGES

Andrea Membretti

1. FOREIGN IMMIGRATION AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN THE ITALIAN ALPS

After decades of strong demographic crisis - which has resulted in a widespread depopulation, accompanied by aging, in many parts of the Italian Alps - in recent years the population has returned to slowly grow in various areas (first of all, along the axis of Aosta and Adige valleys, inside peri-urban municipalities and in the main touristic villages): this increase is not however endogenous - as most of the Alpine municipalities show a natural growth rate stable or negative - but rather appears as exogenous, precisely because the phenomenon of internal and international migration (DEMOCHANGE, 2012).

Within the diversified population of the new inhabitants of the mountains, it is taking on a significant role the presence of foreign citizens, who arrived, either directly or via more complex routes, in the Alpine municipalities (Corrado, Dematteis and Di Gioia, 2014): almost 350,000 foreigners, most of which come from non-EU countries with high rates of emigration, are in fact residents in the 1,749 Italian municipalities, whose territory is included in the Alpine Convention (ISTAT and Convenzione delle Alpi, 2014).

This is an interesting presence in numerical terms, and even more, as a social phenomenon impacting on lasting crisis local contexts; a phenomenon that can be studied referring to the dimension of social innovation (Membretti, 2015) and to the cultural transformations caused by this important demographic turn (Viazzo, 2012).

Among the factors of attraction of foreigners in the Alps, in addition to employment opportunities (which may be present on-site or in nearby areas), emerge the availability of affordable housing, the lower cost of living and the chance to escape the chaos and risks of the metropolis, going to live in rural settings (Dematteis, 2010).

2. LIVING IN THE FRINGE: THE "REBOUND" OF THE IMMIGRANTS TOWARDS RURAL AREAS

Small municipalities (with a population less than 5,000 inhabitants) are those which primarily welcome foreigners who move to live in the Italian Alps: these tend to be "fragile areas" (Osti and Ventura, 2012), in a recent past lands of emigration and dramatic depopulation, for a long time marginalized by the post-war industrial development, and now becoming the destination of opposing immigration flows. They are fragile also because now living the contrast between the relative simplicity of their socio-cultural structure - simplified further by depopulation and the scarcity of social relations - and the high diversity / complexity brought by the stranger. Small municipalities are an important player in the national context: in 2010 they represented the 70.2% of Italian municipalities and occupied the 54% of the land area of the peninsula, where the 17.1% of the national population lived. In some regions - such as those

in which are the Alps - the small municipalities are more prevalent than the national average: for example, they are the 89.8% in Trentino Alto-Adige, the 88.7% in Piedmont, the 77.9% in Liguria and the 71.1% in Friuli Venezia-Giulia (Osti and Ventura, op. Cit.).

Among them, small rural municipalities (those with a population density less than 150 inhabitants / sq km) represent an important observatory to watch the migration phenomenon: in these areas, in fact, it is possible to notice a series of cultural advances (Demarchi, Gubert and Staluppi, 1983) related to the intensification of some migration dynamics, as a result of the interaction between the spatialized local demographic structure and the arrival of new residents.

In small Alpine municipalities the migration from abroad is often manifested as a "rebound effect" of foreigners from the city (first immigration destination) to rural areas, within, in many cases, a more general processes of interstitial suburbanization, affecting the foothill territory (Brighenti, 2013). Although the cases of impending ecological succession are by now very few, however, there are several small municipalities in which the arrival of foreign communities (which usually is accompanied by a positive trend of births, because of family reunification and higher average fertility rate) allows the maintenance in the mountains of essential services (schools, post offices, etc.): otherwise, these facilities would have been disappeared, given the very low numbers of users, so accelerating exponentially the depopulation processes.

The small Alpine municipalities, especially those located in west and east ends of the mountain range, after being severely affected (especially in the period 1951-1981) by depopulation and socioeconomic crisis (Bätzing, 2005), are showing in recent decades inverse signals, even if widespread patchy. From the early Eighties of the last century, the movement of "return to the mountains" has mainly assumed (in terms of total numbers) the characters of a peri-urban development of settlements, first of all in the territories of the lower valleys, closer to major metropolitan agglomerations, and then going back to the small towns of the foothills or highlands, the most easily accessible and therefore able to be a place of residence for commuters traveling towards the major centers (Perlik, Messerli and Bätzing, 2001). Assuming that, somehow, the peculiar characteristics of small communities in the Alps may influence the attractiveness - and the social integration, too - of foreign immigrants, and focusing the attention on the spatial dimension of these processes, which role plays the availability of housing - in relation to the location of small Alpine villages on the edge of larger urbanized areas - inside these dynamics?

3. FOREIGN IMMIGRATION AND HOUSING IN THREE SMALL ALPINE COMMUNITIES

In order to find some response to the questions above, I have considered three case-studies among Alpine Italian



municipalities¹, chosen as: small rural and marginal municipalities; located to the extreme west and east of the Alps (which are the areas historically affected by depopulation); with a significant and consolidated presence of foreign immigration (above the national average, that was 8,1% in 2014); and, finally, characterized by different forms of housing processes regarding foreigners, with respect to private market and public intervention.

Bagnolo Piemonte: the settlement of an ethnic enclave

The municipality is located - at an altitude of 365 m above sea level - in the extreme northern part of the Cuneo province (Piedmont region), at the foot of the mountains marked by Grana creek. Over an area of 62.92 sq km, live 6,120 inhabitants, with a population density of 97.3 inhab. / sq km; there are 822 foreign residents, 13,43% of the total population (ISTAT, 2014). This small in-depth study was carried out in April-May 2015 and it was based on the analysis of socio-demographic data and on qualitative interviews, conducted by the author together with the mayors of the selected municipalities.

For centuries one of the most important economic activities of this area is linked to the presence of numerous quarries for the extraction of Lucerna building stone; in the municipality there is also a tourist location, which in recent decades has had a remarkable development as a summer and winter holiday destination. Foreign presence in the village is determined primarily by a large Chinese community (about 500 people, entirely from the same province of PRC), long time residents in this territory whose male components are all employed in the local quarries. The Chinese have replaced, work-wise and in terms of housing, the previous community of Sardinian immigrants, arrived in the area in the 70s, working as miners. The Sardinians had occupied the old houses of the historic village, partially renovating them, and these properties were taken - 20 years later - by the Chinese; in these apartments, that have meanwhile become quite uncomfortable, the Chinese (all men at the beginning of their migration) lived in poor and overcrowded conditions. With the stabilization of their employment situation (today they are almost all permanent employees of mining companies and some of them are entrepreneurs, too), then came family reunion: the arrival of women has changed the lifestyle and expectations of the community also in regard to housing, where immigrants have started looking at the Italian type of dwelling and use of space. The availability of good wages and the guarantee of long term employment, together with the positive change of status, in recent years, has pushed the Chinese to abandon the old houses in the historic centre, in order to rent more modern apartments, cottages or portions of detached houses, with more space per capita and little gardens or courtyards. The result has been an overall positive impact on the local housing market, and because the Chinese have first occupied the vacant houses of the old town (in which Italians were no longer interested), and because they are now turning to new homes, it is always an impact on the rental and not on the purchase market, since immigrants regard their presence in this territory (and in Italy, too) as temporary and finalized to the accumulation of economic resources, in order to go back to their country of origin in the future. It should be noted how, in the last few years, some Chinese, especially young people, are leaving Bagnolo, due to

signs of economic crisis, to return to China or move outside Italy. The Chinese community, that appears integrated in terms of work and housing, nevertheless leads a parallel existence with respect to the native population, in a social dimension of life that is so closely divided between home and quarry, with very rare interactions outside their ethnic enclave.

Lona Lases: immigration pushes towards the suburbanization

Placed at the beginning of the Cembra Valley (Trentino Alto-Adige region), at an altitude of 639 m above sea level, the municipality covers an area of 11.37 sq km, with 886 inhabitants, a population density of 77,91 inhab./sq km; foreign residents are 204, that is 23.02% of the total population (ISTAT, 2014). The most important economic activity of the area is historically the excavation of porphyry, with regionally important quarries. Tourism is underdeveloped, with the main attraction represented by Lake Lases.

The village is among the first in the Italian Alps for the presence of foreigners, mostly Macedonians (about half of the total) and, then, Moroccans: the first wave of immigrants, arrived in the 90s, consisted mainly of men who came to work in the quarries - often fleeing from the war zones of former Yugoslavia - they used to live in shared apartments, often in precarious and overcrowded living conditions, in old houses not yet renovated. Since the early twenty-first century, mainly because of ongoing family reunion processes, the women started to come to Lona Lases: since then the situation has changed radically and therefore the way of living has changed accordingly. Almost all the foreign residents took rented accommodation, often refurbished for this purpose by the owners, but also many new homes were rented. Due to this, the municipality states that there was never the necessity to intervene in support of housing policy for foreigners, since the phenomenon is self-regulated by the free market: in fact, there are actually only 5 apartments of subsidized housing allocated to foreigners. Local governments over the years have worked to avoid possible housing overcrowding, by establishing the minimum size (45 sq m) an accommodation needed to be obtain residential practicability. Nevertheless, today foreign residents are working less and less in the quarries, given the crisis that invested the sector in recent years; there is rather a growing phenomenon of commuting workers, first towards the neighbouring town of Pergine but also, increasingly, towards the provincial capital of Trento, to which Lona Lases is starting to be perceived as a suburb: if foreigners still choose to live in the village, nowadays it is primarily for the lower cost of housing and their availability on the market, competitive with larger cities, rather than for job opportunities.

Taipana: housing policies against depopulation

On the border with Slovenia (Friuli Venezia-Giulia region), Taipana is located at 478 m above sea level, on the first mountain ranges of the Julian Alps, in a wooded area now largely abandoned by man; it covers an area of 65.44 sq km, where live 651 people live, with a population density of 9,95 inhab. / sq km; with 95 foreigners, 14.59 % of the total population (ISTAT, 2014). Historically the village hosts a community of Slovenian native speakers, which in 1971 accounted for almost 75% of the entire population but has

¹This small in-depth study was realized on April-May 2015 and it was based on the analysis of socio-demographic data and on qualitative interviews, conducted by the author with the mayors of the selected municipalities.

gradually been declining, in conjunction with the depopulation of the valley; emigration continued in the last 50 years and it has led to an economic situation, currently quite depressed, with per capita incomes among the lowest in the region and a substantial absence of productive activities in the territory. In 1976 the village was devastated by a strong earthquake that affected the entire region: it caused massive collapsing of buildings and dramatically damaged the socioeconomic local structure, so contributing to the progressive population decline. For many years an immigrant community has lived in the territory, mainly made up of Bosnians and Kosovars: these people are hosted mostly in apartments of subsidized housing (paying a minimum monthly rent) which some of them have bought, at reduced prices, homes that were originally owned by the city hall. Foreigners have lately come to Taipana as a result of a targeted welcoming policy (unique case in the Italian Alps), put in place by the local administration in the early Nineties: the mayor in charge at the time intended to encourage the repopulation of the village attracting new residents – thanks to personal contacts with some communities of the former Yugoslavia - through the offer of these apartments, owned by the municipality. Most of these immigrants used to work stably in the construction industry, both in the territory of the municipality, and in neighbouring areas; in recent years, however, due to the economic crisis, many of them have been laid off and are forced to accept precarious jobs: this situation is having a strong impact on housing, creating growing problems of arrears with respect to payment of even reduced rents. Moreover, some of the immigrants have recently moved to the plain, looking for a closer location to services and job opportunities; however, given the cost of housing in the centers of the valley, this choice is proving counterproductive and they are planning to return once more to Taipana. In the village there are also many vacant houses - mostly buildings renovated or rebuilt after the earthquake - owned by former residents, emigrated abroad in the last decades; today these houses are largely unused and empty, but they are weighed down by municipal taxes: the local administration hopes that these rising costs push the owners to offer their properties on the rental market, so surpassing the current hostility against renting, and thus permitting the occupation by new inhabitants, starting from foreigners. Although its long-standing settlement, there still remains integration difficulties for the foreign community in Taipana: the welcoming policy adopted by local administrations 30 years ago, even if forward looking in terms of contrasting depopulation, seems in fact not to have been accompanied so far by an effective and parallel effort on the side of a wider social inclusion.

4. CONCLUSIVE REMARKS

Small villages in the Alps seem potentially attractive to foreign immigrants, where their marginality and reduced spatial dimensions are accompanied, however, by the following factors: a) geographical location next to the plains or the urbanized valleys; b) presence of local job opportunities (with scarce or no competition with the natives, who are no longer interested in doing certain jobs) and/or job opportunities in the surrounding area, which allows the daily commuting; c) availability of rental accommodation at low prices, either on the private housing market (where

foreigners can rely on sufficient economic resources and, at the same time, local owners are willing to rent them their properties) or supplied by the public sector (subsidized houses); d) social rarefaction, due to the depopulation of the original inhabitants and the consequent creation of “empty spaces”, which can be occupied by immigrants as ecological niches. Among these factors, the availability of low-price housing stocks seems to play a significant role, especially when small Alpine villages lay on the edge of larger urbanized areas; with regard to the case studies considered above, even better, it is possible to say that the housing factor appears crucial, both in presence of local job opportunities and not: this seems to be a consequence of the increasing rental costs characterizing the real estate market in bigger cities, producing, in some cases, a reinforcing effect in terms of suburbanization.

If we can therefore say that marginal Alpine areas are - under certain conditions - a suitable habitat for the settlement of foreign populations, it does not seem, however, that one can find in these places more opportunities for social integration: immigrants, in fact, tend also in this case to form closed communities, leading a parallel life to that of the natives (who are often elderly people, attached to self-defensive forms of local identity), while insisting on the same, limited area (territories, however, that often hinder social contacts, because of the buildings scattering, difficult roads, etc.). This social segmentation shows similarities with what happens in the process of settlement of foreigners in urban and sub urban contexts, where immigrants face processes of ghettoization, often related to the house rental market (Membretti and Quassoli, 2015). For foreign immigrants, living in the Alpine fringe is therefore likely to turn into another boost to social marginalization, unless, in these interstitial spaces between the plain and the peaks, innovative policies do not start, capable to foster - in an integrated and territorial approach - social inclusion through housing, labour and services, in concrete support of all the categories of mountain dwellers. It seems unlikely, however, that these kind of policies could be implemented by small rural municipalities (also increasingly affected by State budget cuts), unless inside a wider and larger local frame of intervention: if immigration is one of the key-factors to bet on, in order to actively contrast depopulation in the Alps, it's time to really consider its management at a national and EU level.

IT

IMMIGRAZIONE STRANIERA E QUESTIONE ABITATIVA NEI PICCOLI COMUNI ALPINI

Dopo decenni di spopolamento, che ha colpito numerose aree dell'arco alpino italiano (e in particolare i suoi estremi occidentale ed orientale), in anni recenti si notano segnali di una inversione di tendenza, specialmente nelle zone montane più prossime alla pianura urbanizzata, nei fondovalle, lungo i grandi assi di collegamento transalpino e nei maggiori centri del turismo estivo ed invernale. Questo incremento demografico, ancora numericamente contenuto e che si mostra a macchie di leopardo sul territorio, non è di tipo endogeno, laddove i tassi di crescita naturale dei comuni alpini italiani sono quasi tutti vicini allo zero o negativi: si tratta piuttosto di un fenomeno esogeno, dovuto



anzitutto all'immigrazione di nuovi abitanti. All'interno della variegata categoria dei "nuovi montanari", vanno assumendo un peso crescente gli stranieri, giunti a risiedere, in modo diretto o tramite percorsi più articolati, in uno dei 1.749 comuni che rientrano nella Convenzione delle Alpi: si tratta di quasi 350.000 persone (dati al gennaio 2014), provenienti in gran parte da Paesi extra-UE a forte pressione migratoria, la cui presenza costituisce in molti casi un antidoto rispetto alle dinamiche di spopolamento, di chiusura dei servizi essenziali per mancanza di utenti, di abbandono di interi settori lavorativi per i quali non è disponibile manodopera italiana, di recupero di un patrimonio edilizio a rischio di abbandono.

Sono i piccoli comuni (con popolazione inferiore ai 5.000 abitanti) quelli che prevalentemente accolgono gli stranieri che si trasferiscono a vivere nell'arco alpino italiano: si tratta spesso di "aree fragili", per lungo tempo terre di emigrazione e di drammatico spopolamento, scivolate ai margini delle direttrici dello sviluppo economico-sociale industriale post bellico, e oggi destinazione di flussi opposti di nuova immigrazione. Nei piccoli comuni alpini il fenomeno migratorio dall'estero si manifesta spesso come un "effetto rimbalzo" degli stranieri dalla città (primo luogo di immigrazione) verso le aree rurali, nell'ambito, in molti casi, dei più generali processi di suburbanizzazione di tipo interstiziale in atto sul territorio pedemontano.

Appare dunque interessante indagare quali siano i fattori di attrazione presenti in queste realtà territoriali, rispetto alle popolazioni straniere: in questo paper si focalizzerà in particolare l'attenzione su uno di questi fattori, rappresentato dalla casa, muovendo dunque dalla seguente domanda: in che misura la disponibilità di alloggi, in relazione all'ubicazione dei piccoli comuni alpini sul margine di più ampi territori urbanizzati, rappresenta un fattore di attrazione dei flussi di immigrati? In subordine a questo interrogativo principale, una seconda domanda riguarda il livello di inclusione sociale che caratterizza i piccoli comuni alpini rispetto alla presenza immigrata, laddove si vuole indagare se e come le dimensioni ridotte di questi paesi e la permanenza in essi di modelli relazionali di tipo comunitario, possa favorire o meno l'integrazione dei nuovi abitanti stranieri nel tessuto socio-territoriale locale.

Al fine di cercare una prima risposta a questi interrogativi, ho condotto nella primavera del 2015 un approfondimento mirato su tre piccoli comuni dell'arco alpino italiano, ubicati agli estremi occidentale ed orientale della catena alpina, caratterizzati da significativa e consolidata presenza di immigrazione dall'estero e connotati da differenti forme e percorsi dell'inserimento abitativo degli stranieri; i comuni considerati sono: Bagnolo Piemonte (CN), Lona Lases (TN) e Taipana (UD). L'analisi dei tre studi di caso ha fatto emergere come i piccoli comuni alpini risultano attrattivi per gli immigrati stranieri, in compresenza di un insieme di fattori, ovvero: l'ubicazione territoriale prossima alla pianura o ai fondovalle urbanizzati; la presenza in loco (o in aree limitrofe facilmente raggiungibili) di opportunità lavorative; la disponibilità di alloggi in affitto a prezzi contenuti; e infine una rarefazione sociale (dovuta allo spopolamento), che crea quei "vuoti spaziali", che possono diventare nicchie ecologiche per gli immigrati. Se possiamo quindi affermare che i territori marginali alpini costituiscono un habitat favorevole, a date condizioni, per l'insediamento di popolazioni straniere, ciò non sembra però accompagnarsi alla presenza in questi luoghi di maggiori occasioni di in-

tegrazione sociale: gli immigrati tendono infatti a costituire comunità chiuse, che conducono una vita parallela a quella degli autoctoni; questa segmentazione sociale mostra delle analogie con quanto accade nei processi di insediamento degli stranieri a livello urbano e metropolitano, laddove gli immigrati spesso vanno a costituire delle enclaves abitative tendenzialmente ghetizzanti, e sembra in linea con le dinamiche tipiche dei processi di suburbanizzazione.

Abitare il margine alpino per gli stranieri rischia dunque di trasformarsi nell'ennesima spinta alla marginalizzazione sociale, a meno che, in questi spazi interstiziali tra le città e le vette, non si avviino – a livello innanzitutto translocale e di macroregione alpina – innovative politiche integrate sul versante dell'inclusione sociale, abitativa e del lavoro, rivolte ai nuovi abitanti immigrati.

Andrea Membretti, sociologist of the Territory and the Environment, expert in participatory action research, consultant for local authorities with respect to urban planning and sustainable development.

Interested in Alpine studies, especially in the field of socio-demographic and cultural change, he is member of the association of mountain studies Dislivelli. For several years he has been teaching Sociology at the University of Pavia: actually he is Research Fellow at the Dept. of Sociology, University of Milano-Bicocca, where he is involved in research activities on the topic of foreign immigration and social innovation in the Alps.

Andrea Membretti, sociologo del Territorio e dell'Ambiente, esperto in metodi partecipativi di ricerca-azione, svolge attività di consulenza per enti pubblici relativamente alla stesura di PGT, PTO, PISL ed interventi di urbanistica sociale. Studioso di tematiche alpine, in particolare rispetto a questioni socio-demografiche e culturali, è membro dell'associazione di studi montani Dislivelli.

E' stato per anni docente a contratto di discipline sociologiche presso l'Università di Pavia: attualmente è assegnista di ricerca presso il Dipartimento di Sociologia e Ricerca Sociale dell'Università di Milano-Bicocca, dove si occupa di immigrazione straniera e innovazione sociale nelle Alpi.

REFERENCES

- Bätzing, W. (2005) *Le Alpi. Una regione unica al centro dell'Europa*, Bollati Boringhieri, Torino
- Brighenti, A. (2013) *Urban Interstices: The Aesthetics and the Politics of the In-between*, Farnham, Burlington, Ashgate
- Corrado, F., Dematteis, G. and Di Gioia, A. (eds.) (2014) *Nuovi Montanari. Abitare le Alpi nel XXI secolo*, F. Angeli, Milano
- Demarchi, F., Gubert, R., Staluppi, G. (1983), *Territorio e comunità. Il mutamento sociale nell'area montana*, F. Angeli, Milano
- Dematteis, M., (2010) *Mamma li turchi. Le comunità straniere delle Alpi si raccontano*, Ed. Chabira d'Oc, Roccafranca (CN)
- DEMOCHANGE (2012), *Cambiamenti demografici nelle Alpi: strategie di adattamento per la programmazione e lo sviluppo regionale*, <http://www.demochange.org>
- Membretti, A., "Immigrazione straniera e innovazione sociale nelle Alpi italiane", in *Dislivelli*, n.54, febbraio 2015 (pp. 9-12), http://issuu.com/dislivelli/docs/54_webmagazine_info_febbraio15
- Membretti, A., Quassoli, F., "Discriminare in tempo di crisi. La relazione tra immigrati e agenzie immobiliari a Milano e Pavia", in *Mondi Migranti*, n.1 2015
- Ostì, G., Ventura, F. (eds.) (2012) *Vivere da stranieri in aree fragili. L'immigrazione internazionale nei comuni rurali italiani*, Liguori, Napoli
- Perlik, M., Messerli, P. and Bätzing, W. (2001) "Towns in the Alps. Urbanization Processes, Economic Structure, and Demarcation of European Functional Urban Areas (EFUAs) in the Alps", in *Mountain Research and Development* 21(3):243-252
- Viazzo, P. (2012) "Paradossi alpini, vecchi e nuovi: ripensare il rapporto tra demografia e mutamento culturale" (pp. 184-194), in (a cura di) Varotto, M. and Castiglioni, B., *Di chi sono le Alpi? Appartenenze politiche, economiche e culturali nel mondo alpino contemporaneo*, Padova University Press, Padova.



Virna Bussadori

EN HOUSING AND SPATIAL PLANNING POLICIES IN THE AUTONOMOUS PROVINCE OF BOLZANO: DECADES OF EXPERIENCE

South Tyrol is the bilingual (Italian and German) North Italian province in the Eastern Alps in the Dolomites, now recognised as a UNESCO world heritage site. Its area of about 740.000 Km², 85% of which is 1.000 m above sea level. The population counts half a million inhabitants for 116 municipalities. Bolzano - the regional administrative centre - has more than 100.000 people.

Due to its position in the heart of the Alps, only 6% of the entire territory is suitable for human activities that includes settlements, infrastructure and agriculture activities; the rest of the territory is either covered by woodlands or perennial snow, too steep or simply within landscape protection areas.

The province boasts an exceptional degree of autonomy within the Italian national legislation; since 1948 the province enjoys primary administrative, budget, and legislative powers in relation to a range of sectors among which spatial planning and housing.

In the '60s and '70s the first reforms for spatial planning and social housing became effective. The spatial planning legislation approved in those years is nowadays still in force although frequently amended; its procedures rely on the out-dated, hierarchical and rigid planning system deriving from the 1942 national Planning Act according to which plans were based on strict regulative land-use planning.

One of the main aims of the spatial planning legislation was to sustain the areas devoted to agricultural activities and by doing so to maintain the typical character of the region and preserve the local rural identity. A particular goal of the legislation was to preserve the so called "geschlossener Hof" or "maso chiuso": a farm unit which allowed the subsistence of a farmer and his family. The farm unit consisted of a farmhouse, stable, barn and agricultural land which could not be transferred to more than one heir, that is it could not be split up in more heritage units. This farm unit did not only guarantee the subsistence of a farmer but also the maintenance of large agricultural areas especially in mountainous areas and remote valleys. Together with this, basic social services were provided to counteract migration trends and depopulation.

In order to fulfil these goals particular rules were introduced to guarantee that building areas for new expansions were dimensioned according to the necessity of the local population, minimising land-take and ensuring that most of the newly built houses were assigned to locals as social dwellings or first homes.

The idea of reducing to a minimum the possibility to build second homes mostly used by tourists during few months a year is to be considered positively; small communities and villages were kept alive by maintaining a good rate of residents and providing them with basic facilities and the traditional agricultural land was preserved from uncontrolled land-take for speculative purposes.

According to the planning system municipalities were responsible for identifying areas suitable for residential expansion and including them in their municipal land-use plans. New residential areas were identified on the basis of a statistical calculation of the overall housing land requirement for a period of at least 10 years. Since land property was mostly private the direct participation of private parties (the land owners) in identifying and planning new residential areas was therefore granted.

The requirement to provide a social housing quota was a part of the overall housing requirement, not a separate element, next to which the obligation to build another quota of first homes prevented residential areas from any speculative transformation. Together with the land-use plan where new residential areas were foreseen, municipalities had also to establish a time table for their realisation. The temporal allocation was a means to allow a sound implementation of each residential area that had to be completed before the next one could be started.

All new residential areas were planned by means of an action plan which designed the distribution of lots and infrastructures (road systems, parking lots, green and public areas, etc.) and the allocation of building rates. In all areas a quota of at least 60% of the entire admitted volume had to be designated to social housing, while more than half of the remaining volume had to be reserved to first homes.

This provision had to be clearly foreseen in the action plans.



If an area was privately owned, all single plots were cancelled and reconverted into ownership percentage rates. A brand new parcelling of landplot (including infrastructure) was established on the basis of the action plan. Areas reserved to infrastructure were transferred to the municipality for free; areas for social housing were expropriated or assigned to beneficiaries while private owners received a portion of the remaining area according to the original ownership percentages. On those remaining lots private owners could build provided that more than half of the dwellings became first homes.

When an area was transformed into residential expansion, private owners were assigned 40% of the entire volume and the corresponding plots of land calculated according to the building density for the entire area. Still private owners were not allowed to build dwellings which could be rented or sold freely but were obliged to rent or sell more than half of those estates to people leaving or working steadily in the province and who did not already own a house. By doing so only a small percentage of the built up volume within residential areas could be used as second homes or for other scopes.

The system was so conceived that no totally privately owned residential areas were legally possible since the minimum dimension of such an area had to allow the realisation of at least a social dwelling and a first home.

The system generated main advantages, not only by avoiding any unnecessary expansion, thus limiting land take but also generating a sense of certainty and confidence in the requirement for social housing, eliminating the need to negotiate on each expansion, which was beneficial for both private owners and local authorities. The obligation to reserve part of the realised dwellings to social and first homes applied throughout the province was generally accepted.

Action plans were mostly developed in full consultation, achieving a shared understanding and avoiding lengthy disputes. They were mostly sensitive to different habits and needs in the various parts of the region considering local specificities and social organisation, particularly in the peripheral rural contexts.

The system generated a sense of place; it guaranteed the acceptance of social housing within private areas while the neighbourhood feeling was reinforced.

Like in all well working systems there were also some disadvantages.

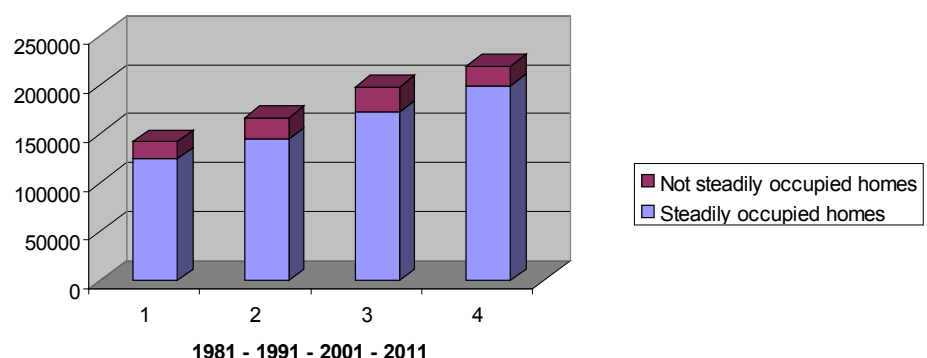
First of all areas were sometimes made available by private owners in unsuitable places and small municipalities were not in the position to steer or force location decisions with the result that residential areas were not always coherently expanded generating urban sprawl. In the rural villages the availability of areas frequently depended on the will of farmers to transform parts of their fields in residential lots, thus reducing the size of their farm units to the minimal vital dimension. The result was that areas were sometimes made available in less favourable positions jeopardizing the correct expansion of villages.

Mono-functionality was also a risk within small expansions where the entire volume was reserved to residential uses. Action plans proposed by private owners tended to maximise their advantages rather than more equal and functional planning solutions.

Despite some weaknesses, the system assured that the demand of social housing was kept under control and the amount of second homes was limited quite drastically. Public funds for social housing and for providing basic services within all villages were made available; an infrastructure policy was implemented to assure good accessibility to all areas even to the most remote ones, so to avoid migration flows towards the main urban centres.

Still the real estate demand in some attractive tourist destinations increased causing speculation and the overall rise of dwelling prices. According to statistical analysis in the last decades the number of second homes increased steadily up to the '90s to decrease afterwards until the last census in 2011 when the amount of "dwellings which are not steadily occupied" resulted to be 9% of all homes. In 2011 the amount of people living in the province slightly exceeded the half million units. The total amount of dwellings was of 220.000 units while about 20.000 resulted not to be steadily occupied.

Homes census



Source: own elaboration on data from ASTAT (Autonomous Province of Bolzano)

**HOUSING AND SPATIAL PLANNING
POLICIES IN THE AUTONOMOUS
PROVINCE OF BOLZANO: AN
EXPERIENCE OVER MANY DECADES**

It seemed that the system applied decades ago to prevent massive urban transformations both within main urban centres and small mountainous municipalities and the “sell-out” of villages to tourists were still effective. Very recent research showed indeed that over the past years many ways to overcome this inflexible system were found and implemented.

The demand of second homes is particularly acute in highly touristic developed municipalities especially in those places that are within the top destinations for winter sport. The high demand expressed by tourists caused prices of second homes to increase dramatically with the result that speculation became more than a risk. In some municipalities the amount of first homes sub-rented to non residents or not steadily occupied are more than 40% of the total number.

In the last years thanks to amendments to the legislation exceptions to the strict and rigid system were authorised with the result that in some villages during low seasons many houses result empty, while the demand of social housing and first homes for local families still increases. Only recently a control system was implemented to check the compliance with the housing regulations and the first results show different to what the statistical surveys indicate.

Considered that only 6% of the territory is suitable for development and half of it has already been transformed, strict policies minimising land-take have to be implemented.

The housing policies have to be reinforced considering the possibility to facilitate expansion of existing homes, transformation of brown-fields, and renovation of existing stocks especially within urban centres.

Still the demand of second homes will remain an issue for tourist centres where the accommodation offer cannot be granted only by hotels while in some remote valleys first depopulation trends are noticed. In both cases the number of second homes or vacant dwellings will increase thus urging targeted policies and tailor-made measures to counteract this issue. Recently the provincial government decided to completely revise the planning legislation; most probably the housing system will also undergo a major revision although the goal of keeping second home rates very low will still be pursued.

Next to clear rules and strict measures it is also important that a new approach to spatial planning is implemented, allowing territories to co-design their development according to local assets, place-based opportunities and targeted solutions. Only the combination of clear policies and well planned schemes will ensure a sound development from the main urban centres to the remote rural villages.



*PICTURE 1.
Residential expansion area
(Autrice / Author: Virna Bussadori)*



IT LE POLITICHE TERRITORIALI ED ABITATIVE NELLA PROVINCIA AUTONOMA DI BOLZANO: UN'ESPERIENZA DI DIVERSI DECENNI

Le politiche territoriali ed abitative nella Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano: un'esperienza di diversi decenni. L'Alto Adige è la provincia bilingue situata nell'Italia settentrionale nella zona delle Dolomiti, dichiarate patrimonio naturale dall'UNESCO. La superficie è di ca. 740.000 Km² di cui più dell'85% al di sopra dei 1.000 m slm. La popolazione è di ca. mezzo milione di abitanti suddivisi in 116 Comuni, ma solo la città capoluogo, Bolzano, ne conta poco più di 100.000.

Data la sua posizione in ambito alpino solo il 6% della sua superficie può essere utilizzata per le diverse attività umane (dagli insediamenti, alle infrastrutture, alle produzioni agricole) imponendone quindi un uso parsimonioso.

La provincia detiene dal 1948 una notevole autonomia in ambito legislativo, con competenze primarie in una serie di settori tra cui la pianificazione territoriale e le politiche abitative.

Le prime riforme riguardanti tali materie furono approvate a partire dagli anni '60 e le leggi di allora sono ancora parzialmente in vigore anche se emendate più volte in questi decenni.

La legge urbanistica provinciale aveva tra i suoi scopi principali quello della salvaguardia del carattere rurale e dell'identità locale ed in particolar modo del mantenimento del cosiddetto "maso chiuso" un'unità agricola composta da casa di abitazione, annessi rurali e terreno agricolo della dimensione sufficiente a garantire la sussistenza di una famiglia di agricoltori. Il maso chiuso svolgeva una doppia funzione, oltre alla sussistenza di una famiglia garantiva il mantenimento dell'attività agricola anche in zone di alta montagna con particolare cura del paesaggio. A tal fine i terreni agricoli rivestivano enorme importanza e perciò il loro consumo ai fini edilizi doveva essere contenuto entro i limiti dati dalle reali necessità della popolazione residente.

Ai sensi della legge urbanistica le zone di espansione residenziale erano dimensionate in base ad una previsione di crescita della popolazione calcolata su un periodo di dieci anni, previste nei piani urbanistici comunali e realizzate sulla base di programmi pluriennali di attuazione che consentivano un ordinato sviluppo delle stesse.

La legge prevedeva inoltre che il 60% della cubatura realizzabile in ogni zona di espansione fosse riservato all'edilizia sociale, mentre del restante 40% più della metà doveva essere convenzionato, ovvero destinato alla realizzazione di prime case per residenti. Questo sistema si applicava anche se le aree erano in proprietà privata.

Con il piano di attuazione era stabilito il disegno urbanistico dell'area di espansione che comprendeva anche le aree per la viabilità, quelle pubbliche e il verde di zona, nonché la disposizione dei lotti e la percentuale di cubatura riservata all'edilizia agevolata e a quella privata. Ai privati proprietari era assegnato il 40% dell'intera cubatura e le relative porzioni di terreno, mentre il resto della zona era espropriato per la re-

alizzazione dell'edilizia sociale. La realizzazione delle infrastrutture avveniva con la compartecipazione dei privati sulla base della percentuale di superfici originariamente possedute. Questo sistema ha garantito che larga parte della cubatura residenziale realizzata dagli anni '70 in poi fosse destinata all'edilizia sociale o alla costruzione di prime case. Negli ultimi decenni la quantità di seconde case realizzate in Provincia di Bolzano si è mantenuta abbastanza bassa nonostante la richiesta crescente soprattutto in alcuni Comuni turisticamente molto sviluppati. Dall'ultimo censimento sulle abitazioni del 2011 risulta che solo il 9% delle oltre 220.000 abitazioni presenti in Alto Adige non sono "abitate abitualmente", con un leggero decremento rispetto ai decenni precedenti. Va detto tuttavia che solo recentemente è stato attivato un sistema di controllo del rispetto del convenzionamento e che i risultati mostrano che in alcune località le abitazioni sub-affittate o cedute a non aventi diritto (al convenzionamento) raggiungono addirittura il 40% e questo per effetto di tutta una serie di modifiche legislative che hanno reso il sistema sempre meno chiaro e pertanto aggirabile. La Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano ha recentemente deciso di riscrivere completamente la normativa sul governo del territorio e questo significa che anche quella sull'edilizia sociale e convenzionata dovrà essere probabilmente rivista. Il mantenimento del numero delle seconde case entro limiti fisiologici sarà comunque un obiettivo da perseguire affiancando a norme chiare una corretta pianificazione territoriale che tenga conto delle specificità di ciascuna realtà locale, solo in tal modo sarà possibile dare risposte coerenti allo sviluppo territoriale dai piccoli paesi ai centri urbani maggiori.

Virna Bussadori graduated in Urban & Territorial Planning from the University of Venice. At present she is director of the office for Spatial Planning of the Autonomous Province of Bolzano (Italy). Since 1993 she has been a member of the Italian Association of Planners (AssUrb) which she represents within the ECTP-CEU, the European Council of Spatial Planners. She was the President of the ECTP-CEU for the period 2008-9. She also collaborated as advisor in various European funded programmes and has been a consultant for the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities within the Council of Europe.

Virna Bussadori si è laureata in Pianificazione territoriale e urbanistica presso l'Università di Venezia. Attualmente è direttrice dell'Ufficio pianificazione territoriale della Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano (Italia). Dal 1993 fa parte dell'Associazione Nazionale degli Urbanisti e dei Pianificatori territoriali che rappresenta in seno all'ECTP-CEU, il Consiglio Europeo degli Urbanisti. E' stata presidente dell'ECTP-CEU nel periodo 2008-9.

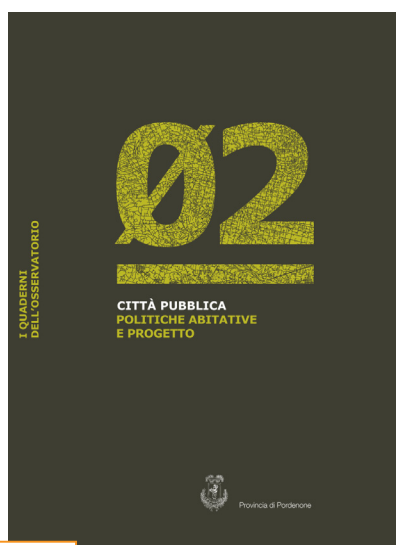
Ha collaborato in diversi programmi europei ed è stata consulente per il Congresso delle Autorità Locali e Regionali del Consiglio d'Europa.

PUBBLICAZIONI

OSSERVATORIO POLITICHE ABITATIVE DELLA PROVINCIA DI PORDENONE



Q01



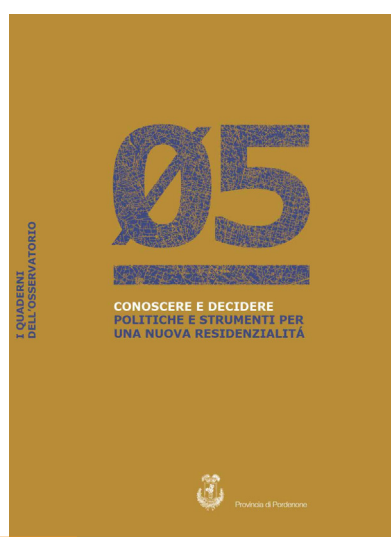
Q02



Q03



Q04



Q05

- Q01** **Le politiche abitative in provincia di Pordenone**
Analisi, strumenti e strategie per il nuovo osservatorio provinciale
- Q02** **Città pubblica**
Politiche abitative e progetto
- Q03** **Abitare nella montagna pordenonese**
Problemi e prospettive alla luce delle dinamiche sociali ed economiche del territorio
- Q04** **Gestire il consumo di suolo**
Riqualificare l'esistente per ridurre le espansioni urbane
- Q05** **Conoscere e decidere**
Politiche e strumenti per una nuova residenzialità

PUBBLICAZIONI DISLIVELLI



1. Federica Corrado e Valentina Porcellana (a cura di) **“Alpi e ricerca. Proposte e progetti per i territori alpini”**, FrancoAngeli Editore, 2010.
2. Giuseppe Dematteis (a cura di), **“Montanari per scelta. Indizi di rinascita nella montagna piemontese”**, Terre Alte-Dislivelli, FrancoAngeli Editore, 2011.
3. Matteo Puttilli, **“Studiare le montagne. Inventario della ricerca sulle terre alte piemontesi”**, Terre Alte-Dislivelli, FrancoAngeli Editore, 2012.
4. Federica Corrado, Elena Di Bella, Valentina Porcellana (a cura di), **“Le nuove frontiere della ricerca per i territori alpini”**, Terre Alte-Dislivelli, FrancoAngeli Editore, 2013.
5. Federica Corrado, Giuseppe Dematteis, Alberto Di Gioia (a cura di), **“Nuovi montanari. Abitare le Alpi nel XXI secolo”**, Terre Alte-Dislivelli, FrancoAngeli Editore, 2014.
6. Federica Corrado (a cura di), **“Popolazione e cultura: le Alpi di oggi”**, Terre Alte-Dislivelli, FrancoAngeli Editore, 2015.



supplemento alla rivista Dislivelli.eu
ISSN 2039-5442 Dislivelli (Torino)
www.dislivelli.eu