Urban Mobilisations in a Post-Crisis Mediterranean City

The case of Commons in Palermo

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The goal of this paper is to analyse a number of practices and reflections on urban commons. It first problematizes the metropolis as epicentre of contemporary capitalism, then focuses on the Mediterranean city as paradigmatic of an urban context in which capitalism has developed through informal spatial practices. Finally, it analyses some experiences of common in Palermo, Sicily, and reflect on their socio-political structure and impact. It eventually argues that the consolidation of urban commons is taking place as a problematic process, since institutional actors and grassroots activists are attempting to establish a discursive hegemony based on different, at times clashing conceptions of commons.

I. The metropolis as epitome of late capitalism and relevance of urban commons

The relation between capitalism and urbanisation is an intimate one. David Harvey provided a reconstruction of how cities have been the site for the geographical and social concentration of a surplus product generated by capitalism, and how the real estate market has triggered all main economic crises since the XIX century until the global collapse of 2008. Urbanisation processes are functional to the maintaining of the capitalist system, but the price for this liaison is high: it consists in the deployment of spatial forms aimed at reflecting – and containing – urban inequalities, which ultimately generate violence and conflict. Neoliberal politics, argues Harvey, has used accumulation by dispossession, consisting in the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the few at the expense of the public, as a hegemonic strategy. In cities, this has implied depriving the people of space through the enforcement of private property rights, and

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resulted in a massive process of privatisation and commodification of the urban space (Harvey, 2012).

The tight connection between urbanism and neoliberalism also means that the metropolis works as a biopolitical dispositive, instrumental to the exercise of the neoliberal governance over individual lives. Such a function becomes crucial in the current phase of capitalism, characterised by a high intensity of knowledge and technology production having the metropolis as its epicentre. In contemporary urban economies, the frontier between production and consumption, living time and working time is blurred; the result is the prominence of immaterial production, stemming from dense relations of social cooperation and generating a social value which is then appropriated by capital (Negri & Hardt, 2009). In other words, the metropolis is the contemporary urban space *par excellence* as dominated by three tendencies: constant production of social value, individuals' immersion in several control devices, and high individual mobility.

However, every dispositive implies a process of subjectification, hence a horizon of resistance. The notion of urban commons is extremely useful to shed light on the reaction against neoliberal governance taking place in the metropolis – on the "Ungovernable" of the city, meant as both point of departure and vanishing point of politics (Agamben, 2007). Anglo-American scholars elaborated the concept of urban commons during the so-called spatial turn in legal theory of the 1990s, abandoning the historicist perspective and considering the world primarily as a network of scattered and interconnected points as foreseen by Foucault (1980). Such an approach highlights the two-way constitutive relationship between law and space: law shapes social relations in space just as much as space influences the production of law (Blank & Rosen-Zvi, 2010). The spatial turn has inevitably directed the attention on the metropolis as crucial site and dispositive of contemporary capitalism.

This Anglo-American literature includes in the category of urban commons all abandoned public-owned sites managed by private individuals with the consensus of institutions in the post-crisis context (e.g. urban gardens, parks, etc.). A more radical definition, though, pushes this notion forward and by urban commons qualifies the entire urban space as site of creation of value resulted from social cooperation (Marella, 2017).

In the present theoretical and political debate, the commons are a highly disputed and polyvalent concept[1]. In this work, the commons define the collective and self-organised practices of groups producing or taking care of a resource, in order to share its use among individuals, following rules elaborated democratically and based on the principle of self-government (Sauvêtre, 2016). In cities, commons have appeared as a response to the state decline in managing resources and services, which are either privatised or neglected within a broader dynamics of enclosure of urban space for private interests. The emergence of commons in this transition questions the state/market dichotomy, since commons are managed by a collective subject, with no mediation by the private or public actor. It is important to highlight that these practices concern resources that can be either publicly or privately owned, but collectively managed by a group of users. In other words, at the heart of each practice of commoning lies a community, to be intended not as a gated group but rather as a "quality of relations" based on cooperation and mutual responsibility (Federici, 2011).

To conclude, the commons are inherent to a neoliberal configuration of the city which is anchored to pervasive processes of dispossession. However, such a configuration is also made of cracks, "marginal spaces" where frictions and conflicts inherent to urbanisation are made visible and generative of spatial practices (Guareschi & Rahola, 2015).

II. THE MEDITERRANEAN CITY AND CAPITALISM: DISRUPTING THE MODERN/TRADITIONAL DICHOTOMY

The transition process from feudalism to capitalism took place in a multiplicity of forms. This variety is evident in the case of Southern Europe, where capitalism has developed in different modes than in the North and has met several practices of resistance. In the Mediterranean city, the dimension of informal economy and, more generally, informality – referring to ways of using space that diverge from those accorded by the law – has been prominent (Varriale, 2015). Despite their different historical

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[1] For a thorough analysis of the polyvalent nature of the notion of common, see U. Rossi, *Ambivalence of commons*. In B. Miller, A.E.G. Jonas, K. Ward, D. Wilson (Eds.), *Handbook on spaces of urban politics*, London, Routledge, 2017.

trajectories, Southern European cities share a coexistence of modernity and informality which results in a diverse range of socioeconomic dynamics. Because of their composite nature, Mediterranean urban phenomena have long been misunderstood as residual "pre-capitalist" manifestations, inconsistent with a supposedly linear and homogenous capitalist development.

So what are Mediterranean cities? They can be defined as «geographical, socio-economic and cultural in-between spaces which contest value-laden binary thinking», thus not fitting into the dichotomies of political economy (development/underdevelopment, centre/periphery) and urban theory (modern/traditional, modern/postmodern, urban/rural) (Leontidou, 1996). This does not mean that they are incompatible with the dynamics of contemporary capitalism: as highlighted by critical anthropological approaches on contemporary capitalist societies, neoliberalism consists in a series of historically specific cultural mutations taking place within pre-existing social practices (Wacquant, 2012) . In the eyes of the ethnographer it becomes clear that if neoliberalism is *one*, it nonetheless takes the form of a plurality of "mixed systems"; it is a process open to contingencies, a variable and unachieved governmental regime that never acts in a void. Since neoliberalism is not monolithic, the reactions it generates are more complex than what the binary of acceptance/resistance would allow to think (Kingfisher & Maskovsky, 2008). In the Mediterranean city, for example, any rigid distinction between informality and market oversimplifies reality: we deal with a context in which capitalist development has been based on a spatial and social expansion of a spontaneous and informal nature, which has been functional to capitalism itself (Leontidou, 1990).

Another sign of the harmony of Southern Europe with Western capitalist development are social movements' studies concerning mobilizations for a "right to the city" as theorized by Lefebvre (1968) in the Mediterranean area. Here, claims shifted from reclaiming a right to *inhabit* the private space in the XX century – in the form of squatting activities – to a right to *occupy and use* public space in the XXI century (Leontidou, 2010). These phases can be read as two different chapters of an overall claim for democratization of Mediterranean urban space. The Sicilian practices of commoning which make the object of this investigation provide an example of mobilizations for occupying and using public space that are solidly grounded in a urban context marked by informality; also, they rise under the gaze of an ambivalent public actor, which is

withdrawing from the urban space and contested on the one hand, but also attempting to legitimate itself through discourses concerning the commons on the other hand.

III. THE CONTEXT. PALERMO'S LAST TWENTY YEARS, FROM ANTI-MAFIA GRASSROOTS MOBILISATIONS TO INSTITUTIONAL RHETORIC ON PARTICIPATION

The last twenty years of Palermo's political life provide a backdrop to the practices of commoning that have been developing after the economic crisis and will be analysed in the next sections. 1992 is a turning point in the recent history of the main Sicilian city. It marks the beginning of a season of social mobilisations shaking Palermo as a reaction to the violent attacks against institutions put in place by the mafia organisation of Cosa Nostra, resulting in the death of judges Giovanni Falcone and Paolo Borsellino among others. This movement represents the second wave of uprisings against the criminal organisation after the *primavera palermitana* ("Palermitan spring") of the mid-80s. In 1993, Leoluca Orlando becomes mayor for the second time with the support of the antimafia platform *La Rete*. In those years, anti-mafia mobilisations multiply while special laws are passed to punish mafiosi harshly as the army occupies the streets of Palermo (Lupo, 2004). The election of Diego Cammarata's administration in 2001 marks the start of a different phase, reflecting the national hegemony of Silvio Berlusconi's centre-right party. An almost full decade of civil numbness begins, with the notable exceptions of few urban occupations opening up public spaces of political action focused around self-government and refugees' integration, such as Laboratorio Zeta. In 2012, at the end of Cammarata's administration, the season of political immobility is over and Orlando is elected again. This conjuncture is a fortunate page in the Italian recent history of social mobilisations: all over the country, a number of communities reclaim the right to govern the access to resources and spaces in order to subtract them from the processes of neoliberal privatisation following the 2008 economic crisis (Mattei & Bailey, 2013). This grassroots movement for *beni comuni* is a response to the weakening of the welfare state, and in Palermo significant experiences such as the occupation of Teatro Garibaldi and of the shipyard area of *La Zisa* for collective use express a broader national tendency. While the former experience reaches a spontaneous end as the community occupying the space tears apart, the citizens' claims for the shipyard as a commons is

"normalised" by Orlando's administration, which succeeds in integrating this demand within its political agenda, co-opting the civil ferment into the institutional framework.

This event provides a meaningful example of the political strategy of the Palermitan municipality vis-à-vis social mobilisations. Indeed, Orlando's present administration – at its fifth mandate after being re-elected in Spring 2017 – has been marked by a strong recourse to the rhetoric of participation and citizens' involvement in public life. Such a discursive strategy seems a trend in today's Mediterranean urban contexts, where participative democracy has been at the centre of the public debate since the 2010s in a variety of forms – from the rhetoric of urban renaissance used by Luigi De Magistris, mayor of Naples since 2011, to Ada Colau's project of "new municipalism" in Barcelona. In Palermo, this discourse was epitomised by the appointment of an "*Assessorato* to participation" in 2012 whose main initiative was the institution of the *Consulta delle culture* ("Committee of cultures") formed by the spokespersons of all foreigners' communities living in the city. However, this committee had nothing but an advisory function towards the mayor. The rhetoric of participation employed by the Palermitan political élite is functional to a conjuncture like the current one, marked by two contingencies: the severe fiscal constraints imposed by the economic crisis which reduce the room for administrators' political manoeuvre; the persisting inflow of migrants who mostly settle down in the central popular neighbourhoods and exert an impact on the socioeconomic dynamics of the city. Against this backdrop, this research will look at three cases of urban commons in Palermo.

IV. METHODOLOGICAL NOTE: A MULTIDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVE

An ethnographic approach seems appropriate when analysing Southern urban phenomena as it complements and questions general theories of urban studies which were often elaborated looking at Northern cities. The following part is based on fieldwork in Palermo conducted between May 2016 and July 2017 as part of an on-going PhD research. Empirical data result mainly from participant observation of grassroots initiatives, semi-structured interviews addressed to a variety of actors involved in practices of commoning (activists, institutional figures, inhabitants), and documental research. This fieldwork is still in progress, and the results of this preliminary exploration anticipate the analysis that will be developed in the final thesis.

From an epistemological point of view, two shortcuts were circumvented. The first one is a culturalist approach that would reduce Sicilian spatial practices to mere pre-modern *residua*, a perspective that has been consistently overcome in the last twenty years of social research on Sicily and Southern Europe in general. The second path is to avoid is the sociological reflex of imposing a dichotomy-based approach on the observed social phenomena. Indeed, studies in critical anthropology have proved the inadequacy of binary categories such as public/private space, modernity/tradition, and politics/religion when tackling the Sicilian backdrop (Palumbo, 2009). Therefore, this article does not start from any preconception of what "urban space" is; on the contrary, the aim is to shed light on the problematic character of this notion and on the ways in which actors *produce* such urban space through their interactions.

V. URBAN COMMONS IN PALERMO

1) *The street art practices in Borgo Vecchio*

The focus will first be on the spatial practices taking place in the historic neighbourhood of Borgo Vecchio. Located in the centre of the city, between the harbour and Palermo's renowned Politeama theatre, *il Borgo* is marked by problematic socioeconomic conditions – high unemployment and school-leaving rate, lack of services, and widespread micro-criminality. Both media accounts and institutional discourse depict Borgo Vecchio as a marginal context, a "mafia enclave" doomed to deviance by a vicious morality that differs from the "norm"[2]. Differently from other areas of Palermo targeted as marginal by the public discourse, the area is not a primary object of social interventions as revealed by the scarce presence of associations and institutions.

In this context, an initiative called *Borgo Vecchio Factory* was launched in 2014 by PUSH, a Palermitan community of architects and social designers. Its goal is to involve the kids of *il Borgo* in painting activities carried out on the walls of the private buildings of the neighbourhood. This experience was financed through crowdfunding with the local elementary school as sole institutional interlocutor. The relevance of this project for the

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[2] A similar narrative of "otherness" was carefully observed and deconstructed in the case of two peripheral suburbs of Palermo, namely Zen 1 and Zen 2. See F. Fava, *Lo Zen di Palermo. Antropologia dell'esclusione*, Milan, Franco Angeli, 2008.

public life of Borgo Vecchio stems from the fact that in this area, as in most historic neighbourhoods of the centre of Palermo, the streets are the epicentre of public life, and the border between private and public space is porous; hence the importance of spatial practices like street art, which reveal the constructed and affective nature of urban space, and its nature of constant process rather than of static scenery.

From the point of view of critical political theory, the commons are first and foremost a mode of production (Negri, 2017). Street art in Borgo Vecchio has the nature of a process consisting in appearance, fruition, disappearance; the relation with the surrounding context is organic, dialogic, and transformative. Because of these features, the observed experience can be considered as a practice of commoning.

Furthermore, street art has a precise political meaning in the contemporary metropolis. Recent urban sociology has developed the idea that in the urban context the surface of buildings has a higher socio-political relevance than the building itself; in other words, street art transcends any mere aesthetic function and belongs to a political process of attention-claiming inherent to urban capitalism (Cronin, 2008). Street art writers "attack" something that is public, and in doing so they make visible some questions about what is legal and what is not, what is right and what is not, and in general about the law (Brighenti, 2010).

This case study expresses a contradiction worth being highlighted. On the one hand, street art has the effect of attracting an unprecedented flux of tourists in an otherwise ignored area of Palermo, partially breaking the isolation of inhabitants who now enjoy the economic advantages of their exposure to visitors. On the other hand, we are observing hetero-directed practices, initiated by a community of middle-class, well-educated activists who mainly do not live in the neighbourhood. In other words, we are facing the dilemma of the community of reference of commons. Is the community constituted by the inhabitants, by the activists, or by both? Is it an inclusive community, engaged in a relation of exchange with the area, or is it an auto-referential, eventually "gentrifying" group? This point will be developed in the last part of the article.

2) The regeneration of piazzetta Mediterraneo in Ballarò

The analysis of commons in Palermo cannot overlook the practices taking place in Ballarò, the historic food market at the heart of the city centre. Roughly extending between the cathedral and the central railway station, this neighbourhood has little in common with Borgo Vecchio. Firstly, its population is heterogeneous in terms of both class and race: a slow process of gentrification is attracting middle- and upper-class individuals eager to live in Ballarò because of its genuine, folkloric atmosphere; also, the migrants' presence is very strong, Bengalis and Nigerians being the largest communities. A second difference between Borgo Vecchio and Ballarò concerns the institutional and associative presence, as in the latter numerous NGOs and communities operate in an attempt to subtract the area from dynamics of abandonment and neglect.

A square called *piazzetta Mediterraneo*, at the heart of Ballarò, represents a compelling case of commons. A rectangular space historically serving the function of a sacred place, it was destroyed by bombs during the Second World War and was exploited as an abusive parking and rubbish dump for decades. It was first recuperated in 2011 by the association *Mediterraneo Antirazzista* together with the group of guerrilla gardening *I Giardinieri di Santa Rosalia*: the activists cleaned the area and provided with benches and plants. This space was at that point called *piazzetta Mediterraneo* and became the site of meetings among activists engaged in Ballarò, neighbourhood assemblies, and various events and activities open to the community of the area.

The administration of the city ended up giving official recognition to the square in 2013 and engaging in a broad project of regeneration of Ballarò. As first step, the municipality reached an agreement with the Church, which owns the space, for a free loan that qualifies the square as State property for the next twenty years. Secondly, the municipality identified few associations among the many engaged in the area – such as the network *SOS Ballarò* – and started using them as advisors on the policies to be implemented in the area. It is compelling to observe, in this case, how a bottom-up claim for urban commons was intercepted by the public actor and incorporated into the institutional discourse. Indeed, as already anticipated, the rhetoric of participation, urban regeneration, and commons is extremely appealing to an elite in search of a discursive strategy of self-legitimisation in times of economic crisis; rhetoric of participation and "active citizenship" perfectly fits this purpose. While in the case of Borgo Vecchio the

practices of commoning risk to represent an ephemeral parenthesis, not being framed neither in the *Borgo* nor in any institutional strategy, in Ballarò the interest of the municipality can represent a guarantee of continuity for experiences such as the one of *piazzetta Mediterraneo*.

This dialectics between the public power and movement for commons is in continuity with other neo-municipalist experiences which have been developing in Southern European urban contexts after the 2008 economic crisis[3]. In Barcelona, mayor Ada Colau has incorporated the claims of movements which she comes from into the political agenda, while in Naples the municipality led by mayor Luigi De Magistris experiments a softer variant of neo-municipalism, dialoguing with movements and using juridical tool to frame the relations with them. In any case, the issue is providing local answers, at a municipality level, to greater concerns generated by austerity policies.

3) The self-governed medical cabinet in the social centre "Anomalia"

The social centre *Anomalia* is located close to the city centre, in the area between Borgo Vecchio and the Ucciardone prison. Activists first occupied the space in 2012. It is composed of two rooms for after-school activities targeting the kids of the neighbourhood, a "popular gym", a self-governed medical cabinet, and a bar to finance the activities of the social centre. The social centre also regularly organises public initiatives addressing the neighbourhood, such as assemblies, concerts, debates, and movie projections. In 2016, the social centre launched the initiative of a self-governed medical cabinet to provide medical assistance to inhabitants. The activists made this decision in order to counterbalance the erosion of the right to health that citizens – especially those belonging to popular and working class – have been experiencing in the aftermath of the economic crisis of 2008. The cabinet is open six days a week. Its activities are carried out thanks to the volunteering of about 20 doctors and with the support of a private lab carrying out medical examinations. The service includes cardiologic, gynaecologic, neurologic, urologic, psychological, and generic medical visits. In parallel, a series of socio-sanitary activities are organised in order to raise awareness

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[3] For the theorization of neomunicipalism we refer to theories of Murray Bookchin. In particular, see M. Bookchin, *The Next Revolution. Popular Assemblies and the Promise of Direct Democracy*, Verso, London, 2014.

among inhabitants on the prevention of illnesses – a focus is on diseases that create social stigmatisation, such as hepatitis A – and to mobilise them in a process of reclamation and re-appropriation of the right to health. The medical equipment was acquired both through private crowdfunding and donations by the city administration. According to activists' accounts, the main users of the medical cabinet are people from the surrounding neighbourhoods, mostly Borgo Vecchio, and migrants coming from other areas of the city.

The project of the self-organised medical cabinet combines two dimensions. On a social plan, it compensates the lack of public services in a context deeply affected by economic recession. On a political plan, and in a longer term, the creation of the cabinet fuels a dynamics of solidarity and mutualism centred on the re-appropriation of the right to health and aimed at enrooting self-government practices in the neighbourhood. The socio-political impact of this experience differs from the two practices previously analysed. The cabinet follows the example of similar grassroots initiatives that have been taking place in Greece since 2011, aimed at the creation of bottom-up welfare to face the lack of social services granted by the state.

VI. CONCLUSION: COMMUNITY, RHETORIC OF COMMONS, NON-STATE WELFARE. THE DILEMMA OF COMMONS INSTITUTIONS

The three presented cases highlight a series of problematic aspects concerning urban commons that need to be further discussed.

Firstly, the case study of Borgo Vecchio raises questions on the nature of the *community* of reference and on *use* as central category of the commons. It provides evidence of how users do not necessarily share the same sense of belonging to a commons; on the contrary, it is precisely the possibility for users to freely interiorise the commons that lies at the heart of these experimentations, as long as the community remains open and inclusive. This does not mean that every spatial practice is automatically generative of commons. It rather means that to determine if a collective claim for a resource or a space constitutes a commons, we should look at the degree of inclusiveness of its community and at the democratic quality of the process aimed at managing the concerned resource or space. Insisting on the necessity of a homogeneous

socio-political sense that all actors involved in a commons should share would be ideological and may result in the closure of the concerned community – be it along class, race, gender, or other lines.

The case of Ballarò adds another variable to the commons equation, namely the public actor, and sheds light on the strategic exploitation of commons exerted by public institutions in the post-crisis context. In Palermo, a municipality facing a budget crisis succeeds in framing the grassroots claims for commons into an institutionalised pattern, thereby disrupting the transformative potential of movements in suggesting alternatives to the state. Crucially, what emerges is a conflict of hegemony, in Gramscian terms, between the municipality and the grassroots movements: both attempt to impose in the public discourse their own vision of what "commons" should mean – the former deploying a rhetoric of participation, the latter by developing autonomous practices of commoning[4]. Therefore, the notion of commons acts as an empty signifier (Laclau, 2002), an "umbrella-claim" able to incorporate both public policies developed by institutions and urban mobilisations by social movements[5].

The case of the self-governed cabinet has to be contextualised in an after-crisis Southern European trend aimed at building non-state, non-private services on the initiative of open communities, in the broader scenario of a restructuration of solidary as radical political principle. For these communities situated at the economic and political margins of the Eurozone, such initiatives are part of a project of social citizenship seeking a recirculation of rights and services in times of crisis (Cabot, 2016). What emerges is a constellation of urban spaces of solidarity as reaction to austerity policies (Arampatzi, 2017).

Our empiric observation brings us to a crucial reflection, i.e. the dilemma concerning the role of the state vis-à-vis the commons. In the first presented case, the state chooses to be absent; in the second one, there is a public interest in re-qualifying a marginal area; in the third case, the state is openly challenged. The Palermitan experiences suggest one final question: how should the relation between emerging

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[4] The concept of hegemony used here is the one outlined in Gramsci, Antonio. 1977. *Quaderni del carcere. Volume terzo (Quaderni 12-29),* Turin, Giulio Einaudi Editore.
[5] A compelling analysis of the conflict of hegemony around the meaning of "commons" in the contemporary Neapolitan context was conducted in Gargiulo, Enrico, Adriano Cirulli. 2016. Gli spazi occupati a Napoli. Informalità, trasformazioni urbane e discorsi sui "beni comuni. In Punziano, Gabriella (eds.), *Società, economia e spazio a Napoli. Esplorazioni e riflessioni,* L'Aquila, GSSI Social Sciences, Working Papers, pp. 85-96.

practices of commons and the state – suffering but persisting as a social, political, symbolic institution – be framed? Should claims for commons be exploited as a tool for healing an ailing state? Or is it the state that should start working along the functioning of commons, namely through deliberative, consensus-based, inclusive democratic processes? The second option might sound unrealistic, but indeed it is possible to imagine strategies aimed at consolidating the use of urban space according to the logic of commons. This is possible through a strategic and counter-hegemonic use of law. In order to do so, a preliminary theoretical step is clarifying whether to focus on the category of use (as distinguished from ownership) or whether to force the proprietary paradigm up to recognising a property interest held by communities taking care of the commons (Marella, 2015). The former strategy seems preferable, as it offers more immediate ways to stabilise commons in an urban context; pragmatically speaking, it can be turned into a regulation between the city administration and the community taking care of the commons. In a broader view, focusing on the category of use means to draw on a specific conception of administration, meaning the latter as free action subtracted from bureaucracy. This approach serves both an antidote to the neoliberal governance of urban space and a powerful tool to claim a right to the commons (Napoli, 2015). Private law offers a broad range of institutes that could represent successful mediations for processes such as urban commons and could succeed in reuniting "the factual" with "the juridical"[6]. Imagining normative solutions for commons should not mean channelling the transformative potential of commoning practices into institutions: this would imply exploiting such experiences to opportunistically revitalise a suffering state. On the contrary, suggesting normative frameworks is the path to subsume institutions to the principles and reasoning of commons.

To conclude, the presented cases of urban commons help us imagining solutions to solve the paradoxical relationship between space and law. Space is the battlefield for questioning law *par excellence*, as it in space that law's violence of drawing boundaries becomes visible (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos, 2010). The commons have the potential of subverting such urban boundaries traced through violence as they represent a

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[6] For a careful analysis of the notion of private autonomy as able to upset the private/public dialectic, see M. Spanò. *Situazioni dell'autonomia. Sul carattere cooperativo del diritto privato*, in M. Spanò, A. Quarta (eds.), *Rispondere alla crisi. Comune, cooperazione sociale e diritto*, Milan, Ombre Corte, 2017, pp. 127-144.

processual, mutually transformative mode of relation between law and space, through which spatial justice can be achieved.

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